THE KORAN.

THE KORAN:

COMMONLY CALLED THE

ALKORAN OF MOHAMMED

Translated into English from the Original Arabic,

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES TAKEN FROM THE MOST APPROVED COMMENTATORS

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

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TO THE READER

I IMAGINE it almost needless either to make an apology for publishing the following translation, or to go about to prove it a work of use as well as curiosity. They must have a mean opinion of the Christian religion, or be but ill grounded therein, who can apprehend any danger from so manifest a forgery. and if the religious and civil institutions of foreign nations are worth our knowledge, those of Mohammed, the lawgiver of the Arabians, and founder of an empire which in less than a century spread itself over a greater part of the world than the Romans were ever masters of, must needs be so; whether we consider their extensive obtaining, or our frequent intercourse with those who are governed thereby. I shall not here inquire into the reasons why the law of Mohammed has met with so unexampled a reception in the world (for they are greatly deceived who imagine it to have been propagated by the sword alone), or by what means it came to be embraced by nations which never felt the force of the Mohammedan arms, and even by those which stripped the Arabians of their conquests, and put an end to the sovereignty and very being of their Khalifs · yet it seems as if there was something more than what is vulgarly imagined in a religion which has made so surprising a progress. But whatever use an impartial version of the Korân may be of in other respects, it is absolutely necessary to undeceive those who, from the ignorant or unfair translations which have appeared, have entertained too favourable an opinion of the original, and also to enable us effectually to expose the imposture; none of those who have hitherto undertaken that province, not excepting Dr. Prideaux himself, having succeeded to the satisfaction of the judicious, for want of being complete masters of the controversy. The writers of the Romish communion, in particular, are so far from having done any service in their refutations of Mohammedism, that by endeavouring to defend their idolatry and other superstitions, they have rather contributed to the increase of that aversion which the Mohammedans in general have to the Christian religion, and given them great advantages in the dispute. The Protestants alone are able to attack the Korân with success; and for them, I trust, Providence has reserved the glory of its overthrow In the meantime, if I might presume to lay down rules to be observed by those who attempt the conversion of the Mohammedans, they should be the

particulars as seemed to me to deserve approbation: for how criminal soever Mohammed may have been in imposing a false religion on mankind, the praises due to his real virtues ought not to be denied him; nor can I do otherwise than applaud the candour of the pious and learned Spanhemius, who, though he owned him to have been a wicked impostor, yet acknowledged him to have been richly furnished with natural endowments, beautiful in his person, of a subtle wit, agreeable behaviour, showing liberality to the poor, courtesy to every one, fortitude against his enemies, and above all a high reverence for the name of GOD, severe against the perjured, adulterers, murderers, slanderers, prodigals, covetous, false witnesses, &c, a great preacher of patience, charity, mercy, beneficence, gratitude, honouring of parents and superiors, and a frequent celebrator of the divine praises *

Of the several translations of the Korân now extant, there is but one which tolerably represents the sense of the original; and that being in Latin, a new version became necessary, at least to an English reader. What Bibliander published for a Latin translation of that book deserves not the name of a translation; the unaccountable liberties therein taken, and the numberless faults, both of omission and commission, leaving scarce any resemblance of the original. It was made near six hundred years ago, being finished in 1143, by Robertus Retenensis, an Englishman, with the assistance of Hermannus Dalmata, at the request of Peter, Abbot of Clugny, who paid them well for their pains

From this Latin version was taken the Italian of Andrea Arrivabene, notwithstanding the pretences in his dedication of its being done immediately from the Arabic;† wherefore it is no wonder if the transcript be yet more faulty and absurd than the copy.‡

About the end of the fifteenth century, Johannes Andreas, a native of Xativa in the kingdom of Valencia, who from a Mohammedan doctor became a Christian priest, translated not only the Koran, but also its glosses, and the seven books of the Sonna, out of Arabic into the Arragonian tongue, at the command of Martin Garcia § Bishop of Barcelona and Inquisitor of Arragon Whether this translation were ever published or not I am wholly ignorant: but it may be presumed to have been the better done for being the work of one bred up in the

* Id certum, naturalibus egregie dotibus instructum Muhammedem, forma præstanti, ingenio calido, moribus facetis, ac præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos, fortitudinem in hostes, ac præ cæteris reverentiam divini nominis —Severus fuit in perjuros, adulteros, homicidas, obtrectatores, prodigos, avaros, falsos testes, &c Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut et divinarum laudum Hist Eccles Sec VII c 7, lem 5 and 7

† His words are Questo libro, che già havevo a commune utilità di molti fatto dal proprio testo Arabo tradurre nella nostra volgar lingua Italiana &c And afterwards Questo è l'Alcorano di Macometto, il quale, come ho già detto, ho fatto dal suo idioma tradurre, &c

‡ Vide Jos. Scalig Epist 361 et 362, et Selden de Success ad Leges Ebræor p 9

§ J Andreas, in Præf ad Tractat suum de Confusione Sectæ Mahometanæ.

same which the learned and worthy Bishop Kidder* has prescribed for the conversion of the Jews, and which may, *mutatis mutandis*, be equally applied to the former, notwithstanding the despicable opinion that writer, for want of being better acquainted with them, entertained of those people, judging them scarce fit to be argued with. The first of these rules is, To avoid compulsion, which, though it be not in our power to employ at present, I hope will not be made use of when it is. The second is, To avoid teaching doctrines against common sense; the Mohammedans not being such fools (whatever we may think of them) as to be gained over in this case. The worshipping of images and the doctrine of transubstantiation are great stumbling-blocks to the Mohammedans, and the Church which teacheth them is very unfit to bring those people over. The third is, To avoid weak arguments: for the Mohammedans are not to be converted with these, or hard words. We must use them with humanity, and dispute against them with arguments that are proper and cogent. It is certain that many Christians, who have written against them, have been very defective this way: many have used arguments that have no force, and advanced propositions that are void of truth. This method is so far from convincing, that it rather serves to harden them. The Mohammedans will be apt to conclude we have little to say, when we urge them with arguments that are trifling or untrue. We do but lose ground when we do this; and instead of gaining them, we expose ourselves and our cause also. We must not give them ill words neither; but must avoid all reproachful language, all that is sarcastical and biting: this never did good from pulpit or press. The softest words will make the deepest impression; and if we think it a fault in them to give ill language, we cannot be excused when we imitate them. The fourth rule is, Not to quit any article of the Christian faith to gain the Mohammedans. It is a fond conceit of the Socinians, that we shall upon their principles be most like to prevail upon the Mohammedans: it is not true in matter of fact. We must not give up any article to gain them: but then the Church of Rome ought to part with many practices and some doctrines. We are not to design to gain the Mohammedans over to a system of dogma, but to the ancient and primitive faith. I believe nobody will deny but that the rules here laid down are just: the latter part of the third, which alone my design has given me occasion to practise, I think so reasonable, that I have not, in speaking of Mohammed or his Korân, allowed myself to use those opprobrious appellations, and unmannerly expressions, which seem to be the strongest arguments of several who have written against them. On the contrary, I have thought myself obliged to treat both with common decency, and even to approve such

* In his Demonstr. of the Messias. Part III. chap. 2.

Mohammedan religion and learning; though his refutation of that religion, which has had several editions, gives no great idea of his abilities.

Some years within the last century, Andrew du Ryer, who had been consul of the French nation in Egypt, and was tolerably skilled in the Turkish and Arabic languages, took the pains to translate the Korân into his own tongue: but his performance, though it be beyond comparison preferable to that of Retenensis, is far from being a just translation, there being mistakes in every page, besides frequent transpositions, omissions, and additions,* faults unpardonable in a work of this nature. And what renders it still more incomplete is, the want of Notes to explain a vast number of passages, some of which are difficult, and others impossible to be understood, without proper explications, were they translated ever so exactly; which the author is so sensible of that he often refers his reader to the Arabic commentators.

The English version is no other than a translation of Du Ryer's, and that a very bad one, for Alexander Ross, who did it, being utterly unacquainted with the Arabic, and no great master of the French, has added a number of fresh mistakes of his own to those of Du Ryer; not to mention the meanness of his language, which would make a better book ridiculous.

In 1698, a Latin translation of the Korân, made by Father Lewis Marracci, who had been confessor to Pope Innocent XI., was published at Padua, together with the original text, accompanied by explanatory notes and a refutation. This translation of Marracci's generally speaking, is very exact, but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be easily understood, unless I am much deceived, by those who are not versed in the Mohammedan learning. The notes he has added are indeed of great use, but his refutations, which swell the work to a large volume, are of little or none at all, being often unsatisfactory, and sometimes impertinent. The work, however, with all its faults, is very valuable, and I should be guilty of ingratitude, did I not acknowledge myself much obliged thereto; but still, being in Latin, it can be of no use to those who understand not that tongue.

Having therefore undertaken a new translation, I have endeavoured to do the original impartial justice, not having, to the best of my knowledge, represented it, in any one instance, either better or worse than it really is. I have thought myself obliged, indeed, in a piece which pretends to be the Word of GOD, to keep somewhat scrupulously close to the text; by which means the language may, in some places, seem to express the Arabic a little too literally to be elegant English: but this, I hope, has not happened often; and I flatter myself that the

* Vide Windet de Vita Functorum statu, Sect. IX.

style I have made use of will not only give a more genuine idea of the original than if I had taken more liberty (which would have been much more for my ease), but will soon become familiar: for we must not expect to read a version of so extraordinary a book with the same ease and pleasure as a modern composition.

In the Notes my view has been briefly to explain the text, and especially the difficult and obscure passages, from the most approved commentators, and that generally in their own words, for whose opinions or expressions, where liable to censure, I am not answerable; my province being only fairly to represent their expositions, and the little I have added of my own, or from European writers, being easily discernible. Where I met with any circumstance which I imagined might be curious or entertaining, I have not failed to produce it.

The Preliminary Discourse will acquaint the reader with the most material particulars proper to be known previously to the entering on the Korân itself, and which could not so conveniently have been thrown into the Notes. And I have taken care, both in the Preliminary Discourse and the Notes, constantly to quote my authorities and the writers to whom I have been beholden; but to none have I been more so than to the learned Dr Pocock, whose Specimen Historiæ Arabum is the most useful and accurate work that has been hitherto published concerning the antiquities of that nation, and ought to be read by every curious inquirer into them.

As I have had no opportunity of consulting public libraries, the manuscripts of which I have made use throughout the whole work have been such as I had in my own study, except only the Commentary of al Beidâwi and the Gospel of St. Barnabas. The first belongs to the library of the Dutch church in Austin Friars, and for the use of it I have been chiefly indebted to the Reverend Dr Bolten, one of the ministers of that church: the other was very obligingly lent me by the Reverend Dr. Holme, Rector of Hedley in Hampshire; and I take this opportunity of returning both those gentlemen my thanks for their favours. The merit of al Beidâwi's commentary will appear from the frequent quotations I have made thence; but of the Gospel of St. Barnabas (which I had not seen when the little I have said of it in the Preliminary Discourse,* and the extract I had borrowed from M. de la Monnoye and M. Toland,† were printed off), I must beg leave to give some further account.

The book is a moderate quarto, in Spanish, written in a very legible hand, but a little damaged towards the latter end. It contains two hundred and twenty-two chapters of unequal length, and four hundred

* Sect. IV p. 58   † In not. ad cap. 3, p. 38

and twenty pages; and is said, in the front, to be translated from the Italian, by an Arragonian Moslem, named Mostafa de Aranda. There is a preface prefixed to it, wherein the discoverer of the original MS., who was a Christian monk, called Fra Marino, tells us that having accidentally met with a writing of Irenæus (among others), wherein he speaks against St. Paul, alleging, for his authority, the Gospel of St. Barnabas, he became exceeding desirous to find this gospel, and that GOD, of His mercy, having made him very intimate with Pope Sixtus V, one day, as they were together in that Pope's library, his Holiness fell asleep, and he, to employ himself, reaching down a book to read, the first he laid his hand on proved to be the very gospel he wanted: overjoyed at the discovery, he scrupled not to hide his prize in his sleeve, and on the Pope's awaking, took leave of him, carrying with him that celestial treasure, by reading of which he became a convert to Mohammedism

This Gospel of Barnabas contains a complete history of Jesus Christ from His birth to His ascension; and most of the circumstances in the four real Gospels are to be found therein, but many of them turned, and some artfully enough, to favour the Mohammedan system From the design of the whole, and the frequent interpolations of stories and passages wherein Mohammed is spoken of and foretold by name, as the messenger of God, and the great prophet who was to perfect the dispensation of Jesus, it appears to be a most barefaced forgery One particular I observe therein induces me to believe it to have been dressed up by a renegade Christian, slightly instructed in his new religion, and not educated a Mohammedan (unless the fault be imputed to the Spaniard, or perhaps the Italian translator, and not to the original compiler): I mean the giving to Mohammed the title of Messiah, and that not once or twice only, but in several places, whereas the title of the Messiah, or, as the Arabs write it, al Masih, i.e., Christ, is appropriated to Jesus in the Korân, and is constantly applied by the Mohammedans to Him and never to their own prophet The passages produced from the Italian MS by M de la Monnoye are to be seen in this Spanish version almost word for word.

But to return to the following work Though I have freely censured the former translations of the Korân, I would not therefore be suspected of a design to make my own pass as free from faults I am very sensible it is not, and I make no doubt that the few who are able to discern them, and know the difficulty of the undertaking, will give me fair quarter I likewise flatter myself that they, and all considerate persons, will excuse the delay which has happened in the publication of this work, when they are informed that it was carried on at leisure times only, and amidst the necessary avocations of a troublesome profession

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PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

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OF THE ARABS BEFORE MOHAMMED, OR, AS THEY EXPRESS IT, IN THE TIME OF IGNORANCE; THEIR HISTORY, RELIGION, LEARNING, AND CUSTOMS.

THE Arabs, and the country they inhabit, which themselves call Jezîrat al Arab, or the Peninsula of the Arabians, but we Arabia, were so named from Araba, a small territory in the province of Tehâma;[1] to which Yarab the son of Kahtân, the father of the ancient Arabs, gave his name, and where, some ages after, dwelt Ismael the son of Abraham by Hagar. The Christian writers for several centuries speak of them under the appellation of Saracens; the most certain derivation of which word is from *shark, the east*, where the descendants of Joktan, the Kahtân of the Arabs, are placed by Moses,[2] and in which quarter they dwelt in respect to the Jews.[3]

The name of Arabia (used in a more extensive sense) sometimes comprehends all that large tract of land bounded by the river Euphrates, the Persian Gulf, the Sindian, Indian, and Red Seas, and part of the Mediterranean: above two-thirds of which country, that is, Arabia properly so called, the Arabs have possessed almost from the Flood; and have made themselves masters of the rest, either by settlements or continual incursions; for which reason the Turks and Persians at this day call the whole Arabistan, or the country of the Arabs.

But the limits of Arabia, in its more usual and proper sense, are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward than the Isthmus, which runs from Aila to the head of the Persian Gulf, and the borders of the territory of Cufa; which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the Happy. The eastern geographers make Arabia Petræa to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Shâm or Syria, and the desert Arabia they call the deserts of Syria.[4]

Proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces,[5] viz., Yaman, Hejâz, Tehâma, Najd, and Yamâma; to which

[1] Pocock, Specim. Hist. Arab. 33. [2] Gen. x. 30. [3] See Pocock, Specim. p. 33.
[4] Golius ad Alfragan. 78, 79. [5] Strabo says Arabia Felix was in his time divided into five kingdoms, l. 16, p. 1129.

some add Bahrein, as a sixth, but this province the more exact make part of Irák,[6] others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hejâz, the last including the three other provinces of Tehâma, Najd, and Yamâma.

The province of Yaman, so called either from its situation to the right hand, or south of the temple of Mecca or else from the happiness and verdure of its soil, extends itself along the Indian Ocean from Aden to Cape Rasalgat, part of the Red Sea bounds it on the west and south sides, and the province of Hejâz on the north[1] It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as Hadramaut, Shihr, Omân, Najrân, &c., of which Shihr alone produces the frankincense[2] The metropolis of Yaman is Sanaa, a very ancient city, in former times called Ozal, and much celebrated for its delightful situation but the prince at present resides about five leagues northward from thence, at a place no less pleasant, called Hisn almawaheb, or the Castle of delights[3]

This country has been famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its climate its fertility and riches[4] which induced Alexander the Great, after his return from his Indian expedition, to form a design of conquering it, and fixing there his royal seat but his death, which happened soon after, prevented the execution of this project[5] Yet, in reality, great part of the riches which the ancients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came really from the Indies and the coasts of Africa, for the Egyptians, who had engrossed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, to themselves industriously concealed the truth of the matter and kept their ports shut to prevent foreigners penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information thence, and this precaution of theirs on the one side, and the deserts, unpassable to strangers, on the other were the reason why Arabia was so little known to the Greeks and Romans The delightfulness and plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains for all that part which lies along the Red Sea is a dry, barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over, but in return bounded by those mountains, which being well watered enjoy an almost continual spring, and, besides coffee the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices There are no rivers of note in this country, for the streams which at certain times of the year descend from the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being for the most part drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that coast[1]

The soil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman, the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm trees

The province of Hejâz, so named because it divides Najd from Tehâma is bounded on the south by Yaman and Tehâma, on the west by the Red Sea, on the north by the deserts of Syria, and on the east by the province of Najd[2] This province is famous for its two chief cities, Mecca and Medina, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to Mohammed and the other for being the

[6] Gol. ad Alfragan 79 [1] La Roque Voyage de l'Arab heur 121 [2] Gol ad Alfragan 79 87 [3] Voyage de l'Arab heu 232 [4] Vide Dionys Perieges v 927, &c. [5] Strabo l 16 p 1132 Arrian 61 [1] Voy de l'Arab heur 121, 123, 153 [2] Vide Gol, ad Alfrag 98 Abulfed Descr Arab p 5.

place of his residence for the last ten years of his life, and of his interment.

Mecca, sometimes also called Becca, which words are synonymous, and signify a place of great concourse, is certainly one of the most ancient cities of the world: it is by some[3] thought to be the Mesa of the scripture,[4] a name not unknown to the Arabians, and supposed to be taken from one of Ismael's sons.[5] It is seated in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides with mountains.[6] The length of Mecca from south to north is about two miles, and its breadth from the foot of the mountain Ajyad, to the top of another called Koaikaân, about a mile.[7] In the midst of this space stands the city, built of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains.[8] There being no springs at Mecca,[9] at least none but what are bitter and unfit to drink,[10] except only the well Zemzem, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drank of any continuance, being brackish and causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it,[11] the inhabitants are obliged to use rain water, which they catch in cisterns.[1] But this not being sufficient, several attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about Mohammed's time, Zobair, one of the principal men of the tribe of Koreish, endeavoured at a great expense to supply the city with water from Mount Arafat, but without success: yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Solimân the Turkish emperor.[2] But long before this another aqueduct had been made from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years' labour, finished by the Khalîf al Moktader.[3]

The soil about Mecca is so very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, though the prince or Sharîf has a garden well planted at his castle of Marbaa, about three miles westward from the city, where he usually resides. Having therefore no corn or grain of their own growth, they are obliged to fetch it from other places;[4] and Hashem, Mohammed's great grandfather, then prince of his tribe, the more effectually to supply them with provisions, appointed two caravans to set out yearly for that purpose, the one in summer, and the other in winter: these caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the Korân. The provisions brought by them were distributed also twice a year, viz., in the month of Rajeb, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. They are supplied with dates in great plenty from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Tayef, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at Mecca. The inhabitants of this city are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandise. They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money. Notwithstanding this great sterility

[3] R. Saadias in version. Arab. Pentat. Sefer Juchasin, 135 b. [4] Gen. x. 30. [5] Gol. ad Alfrag. 82. See Gen. xxv. 15. [6] Gol. ib. 98. See Pitts' Account of the religion and manners of the Mohammedans, p. 96. [7] Sharif al Edrisi apud Poc. Specim. 122. [8] Ibid. [9] Gol. ad Alfrag. 99. [10] Sharif al Edrisi ubi supra, 124. [11] Ibid., and Pitts ubi supra, p. 107. [1] Gol. ad Alfrag. 99. [2] Ibid. [3] Sharif al Edrisi ubi supra. [4] Idem ib. [5] Poc. Spec. 51.

near Mecca, yet you are no sooner out of its territory than you meet on all sides with plenty of good springs and streams of running water, with a great many gardens and cultivated lands.[6]

The temple of Mecca, and the reputed holiness of this territory, will be treated of in a more proper place.

Medina, which till Mohammed's retreat thither was called Yathreb, is a walled city about half as big as Mecca,[7] built in a plain, salt in many places, yet tolerably fruitful, particularly in dates, but more especially near the mountains, two of which, Ohod on the north, and Air on the south, are about two leagues distant. Here lies Mohammed interred[1] in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city.[2]

The province of Tehâma was so named from the vehement heat of its sandy soil, and is also called Gaur from its low situation; it is bounded on the west by the Red Sea, and on the other sides by Hejâz and Yaman, extending almost from Mecca to Aden.[3]

The province of Najd, which word signifies a rising country, lies between those of Yamama, Yaman, and Hejâz, and is bounded on the east by Irak.[4]

The province of Yamâma, also called Arûd from its oblique situation, in respect of Yaman, is surrounded by the provinces of Najd, Tehâma, Bahrein, Omân, Shihr, Hadramaut, and Saba. The chief city is Yamâma, which gives name to the province: it was anciently called Jaw, and is particularly famous for being the residence of Mohammed's competitor, the false prophet Moseilama.[5]

The Arabians, the inhabitants of this spacious country, which they have possessed from the most remote antiquity, are distinguished by their own writers into two classes, viz., the old lost Arabians, and the present.

The former were very numerous, and divided into several tribes, which are now all destroyed, or else lost and swallowed up among the other tribes, nor are any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them;[6] though the memory of some very remarkable events and the catastrophe of some tribes have been preserved by tradition, and since confirmed by the authority of the Korân.

The most famous tribes amongst these ancient Arabians were Ad, Thamûd, Tasm, Jadis, the former Jorham, and Amalek.

[6] Sharif al Edrisi, ubi supra, c. 5. [7] Id. Vulgò Geogr. Nubiensis, 5.

[1] Though the notion of Mohammed's being buried at Mecca has been so long exploded, yet several modern writers, whether through ignorance or negligence I will not determine, have fallen into it. I shall here take notice only of two; one is Dr. Smith, who having lived some time in Turkey, seems to be inexcusable: that gentleman in his Epistles *de Moribus ac Institutis Turcarum*, no less than thrice mentions the Mohammedans visiting the tomb of their prophet at Mecca, and once his being born at Medina—the reverse of which is true (see Ep. 1, p. 22, Ep. 2, p. 63 and 64). The other is the publisher of the last edition of Sir J. Mandeville's Travels, who on his author's saying, very truly (p. 50) that the said tomb was at Methone, *i.e.*, Medina, undertakes to correct the name of the town, which is something corrupted, by putting at the bottom of the page, Mecca. The Abbot de Vertot in his History of the Order of Malta (vol. 1, p. 410, ed. 8vo.), seems also to have confounded these two cities together, though he had before mentioned Mohammed's sepulchre at Medina. However, he is certainly mistaken, when he says that one point of the religion, both of the Christians and Mohammedans, was to visit, at least once in their lives, the tomb of the author of their respective faith. Whatever may be the opinion of some Christians, I am well assured the Mohammedans think themselves under no manner of obligation in that respect. [2] Gol. ad Alfragan. 97, Abulfeda Descr. Arab. p. 40. [3] Gol. ubi sup. [4] Ibid. 94. [5] Ibid. 9[illegible]. [6] Abulfarag. p. 159.

The tribe of Ad were descended from Ad, the son of Aws,[1] the son of Aram,[2] the son of Sem, the son of Noah, who, after the confusion of tongues, settled in al Ahkâf, or the winding sands in the province of Hadramaut, where his posterity greatly multiplied. Their first king was Shedâd the son of Ad, of whom the eastern writers deliver many fabulous things, particularly that he finished the magnificent city his father had begun, wherein he built a fine palace, adorned with delicious gardens, to embellish which he spared neither cost nor labour, proposing thereby to create in his subjects a superstitious veneration of himself as a god.[3] This garden or paradise was called the garden of Irem, and is mentioned in the Korân,[4] and often alluded to by the oriental writers. The city, they tell us, is still standing in the deserts of Aden, being preserved by providence as a monument of divine justice, though it be invisible, unless very rarely, when GOD permits it to be seen, a favour one Colabah pretended to have received in the reign of the Khalîf Moâwiyah, who sending for him to know the truth of the matter, Colabah related his whole adventure, that as he was seeking a camel he had lost, he found himself on a sudden at the gates of this city, and entering it saw not one inhabitant, at which, being terrified, he stayed no longer than to take with him some fine stones which he showed the Khalîf.[5]

The descendants of Ad in process of time falling from the worship of the true GOD into idolatry, GOD sent the prophet Hûd (who is generally agreed to be Heber[6]) to preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, or to obey him, GOD sent a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days together, and entering at their nostrils passed through their bodies,[7] and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hûd and retired with him to another place.[8] That prophet afterwards returned into Hadramaut, and was buried near Hasec, where there is a small town now standing called Kabr Hûd, or the sepulchre of Hûd. Before the Adites were thus severely punished, GOD, to humble them, and incline them to hearken to the preaching of his prophet, afflicted them with a drought for four years, so that all their cattle perished, and themselves were very near it; upon which they sent Lokmân (different from one of the same name who lived in David's time) with sixty others to Mecca to beg rain, which they not obtaining, Lokmân with some of his company stayed at Mecca, and thereby escaped destruction, giving rise to a tribe called the latter Ad, who were afterward changed into monkeys.[1]

Some commentators on the Korân[2] tell us these old Adites were of prodigious stature, the largest being 100 cubits high, and the least 60, which extraordinary size they pretend to prove by the testimony of the Korân.[3]

The tribe of Thamûd were the posterity of Thamûd the son of Gather[4] the son of Aram, who falling into idolatry, the prophet Sâleh was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true GOD. This prophet lived between the time of Hûd and of Abraham, and therefore cannot be the

[1] Or Uz. Gen. x. 22, 23. [2] Vide Kor. c. 89. Some make Ad the son of Amalek, the son of Ham; but the other is the received opinion. See D'Herbel. 51. [3] Vide Ibid. 498. [4] Cap. 89. [5] D'Herbel. 51. [6] The Jews acknowledge Heber to have been a great prophet. Seder Olam. p. 2. [7] Al Beidâwi. [8] Poc. Spec. 35, &c. [1] Ibid. 36. [2] Jallâlo'ddin et Zamakhshari. [3] Kor. c. 7. [4] Or Gether, vide Gen. x. 23.

same with the patriarch Sâleh, as Mr d'Herbelot imagines.[5] The learned Bochart with more probability takes him to be Phaleg[6] A small number of the people of Thamûd hearkened to the remonstrances of Sâleh, but the rest requiring, as a proof of his mission, that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence, he accordingly obtained it of GOD, and the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned, but they, instead of believing, cut the hamstrings of the camel and killed her, at which act of impiety GOD, being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake and a terrible noise from heaven, which, some[7] say was the voice of Gabriel the archangel crying aloud, "Die, all of you" Sâleh, with those who were reformed by him, were saved from this destruction; the prophet going into Palestine, and from thence to Mecca,[8] where he ended his days

This tribe first dwelt in Yaman, but being expelled thence by Hamyar the son of Sâba,[9] they settled in the territory of Hejr in the province of Hejâz, where their habitations cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the Korân,[10] are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eye-witness[11] hath declared, is 60 cubits wide These houses of the Thamudites being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake who make this people to have been of a gigantic statute[12]

The tragical destructions of these two potent tribes are often insisted on in the Korân, as instances of GOD's judgment on obstinate unbelievers.

The tribe of Tasm were the posterity of Lûd the son of Sem, and Jadis of the descendants of Jether[1] These two tribes dwelt promiscuously together under the government of Tasm till a certain tyrant made a law that no maid of the tribe of Jadis should marry unless first deflowered by him,[2] which the Jadisians not enduring, formed a conspiracy, and inviting the king and chiefs of Tasm to an entertainment, privately hid their swords in the sand and in the midst of their mirth fell on them and slew them all and extirpated the greatest part of that tribe, however, the few who escaped obtaining aid of the king of Yaman, then (as is said) Dhu Habshân Ebn Akrân,[3] assaulted the Jadis and utterly destroyed them, there being scarce any mention made from that time of either of these tribes[4]

The former tribe of Jorham (whose ancestor some pretend was one of the eighty persons saved in the ark with Noah, according to a Mohammedan tradition[5]) was contemporary with Ad, and utterly perished[6] The tribe of Amalek were descended from Amalek the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau,[7] though some of the oriental authors say Amalek was the son of Ham the son of Noah[8] and others the son of Azd the son of Sem[9] The posterity of this person rendered themselves very powerful,[10] and before the time of Joseph conquered the lower Egypt under

[5] D'Herbel Bibl Orient 740 [6] Bochart Geogr Sac [7] See D'Herbel 366 [8] Ebn Shohnah [9] Poc Spec 57 [10] Kor c [illegible] [11] Abu Musa al Ashari [12] Vide Poc Spec 37.
[1] Abulfeda [2] A like custom is said to have been in some manors in England, and also in Scotland where it was called "culhage" or "cullage," having been established by K. Ewen, and abolished by Malcolm III. See Bayle's Dict Art Sixte IV, Rem H [3] Poc. Spec 60. [4] Ibid 37, &c [5] Ibid p 38 [6] Ebn Shohnah [7] Gen xxxvi 12 [8] Vide D'Herbelot p 110 [9] Ebn Shohnah [10] Vide Numb xxiv 20.

their king Walîd, the first who took the name of Pharaoh, as the eastern writers tell us,[11] seeming by these Amalekites to mean the same people which the Egyptian histories call Phœnician shepherds.[12] But after they had possessed the throne of Egypt for some descents, they were expelled by the natives, and at length totally destroyed by the Israelites.[13]

The present Arabians, according to their own historians are sprung from two stocks, Kahtân, the same with Joctan the son of Eber,[14] and Adnân descended in a direct line from Ismael the son of Abraham and Hagar, the posterity of the former they call al Arab al Ariba,[15] *i.e.*, the genuine or pure Arabs, and those of the latter al Arab al mostáreba, *i.e.*, naturalized or insititious Arabs, though some reckon the ancient lost tribes to have been the only pure Arabians, and therefore call the posterity of Kahtân also Mótareba, which word likewise signifies insititious Arabs, though in a nearer degree than Mostáreba; the descendants of Ismael being the more distant graff.

The posterity of Ismael have no claim to be admitted as pure Arabs, their ancestor being by origin and language an Hebrew, but having made an alliance with the Jorhamites, by marrying a daughter of Modad, and accustomed himself to their manner of living and language, his descendants became blended with them into one nation. The uncertainty of the descents between Ismael and Adnân is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they acknowledge as father of their tribes, the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted.[1]

The genealogy of these tribes being of great use to illustrate the Arabian history, I have taken the pains to form a genealogical table from their most approved authors, to which I refer the curious.

Besides these tribes of Arabs mentioned by their own authors, who were all descended from the race of Sem, others of them were the posterity of Ham by his son Cush, which name is in scripture constantly given to the Arabs and their country, though our version renders it Ethiopia, but strictly speaking, the Cushites did not inhabit Arabia properly so called, but the banks of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, whither they came from Chuzestân or Susiana, the original settlement of their father.[2] They might probably mix themselves in process of time with the Arabs of the other race, but the eastern writers take little or no notice of them.

The Arabians were for some centuries under the government of the descendants of Kâhtân; Yárab, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jorham, another of them, that of Hejâz.

The province of Yaman, or the better part of it, particularly the provinces of Saba and Hadramaut, was governed by princes of the tribe of Hamyar, though at length the kingdom was translated to the descendants of Cahlân, his brother, who yet retained the title of king of Hamyar, and had all of them the general title of Tobba, which signifies successor, and was affected to this race of princes, as that of

[11] Mirât Caināt. [12] Vide Joseph. cont. Apion. l. 1. [13] Vide Exod. xvii. 8, &c. 1 Sam. xv. 2, &c. ibid. xxvii. 8, 9. 1 Chron. iv. 43. [14] R. Saad. in vers. Arab. Pentat. Gen. x. 25. Some writers make Kahtân a descendant of Ismael, but against the current of oriental historians. See Poc. Spec. 39. [15] An expression something like that of St. Paul, who calls himself "an Hebrew of the Hebrews," Philip. iii. 5. [1] Poc. Spec. p. 40. [2] Vide Hyde Hist. Rel. veter. Persar. p. 37, &c.

Cæsar was to the Roman emperors, and Khalif to the successors of Mohammed. There were several lesser princes who reigned in other parts of Yaman, and were mostly, if not altogether, subject to the king of Hamyar, whom they called the great king, but of these history has recorded nothing remarkable or that may be depended upon.[1]

The first great calamity that befell the tribes settled in Yaman was the inundation of Aram, which happened soon after the time of Alexander the Great, and is famous in the Arabian history. No less than eight tribes were forced to abandon their dwellings upon this occasion, some of which gave rise to the two kingdoms of Ghassân and Hira. And this was probably the time of the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into Mesopotamia by three chiefs, Becr, Modar, and Rabîa, from whom the three provinces of that country are still named Diyar Becr, Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabîa.[2] Abdshems, surnamed Saba, having built the city from him called Saba, and afterwards Mareb, made a vast mound, or dam,[3] to serve as a basin or reservoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the use of the inhabitants, and watering their lands, but also to keep the country they had subjected in greater awe by being masters of the water. This building stood like a mountain above their city, and was by them esteemed so strong that they were in no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of the inhabitants had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water, distributed by aqueducts. But at length, God being highly displeased at their great pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city, with the neighbouring towns and people.[4]

The tribes which remained in Yaman after this terrible devastation still continued under the obedience of the former princes, till about seventy years before Mohammed, when the king of Ethiopia sent over forces to assist the Christians of Yaman against the cruel persecution of their king, Dhu Nowâs, a bigoted Jew, whom they drove to that extremity that he forced his horse into the sea, and so lost his life and crown,[5] after which the country was governed by four Ethiopian princes successively, till Seif, the son of Dhu Yazan, of the tribe of Hamyar, obtaining succours from Khosrû Anushirwân, king of Persia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne and drove out the Ethiopians, but was himself slain by some of them who were left behind. The Persians appointed the succeeding princes till Yaman fell into the hands of Mohammed, to whom Bazan, or rather Badhân, the last of them, submitted, and embraced this new religion.[1]

This kingdom of the Hamyarites is said to have lasted 2,020 years,[2] or as others say above 3,000,[3] the length of the reign of each prince being very uncertain.

It has been already observed that two kingdoms were founded by those who left their country on occasion of the inundation of Aram:

[1] Poc. Spec. p. 65, 66. [2] Vide Gol. ad Alfrag. p. 232. [3] Poc. Spec. p. 57. [4] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 52. [5] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 61. [1] Poc. Spec. p. 63, 64. [2] Abulfeda. [3] Al Jannâbi and Ahmed Ebn Yusef.

they were both out of the proper limits of Arabia. One of them was the kingdom of Ghassân. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of Azd, who, settling in Syria Damascena near a water called Ghassân, thence took their name, and drove out the Dajaamian Arabs of the tribe of Salîh, who before possessed the country,[4] where they maintained their kingdom 400 years, as others say 600, or as Abulfeda more exactly computes, 616. Five of these princes were named Hâreth, which the Greeks write Aretas and one of them it was whose governor ordered the gates of Damascus to be watched to take St. Paul.[5] This tribe were Christians, their last king being Jabalah the son of al Ayham, who on the Arabs' successes in Syria professed Mohammedism under the Khalif Omar; but receiving a disgust from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to Constantinople.[6]

The other kingdom was that of Hira, which was founded by Malec, of the descendants of Cahlân[7] in Chaldea or Irak, but after three descents the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians, called also the Mondars (the general name of those princes), who preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till the Khalifat of Abubecr, when al Mondar al Maghrur, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walîd. This kingdom lasted 622 years eight months.[8] Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Persia, whose lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irâk, as the kings of Ghassân were for the Roman emperors over those of Syria.[9]

Jorham the son of Kahtân reigned in Hejâz, where his posterity kept the throne till the time of Ismael, but on his marrying the daughter of Modad, by whom he had twelve sons, Kidar, one of them had the crown resigned to him by his uncles the Jorhamites,[1] though others say the descendants of Ismael expelled that tribe, who retiring to Johainah, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation.[2]

Of the kings of Hamyar, Hira, Ghassân, and Jorham, Dr Pocock has given us catalogues tolerably exact, to which I refer the curious.[3]

After the expulsion of the Jorhamites, the government of Hejâz seems not to have continued for many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes, almost in the same manner as the Arabs of the desert are governed at this day. At Mecca an aristocracy prevailed, where the chief management of affairs till the time of Mohammed was in the tribe of Koreish, especially after they had gotten the custody of the Caaba from the tribe of Khozâah.[4]

Besides the kingdoms which have been taken notice of, there were some other tribes which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed states of lesser note, particularly the tribe of Kenda [5] but as I am not writing a just history of the Arabs, and an account of them would be of no great use to my present purpose, I shall waive any further mention of them.

After the time of Mohammed, Arabia was for about three centuries under the Khalifs his successors But in the year 325 of the Hejra,

[4] Poc Spec p 76 [5] 2 Cor. xi 32, Acts ix 24 [6] Vide Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol i p 174. [7] Poc. Spec p 66. [8] Ibid p 74 [9] Ibid and Procop in Pers. apud Photium. p 71, &c [1] Poc. Spec p. 45 [2] Ibid p 79 [3] Ibid p 55, seq [4] Vide ibid. p. 41, and Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p [illegible]. [5] Vide Poc Spec p. 79, &c.

great part of that country was in the hands of the Karmatians,[6] a new sect who had committed great outrages and disorders even in Mecca, and to whom the Khalifs were obliged to pay tribute, that the pilgrimage thither might be performed of this sect I may have occasion to speak in another place Afterwards Yaman was governed by the house of Thabateba, descended from Ali the son in law of Mohammed, whose sovereignty in Arabia some place so high as the time of Charlemagne. However, it was the posterity of Ali, or pretenders to be such, who reigned in Yaman and Egypt so early as the tenth century The present reigning family in Yaman is probably that of Ayub, a branch of which reigned there in the thirteenth century, and took the title of Khalif and Imam which they still retain[7] They are not possessed of the whole province of Yaman,[8] there being several other independent kingdoms there particularly that of Fartach The crown of Yaman descends not regularly from father to son, but the prince of the blood royal who is most in favour with the great ones, or has the strongest interest generally succeeds

The governors of Mecca and Medina, who have always been of the race of Mohammed also threw off their subjection to the Khalifs since which time four principal families all descended from Hassan the son of Ali, have reigned there under the title of Sharif which signifies *noble* as they reckon themselves to be on account of their descent These are Banu Kader Banu Musa Thani Banu Hashem, and Banu Kitada which last family now is, or lately was, in the throne of Mecca, where they have reigned above 500 years The reigning family at Medina are the Banu Hashem who also reigned at Mecca before those of Kitada[2]

The kings of Yaman as well as the princes of Mecca and Medina, are absolutely independent[3] and not at all subject to the Turk as some late authors have imagined[4] These princes often making cruel wars among themselves gave an opportunity to Selim I and his son Solimân to make themselves masters of the coasts of Arabia on the Red Sea, and of part of Yaman by means of a fleet built at Sues but their successors have not been able to maintain their conquests for, except the port of Jodda where they have a Bashaw whose authority is very small they possess nothing considerable in Arabia[5]

Thus have the Arabs preserved their liberty, of which few nations can produce so ancient monuments, with very little interruption, from the very Deluge for though very great armies have been sent against them all attempts to subdue them were unsuccessful The Assyrian or Median empires never got footing among them[6] The Persian monarchs, though they were their friends and so far respected by them as to have an annual present of frankincense yet could never make them tributary[7] and were so far from being their masters, that Cambyses, on his expedition against Egypt was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories[8] and when Alexander had subdued that mighty empire, yet the Arabians had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of

[6] Vide Elmacin in vita al Râdi [7] Voyage de l'Arab heur p 255 [8] Ibid 153 273. [9] Ibid 254 [1] Ibid 143 [2] Ibid 147. [3] Ibid 143 148 [4] Vide D'Herbel Bibl. Orient. p 477 [5] Voy de l'Arab heur p 148 [6] Diodor Sic l. 2, p 131 [7] Herodot. l 3, c 97 [8] Idem ib c 91 Diodor ubi sup [9] Herodot l 3, c 8 and 98.

to the Sabian Kebla or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ one will have it to be the north,[2] another the south a third Mecca, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions [3] and perhaps there may be some variety in their practice in this respect They go on pilgrimage to a place near the city of Harran in Mesopotamia where great numbers of them dwell and they have also a great respect for the temple of Mecca, and the pyramids of Egypt [4] fancying these last to be the sepulchres of Seth, and of Enoch and Sabi his two sons whom they look on as the first propagators of their religion, at these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense [5] Besides the book of Psalms, the only true scripture they read they have other books which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in the Chaldee tongue which they call the book of Seth and is full of moral discourses This sect say they took the name of Sabians from the above mentioned Sabi though it seems rather to be derived from צבא *Saba* [6] or the *host of heaven* which they worship [7] Travellers commonly call them Christians of St John the Baptist, whose disciples also they pretend to be using a kind of baptism which is the greatest mark they bear of Christianity This is one of the religions the practice of which Mohammed tolerated (on paying tribute), and the professors of it are often included in that expression of the Koran, those to whom the scriptures have been given or literally *the people of the book*

The idolatry of the Arabs then as Sabians chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets and the angels and their images which they honoured as inferior deities and whose intercession they begged as their mediators with GOD For the Arabs acknowledged one supreme GOD the Creator and LORD of the universe whom they called Allah Taala the most high GOD and their other deities, who were subordinate to him they called simply al Ilahat *i e*, the goddesses which words the Grecians not understanding and it being their constant custom to resolve the religion of every other nation into their own and find out gods of theirs to match the others they pretend that the Arabs worshipped only two deities Orotalt and Alilat as those names are corruptly written whom they will have to be the same with Bacchus and Urania pitching on the former as one of the greatest of their own gods and educated in Arabia and on the other, because of the veneration shown by the Arabs to the stars [1]

That they acknowledged one supreme GOD appears to omit other proof from their usual form of addressing themselves to him, which was this I dedicate myself to thy service O GOD Thou hast no companion except thy companion of whom thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his [2] So that they supposed the idols not to be *sui juris* though they offered sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to GOD who was also often put off with the least portion as Mohammed upbraids them Thus when they planted fruit trees, or sowed a field they divided it by a line into two parts, setting one apart

[2] Idem ibid [3] Hyde ubi supr p 4 &c [4] D'Herbel ubi supr [5] See Greaves Pyramidogr p 6 7 [6] Vide Poc Spec p 138 [7] Thabet Ebn Korrah a famous astronomer and himself a Sabian wrote a treatise in Syriac concerning the doctrines rites and ceremonies of this sect from which if it could be recovered we might expect much better information than any taken from the Arabian writers vide Abulfarag, ubi sup [1] Vide Herodot. l. 3 c. 8 Arrian p 161 162 and Strab l 16. [2] Al Shahrestani.

for their idols, and the other for GOD; if any of the fruits happened to fall from the idol's part into GOD'S, they made restitution, but if from GOD'S part into the idol's, they made no restitution. So when they watered the idol's grounds, if the water broke over the channels made for that purpose, and ran on GOD'S part, they dammed it up again; but if the contrary, they let it run on, saying, they wanted what was GOD'S, but he wanted nothing.[3] In the same manner, if the offering designed for GOD happened to be better than that designed for the idol, they made an exchange, but not otherwise.[4]

It was from this gross idolatry, or the worship of inferior deities, or companions of GOD, as the Arabs continue to call them, that Mohammed reclaimed his countrymen, establishing the sole worship of the true GOD among them; so that how much soever the Mohammedans are to blame in other points, they are far from being idolaters, as some ignorant writers have pretended.

The worship of the stars the Arabs might easily be led into, from their observing the changes of weather to happen at the rising and setting of certain of them,[5] which after a long course of experience induced them to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and to think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country: this superstition the Korân particularly takes notice of.[1]

The ancient Arabians and Indians, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets; one of which in particular, called Beit Ghomdân, was built in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of al Zoharah or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the Khalif Othman;[2] by whose murder was fulfilled the prophetical inscription set, as is reported, over this temple, viz., "Ghomdân, he who destroyeth thee shall be slain."[3] The temple of Mecca is also said to have been consecrated to Zohal, or Saturn.[4]

Though these deities were generally reverenced by the whole nation, yet each tribe chose some one as the more peculiar object of their worship.

Thus as to the stars and planets, the tribe of Hamyar chiefly worshipped the sun; Misam, al Debarân, or the Bull's-eye; Lakhm and Jodâm, al Moshtari, or Jupiter; Tay, Sohail, or Canopus; Kais, Sirius, or the Dog-star; and Asad, Otâred, or Mercury.[6] Among the worshippers of Sirius, one Abu Cabsha was very famous; some will have him to be the same with Waheb, Mohammed's grandfather by the mother, but others say he was of the tribe of Khozâah. This man used his utmost endeavours to persuade the Koreish to leave their images and worship this star; for which reason Mohammed, who endeavoured also to make them leave their images, was by them nicknamed the son of Abu Cabsha.[7] The worship of this star is particularly hinted at in the Korân.[8]

Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, the Korân[9] makes mention only of three, which were worshipped under female names;[10] Allat, al Uzza, and Manah. These were by them called

[3] Nodhm al dorr. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Vide Post. [1] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 163. [2] Shahrestani. [3] Al Jannâbi. [4] Shahrestani. [5] This name seems to be corrupted, there being no such among the Arab tribes. Poc. Spec. p. 130. [6] Abulfarag, p. 160. [7] Poc. Spec. p. 132. [8] Cap. 53. [9] Ibid. [10] Ibid.

goddesses, and the daughters of GOD, an appellation they gave not only to the angels, but also to their images, which they either believed to be inspired with life by GOD, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them, and they gave them divine worship, because they imagined they interceded for them with GOD.

Allât was the idol of the tribe of Thakîf who dwelt at Tayef, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called Nakhlah. This idol al Mogheirah destroyed by Mohammed's order, who sent him and Abu Sofiân on that commission in the ninth year of the Hejra.[1] The inhabitants of Tayef, especially the women, bitterly lamented the loss of this their deity, which they were so fond of, that they begged of Mohammed as a condition of peace, that it might not be destroyed for three years, and not obtaining that, asked only a month's respite, but he absolutely denied it.[2] There are several derivations of this word which the curious may learn from Dr Pocock.[3] It seems most probably to be derived from the same root with *Allah*, to which it may be a feminine, and will then signify *the goddess*.

Al Uzza, as some affirm, was the idol of the tribes of Koreish and Kenânah,[4] and part of the tribe of Salim.[5] others[6] tell us it was a tree called the Egyptian thorn or acacia, worshipped by the tribe of Ghatfan, first consecrated by one Dhâlem, who built a chapel over it, called Boss, so contrived as to give a sound when any person entered. Khâled Ebn Walid being sent by Mohammed in the eighth year of the Hejra to destroy this idol demolished the chapel, and cutting down this tree or image, burnt it. he also slew the priestess, who ran out with her hair dishevelled, and her hands on her head as a suppliant. Yet the author who relates this, in another place says, the chapel was pulled down, and Dhâlem himself killed by one Zohair, because he consecrated this chapel with design to draw the pilgrims thither from Mecca, and lessen the reputation of the Caaba. The name of this deity is derived from the root *azza*, and signifies *the most mighty*.

Manah was the object of worship of the tribes of Hodhail and Khozâah,[7] who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as some say,[8] of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakif also. This idol was a large stone,[9] demolished by one Saad, in the eighth year of the Hejra, a year so fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name seems derived from *mana*, *to flow*, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity, whence the valley of Mina,[10] near Mecca, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices.[1]

Before we proceed to the other idols, let us take notice of five more, which with the former three are all the Korân mentions by name, and they are Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yaûk, and Nasr. These are said to have been antediluvian idols, which Noah preached against, and were afterwards taken by the Arabs for gods, having been men of great merit and piety in their time whose [illegible] they reverenced at first with a

[1] Dr. Prideaux mentions this expedition, but [illegible] only Abu Sofiân, and mistaking the name of the idol for an appellative, [illegible] only to [illegible] the Tayefians of their weapons and instruments of war. See [illegible] Mahomet, p. 98. [2] Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 127. [3] Spec. p. 90. [4] Al [illegible] [5] Al Shahrestani, ibid. [6] Al Firauzabâdi, ibid. [7] Al [illegible] [8] [illegible] Abulfeda, &c. [9] Al Beidâwi, al Zamakhshari. [10] Poc. Spec. p. [illegible]

civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship.[2]

Wadd was supposed to be the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb in Daumat al Jandal.[3]

Sawâ was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of Hamadan, or, as others[4] write, of Hodhail in Rohat. This idol lying under water for some time after the Deluge, was at length, it is said, discovered by the devil, and was worshipped by those of Hodhail, who instituted pilgrimages to it.[5]

Yaghûth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Madhaj and others who dwelt in Yaman.[6] Its name seems to be derived from *ghatha*, which signifies *to help*.

Yaûk was worshipped by the tribe of Morâd, or, according to others, by that of Hamadan,[7] under the figure of a horse. It is said he was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and seven others of extraordinary merit had the same honours shown them, till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest.[8] The name Yaûk probably comes from the verb *âka*, *to prevent* or *avert*.[9]

Nasr was a deity adored by the tribe of Hamyar, or at Dhû'l Khalaah in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies.

There are, or were, two statues at Bamiyan, a city of Cabul in the Indies, 50 cubits high, which some writers suppose to be the same with Yaghûth and Yaûk, or else with Manah and Allât; and they also speak of a third standing near the others, but something less, in the shape of an old woman, called Nesrem or Nesr. These statues were hollow within, for the secret giving of oracles;[10] but they seem to have been different from the Arabian idols. There was also an idol at Sûmenat in the Indies, called Lât or al Lât, whose statue was 50 fathoms high, of a single stone, and placed in the midst of a temple supported by 56 pillars of massy gold: this idol Mahmûd Ibn Sebecteghîn, who conquered that part of India, broke to pieces with his own hands.[1]

Besides the idols we have mentioned, the Arabs also worshipped great numbers of others, which would take up too much time to have distinct accounts given of them; and not being named in the Korân, are not so much to our present purpose: for besides that every housekeeper had his household god or gods, which he last took leave of and first saluted at his going abroad and returning home,[2] there were no less than 360 idols,[3] equalling in number the days of their year, in and about the Caaba of Mecca; the chief of whom was Hobal,[4] brought from Belka in Syria into Arabia by Amru Ebn Lohai, pretending it would procure them rain when they wanted it.[5] It was the statue of a man, made of agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the

[2] Kor. c. 71. Comment. Persic. Vide Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 133. [3] Al Jauhari, al Shahrestani. [4] Idem, al Firauzabâdi, and Safiuddin. [5] Al Firauzab. [6] Shahrestani. [7] Al Jauhari. [8] Al Firauzab. [9] Poc. Spec. 94. [10] See Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 132. [1] D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 512. [2] Al Mostatraf. [3] Al Jannabi. [4] Abulfed. Shahrest. &c. [5] Poc. Spec. 95.

Koreish repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used in divination.[6] This idol is supposed to have been the same with the image of Abraham,[7] found and destroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he took Mecca,[8] and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as some say, was Ismael, with divining arrows in his hand also.[9]

Asâf and Nayelah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed the one on Mount Safâ, and the other on Mount Merwa. They tell us Asâf was the son of Amru, and Nayelah the daughter of Sahâl, both of the tribe of Jorham, who committing whoredom together in the Caaba, were by GOD converted into stone,[10] and afterwards worshipped by the Koreish, and so much reverenced by them, that though this superstition was condemned by Mohammed, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of divine justice.[11]

I shall mention but one idol more of this nation, and that was a lump of dough worshipped by the tribe of Hanîfa, who used it with more respect than the Papists do theirs, presuming not to eat it till they were compelled to it by famine.[12]

Several of their idols, as Manah in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of Ismael first introduced; for as they multiplied, and the territory of Mecca grew too strait for them, great numbers were obliged to seek new abodes; and on such migrations it was usual for them to take with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land, and set them up in the places where they fixed, and these stones they at first only compassed out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the Caaba. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the Ismaelites forgetting the religion left them by their father so far as to pay divine worship to any fine stone they met with.[1]

Some of the pagan Arabs believed neither a creation past, nor a resurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their dissolution to age. Others believed both, among whom were those who, when they died, had their camel tied by their sepulchre, and so left, without meat or drink, to perish, and accompany them to the other world, lest they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very scandalous.[2] Some believed a metempsychosis, and that of the blood near the dead person's brain was formed a bird named Hâmah, which once in a hundred years visited the sepulchre; though others say this bird is animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries, *Oscûni, Oscûni, i.e.*, "give me to drink"—meaning of the murderer's blood—till his death be revenged, and then it flies away. This was forbidden by the Korân to be believed.[3]

I might here mention several superstitious rites and customs of the ancient Arabs, some of which were abolished and others retained by Mohammed; but I apprehend it will be more convenient to take notice

[6] Safiu'ddin. [7] Poc. Spec. 97. [8] Abulfeda. [9] Ebn al Athir, al Jannab, &c. [10] Poc. Spec. 98. [11] Kor. c. 2. [12] Al Mostatraf, al Jauhari. [1] Al Mostatraf, al Jannâbi. [2] Abulfarag, p. 160. [3] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 135.

of them hereafter occasionally, as the negative or positive precepts of the Korân, forbidding or allowing such practices, shall be considered.

Let us now turn our view from the idolatrous Arabs, to those among them who had embraced more rational religions.

The Persians had, by their vicinity and frequent intercourse with the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes particularly that of Tamim,[4] a long time before Mohammed, who was so far from being unacquainted with that religion, that he borrowed many of his own institutions from it, as will be observed in the progress of this work. I refer those who are desirous to have some notion of Magism, to Dr. Hyde's curious account of it,[5] a succinct abridgment of which may be read with much pleasure in another learned performance.[6]

The Jews, who fled in great numbers into Arabia from the fearful destruction of their country by the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes, those of Kenânah, al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kendah[1] in particular, and in time became very powerful, and possessed of several towns and fortresses there. But the Jewish religion was not unknown to the Arabs, at least above a century before. Abu Carb Asad, taken notice of in the Korân,[2] who was king of Yaman, about 700 years before Mohammed, is said to have introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Hamyarites. Some of his successors also embraced the same religion, one of whom, Yusef, surnamed Dhu Nowâs,[3] was remarkable for his zeal and terrible persecution of all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the Lord of the Pit. This persecution is also mentioned in the Korân.[4]

Christianity had likewise made a very great progress among this nation before Mohammed. Whether St. Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly so called,[5] is uncertain; but the persecutions and disorders which happened in the eastern church soon after the beginning of the third century, obliged great numbers of Christians to seek for shelter in that country of liberty, who, being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs.[6] The principal tribes that embraced Christianity were Hamyar, Ghassân, Rabîá, Taghlab, Bahrâ, Tonûch,[7] part of the tribes of Tay and Kodâa, the inhabitants of Najrân, and the Arabs of Hira.[8] As to the two last, it may be observed that those of Najrân became Christians in the time of Dhu Nowâs,[9] and very probably, if the story be true, were some of those who were converted on the following occasion, which happened about that time, or not long before. The Jews of Hamyar challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation, which was held *sub dio* for three days before the king and his nobility and all the people, the disputants being Gregentius, bishop, of Tephra (which I take to be Dhafâr) for the Christians, and Herbanus for the Jews. On the third day, Herbanus, to end the dispute, de-

[4] Al Mostatraf. [5] In his Hist. Relig. Vet. Persar. [6] Dr. Prideaux's Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. part i. book 4. [1] Al Mostatraf. [2] Chap. 50. [3] See before, p. 8, and Baronii annal. ad sec. vi. [4] Chap. 85. [5] See Galat. i. 17. [6] Abulfar. p. [illegible] [7] Al Mostatraf. [8] Vid. Poc. Spec. p. 137. [9] Al Jannab. apud Poc. Spec. p. 63.

manded that Jesus of Nazareth, if he were really living and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshippers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe in him, the Jews crying out with one voice, "Show us your Christ, alas! and we will become Christians." Whereupon, after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, Jesus Christ appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in his hand, and an inestimable diadem on his head, and spake these words over the heads of the assembly "Behold I appear to you in your sight, I, who was crucified by your fathers" After which the cloud received him from their sight The Christians cried out, "*Kyrie eleeson*," *i.e.*, "Lord, have mercy upon us," but the Jews were stricken blind, and recovered not till they were all baptized.[1]

The Christians at Hira received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of Dhu Nowâs. Al Nooman, surnamed Abu Kabûs, king of Hira, who was slain a few months before Mohammed's birth, professed himself a Christian on the following occasion This prince, in a drunken fit, ordered two of his intimate companions, who overcome with liquor had fallen asleep, to be buried alive When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done, and to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the unfortunate, and the other the fortunate day; making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day should be slain and his blood sprinkled on the monument, but he that met him on the other day should be dismissed in safety, with magnificent gifts On one of those unfortunate days there came before him accidentally an Arab, of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king, when fatigued with hunting, and separated from his attendants The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the Arabians religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts for the support of his family, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the Arab was discharged When the last day of the term came, and no news of the Arab, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to prepare himself to die. Those who were by represented to the king that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening: but in the middle of their discourse the Arab appeared. The king admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him what was his motive for his so doing? to which he answered, that he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed; and al Nooman demanding what religion that was, he replied, the Christian. Whereupon the king desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, was baptized, he and his subjects; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but

[1] Vide Gregentii disput cum Herbano Judæo

abolished his barbarous custom[1] This prince, however, was not the first king of Hira who embraced Christianity, al Mondar, his grandfather, having also professed the same faith, and built large churches in his capital.[2]

Since Christianity had made so great a progress in Arabia, we may consequently suppose they had bishops in several parts, for the more orderly governing of the churches A bishop of *Dhafar* has been already named, and we are told that Najran was also a bishop's see.[3] The Jacobites (of which sect we have observed the Arabs generally were) had two bishops of the Arabs subject to their Mafrián or metropolitan of the east, one was called the bishop of the Arabs absolutely, whose seat was for the most part at Akula, which some others make the same with Cûfa,[4] others a different town near Baghdâd[5] The other had the title of bishop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of Thaalab in *Hira*, or *Hirta*, as the Syrians call it, whose seat was in that city. The Nestorians had but one bishop, who presided over both these dioceses of Hira and Akula, and was immediately subject to their patriarch[6]

These were the principal religions which obtained among the ancient Arabs; but as freedom of thought was the natural consequence of their political liberty and independence, some of them fell into other different opinions. The Koreish, in particular, were infected with Zendicism,[7] an error supposed to have very near affinity with that of the Sadducees among the Jews, and, perhaps, not greatly different from Deism for there were several of that tribe even before the time of Mohammed who worshipped one God, and were free from idolatry,[8] and yet embraced none of the other religions of the country

The Arabians before Mohammed were, as they yet are, divided into two sorts, those who dwell in cities and towns and those who dwell in tents. The former lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades,[1] particularly merchandising, wherein they were very eminent even in the time of Jacob The tribe of Koreish were much addicted to commerce, and Mohammed, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business, it being customary for the Arabians to exercise the same trade that their parents did[2] The Arabs who dwelt in tents, employed themselves in pasturage, and sometimes in pillaging of passengers; they lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels; they often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water and of pasture for their cattle invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing in search of other[4] They generally wintered in Irâk and the confines of Syria. This way of life is what the greater part of Ismael's posterity have used as more agreeable to the temper and way of life of their father; and is so well described by a late author,[5] that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his account of them.

[1] Al Meidani and Ahmed Ebn Yusef, apud Poc Spec p 72 [2] Abulfeda ap. eund p 74 [3] Safio'ddin apud Poc Spec p 137 [4] Abulfarag in Chron. Syriac. MS [5] Abulfeda in descr Iracae [6] Vide Asseman Bibl Orient T 2 in Dissert de Monophysitis, and p 459 [7] Al Mostatraf, apud Poc Spec p 136 [8] Vide Reland de Relig Moham p 270 and Milium de Mohammedismo ante Moham p 311 [1] These seem to be the same whom M La Roque calls Moors Voy. dans la Palestine, p 110 [2] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p 6 [3] Strabo, l 16, p 1129. [4] Idem ibid. p. 1084 [5] La Roque, Voy dans la Palestine, p 109, &c

The Arabic language is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in the world, and arose soon after, if not at, the confusion of Babel. There were several dialects of it, very different from each other: the most remarkable were that spoken by the tribes of Hamyar and the other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreish. The Hamyaritic seems to have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac, than the dialect of any other tribe; for the Arabs acknowledge their father Yarab to have been the first whose tongue deviated from the Syriac (which was his mother tongue, and is almost generally acknowledged by the Asiatics to be the most ancient) to the Arabic. The dialect of the Koreish is usually termed the pure Arabic, or, as the Korân, which is written in this dialect, calls it, the perspicuous and clear Arabic; perhaps, says Dr. Pocock, because Ismael, their father, brought the Arabic he had learned of the Jorhamites nearer to the original Hebrew. But the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the Koreish, is rather to be attributed to their having the custody of the Caaba, and dwelling in Mecca, the centre of Arabia, as well more remote from intercourse with foreigners, who might corrupt their language, as frequented by the Arabs from the country all around, not only on a religious account, but also for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses they took whatever words or phrases they judged more pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The Arabians are full of the commendations of their language, and not altogether without reason, for it claims the preference of most others in many respects, as being very harmonious and expressive, and withal so copious, that they say no man without inspiration can be perfect master of it in its utmost extent; and yet they tell us, at the same time, that the greatest part of it has been lost; which will not be thought strange, if we consider how late the art of writing was practised among them. For though it was known to Job,[1] their countryman, and also to the Hamyarites (who used a perplexed character called al Mosnad, wherein the letters were not distinctly separate, and which was neither publicly taught, nor suffered to be used without permission first obtained) many centuries before Mohammed, as appears from some ancient monuments, said to be remaining in their character; yet the other Arabs, and those of Mecca in particular, were, for many ages, perfectly ignorant of it, unless such of them as were Jews or Christians.[2] Morâmer Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irâk, who lived not many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the Arabic character, which Bashar the Kendian is said to have learned from those of Anbar, and to have introduced at Mecca but a little while before the institution of Mohammedism. These letters of Morâmer were different from the Hamyaritic; and though they were very rude, being either the same with, or very much like the Cufic,[3] which character is still found in inscriptions and some ancient books, yet they were those which the Arabs used for many years, the Korân itself being at first written therein; for the beautiful character they now use was first formed from the Cufic by Ebn Moklah, Wazir (or Visir) to the Khalîfs al Moktader, al Kâher, and al Râdi, who lived

[1] Job xix. 23, 24. [2] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 29, 30. [3] A specimen of the Cufic character may be seen in Sir J. Chardin's Travels, vol. iii. p. 119.

about three hundred years after Mohammed, and was brought to great perfection by Ali Ebn Bowâb,[4] who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them on that account; yet, it is said, the person who completed it, and reduced it to its present form, was Yakût al Mostásemi, secretary to al Mostásem, the last of the Khalifs of the family of Abbâs, for which reason he was surnamed al Khattât, or the Scribe.

The accomplishments the Arabs valued themselves chiefly on, were, 1. Eloquence, and a perfect skill in their own tongue; 2. Expertness in the use of arms, and horsemanship; and 3. Hospitality.[1] The first they exercised themselves in, by composing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two sorts, metrical, or prosaic, the one being compared to pearls strung, and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able, in an assembly, to persuade the people to a great enterprise, or dissuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of Khâteb, or orator, which is now given to the Mohammedan preachers. They pursued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators; their sentences being like loose gems, without connection, so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings; and so persuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of speaking in public, except themselves and the Persians, which last were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the Arabians.[2] Poetry was in so great esteem among them, that it was a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance, on any extraordinary occurrence; and even in their common discourse they made frequent applications to celebrated passages of their famous poets. In their poems were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, and the propriety of their language; for which reasons an excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, so that as soon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion, and themselves made entertainments, at which the women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing to the sound of timbrels the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity;[3] for this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge and instructions, moral and œconomical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences.[1] No wonder, then, that a public congratulation was made on this account, which honour they yet were so far from making cheap, that they never did it but on one of these three occasions, which were reckoned great points of felicity, viz., on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the

[4] Ebn Khalecân. Yet others attribute the honour of the invention of this character to Ebn Moklah's brother, Abdallah al Hasan and the perfecting of it to Ebn Amid al Kâteb, after it had been reduced to near the present form by Abd'alhamid. Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 590, 108, and 194. [1] Poc. Orat. ante Carmen Tograi, p. 10. [2] Poc. Spec. 161. [3] Ebn Rashik, apud Poc. Spec. 160. [4] Poc. Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograi, ubi supra.

fall of a foal of generous breed. To keep up an emulation among their poets, the tribes had, once a year, a general assembly at Ocadh,[2] a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday.[3] This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vieing with each other for the prize, whence the place, it is said, took its name.[4] The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their kings' treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called al Moallakât, rather than from their being hung up on the Caaba, which honour they also had by public order, being written on Egyptian silk, and in letters of gold, for which reason they had also the name of al Modhahabât, or the golden verses.[5]

The fair and assembly at Ocadh were suppressed by Mohammed, in whose time, and for some years after, poetry seems to have been in some degree neglected by the Arabs, who were then employed in their conquests, which being completed, and themselves at peace, not only this study was revived,[6] but almost all sorts of learning were encouraged and greatly improved by them. This interruption, however, occasioned the loss of most of their ancient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory; the use of writing being rare among them, in their time of ignorance.[7] Though the Arabs were so early acquainted with poetry, they did not at first use to write poems of a just length, but only expressed themselves in verse occasionally; nor was their prosody digested into rules, till some time after Mohammed;[8] for this was done, as it is said, by al Khalil Ahmed al Farâhidi, who lived in the reign of the Khalif Harûn al Rashîd.[9]

The exercise of arms and horsemanship they were in a manner obliged to practise and encourage, by reason of the independence of their tribes, whose frequent jarrings made wars almost continual; and they chiefly ended their disputes in field battles, it being a usual saying among them that GOD had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs —that their turbans should be to them instead of diadems, their tents instead of walls and houses, their swords instead of entrenchments, and their poems instead of written laws.[1]

Hospitality was so habitual to them, and so much esteemed, that the examples of this kind among them exceed whatever can be produced from other nations. Hatem, of the tribe of Tay,[2] and Hasn, of that of Fezârah,[3] were particularly famous on this account; and the contrary vice was so much in contempt, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Waset, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny.[4]

[2] Idem, Spec p 159. [3] Geogr Nub p [illegible]. [4] Poc Spec 159. [5] Ibid, and p 381 Et in calce Notar in Carmen Tograi, p 23. [6] Jallalo'ddin al Soyûti, apud Poc. Spec p 159, &c. [7] Ibid 160. [8] Ibid 161. Al Safadi confirms this by a story of a grammarian named Abu Jaafar, who sitting by the Mikyas or Nilometer in Egypt, in a year when the Nile did not rise to its usual height, so that a famine was apprehended, and dividing a piece of poetry into its parts or feet, to examine them by the rules of art, some who passed by not understanding him imagined he was uttering a charm to hinder the rise of the river, and pushed him into the water, where he lost his life. [9] Vide Clericum de Prosod Arab p 2. [1] Pocock, in calce Notar ad Carmen Tograi. [2] Vide Gentii Notas in Gulistan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c. [3] Poc. Spec. p. 48. [4] Ebn al Hobeirah, apud Poc in not ad Carmen Tograi, p 107.

Nor were the Arabs less propense to liberality after the coming of Mohammed than their ancestors had been. I could produce many remarkable instances of this commendable quality among them,[5] but shall content myself with the following. Three men were disputing in the court of the Caaba, which was the most liberal person among the Arabs. One gave the preference to Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, the uncle of Mohammed; another to Kais Ebn Saad Ebn Obâdah, and the third gave it to Arâbah, of the tribe of Aws. After much debate, one that was present, to end the dispute, proposed that each of them should go to his friend and ask his assistance, that they might see what every one gave, and form a judgment accordingly. This was agreed to, and Abdallah's friend, going to him, found him with his foot in the stirrup, just mounting his camel for a journey, and thus accosted him: "Son of the uncle of the apostle of GOD, I am travelling and in necessity." Upon which Abdallah alighted, and bid him take the camel with all that was upon her, but desired him not to part with a sword which happened to be fixed to the saddle, because it had belonged to Ali, the son of Abutâleb. So he took the camel, and found on her some vests of silk and 4,000 pieces of gold; but the thing of greatest value was the sword. The second went to Kais Ebn Saad, whose servant told him that his master was asleep, and desired to know his business. The friend answered that he came to ask Kais's assistance, being in want on the road. Whereupon the servant said that he had rather supply his necessity than wake his master, and gave him a purse of 7,000 pieces of gold, assuring him that it was all the money then in the house. He also directed him to go to those who had the charge of the camels, with a certain token, and take a camel and a slave, and return home with them. When Kais awoke, and his servant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his freedom, and asked him why he did not call him, "For," says he, "I would have given him more." The third man went to Arâbah, and met him coming out of his house in order to go to prayers, and leaning on two slaves, because his eyesight failed him. The friend no sooner made known his case, but Arâbah let go the slaves, and clapping his hands together, loudly lamented his misfortune in having no money, but desired him to take the two slaves, which the man refused to do, till Arâbah protested that if he would not accept of them he gave them their liberty, and leaving the slaves, groped his way along by the wall. On the return of the adventurers, judgment was unanimously, and with great justice, given by all who were present, that Arâbah was the most generous of the three.

Nor were these the only good qualities of the Arabs; they are commended by the ancients for being most exact to their words,[1] and respectful to their kindred.[2] And they have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension and penetration, and the vivacity of their wit, especially those of the desert.[3]

As the Arabs have their excellencies, so have they, like other nations, their defects and vices. Their own writers acknowledge that they have

[5] Several may be found in D'Herbelot's Bibl. Orient., particularly in the articles of Hasan the son of Ali, Maan, Fadhel, and Ebn Yahya. [1] Herodot. l. 3, c. 8. [2] Strabo, l. 16, p. 1129. [3] Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 121.

a natural disposition to war, bloodshed, cruelty, and rapine, being so much addicted to bear malice that they scarce ever forget an old grudge, which vindictive temper some physicians say is occasioned by their frequent feeding on camels' flesh (the ordinary diet of the Arabs of the desert, who are therefore observed to be most inclined to these vices), that creature being most malicious and tenacious of anger,[4] which account suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats.

The frequent robberies committed by these people on merchants and travellers have rendered the name of an Arab almost infamous in Europe; this they are sensible of, and endeavour to excuse themselves by alleging the hard usage of their father Ismael, who, being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by GOD for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there, and on this account they think they may, with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on everybody else, always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder And in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and instead of "I robbed a man of such or such a thing," to say, "I gained it."[1] We must not, however, imagine that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they receive as friends, on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where everything is open and nothing ever known to be stolen.[2]

The sciences the Arabians chiefly cultivated before Mohammedism, were three; that of their genealogies and history, such a knowledge of the stars as to foretell the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams.[3] They used to value themselves excessively on account of the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that occasion, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in settling their descents. What knowledge they had of the stars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular study, or astronomical rules.[4] The Arabians, as the Indians also did, chiefly applied themselves to observe the fixed stars contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the planets, and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature, and hence, as has been said, arose the difference of the idolatry of the Greeks and Chaldeans, who chiefly worshipped the planets, and that of the Indians, who worshipped the fixed stars. The stars or asterisms they most usually foretold the weather by, were those they called Anwâ, or the houses of the moon. These are 28 in number, and divide the zodiac into as many parts, through one of which the moon passes every night,[5] as some of them set in the morning, others rise opposite to them, which happens every thirteenth night, and from their rising and setting, the Arabs, by long experience, observed what changes happened in the air, and at length, as has been said, came to ascribe divine power to them; saying, that their rain was from such or such a star: which expression Mohammed condemned, and absolutely forbade them to use it in the old sense;

[4] Vide Poc Spec p 87, Bochart, Hierozoic l 2, c. 1.
[1] Voyage dans la Palest. p. 220, &c.
[2] Ibid. p. 213, &c
[3] Al Shahrestani, apud Pocock Orat. ubi sup p. 9, and Spec 164.
[4] Abulfarag, p 161
[5] Vide Hyde, in not. ad Tabulas stellar. fixar. Ulugh Beigh, p. 5.

unless they meant no more by it, than that GOD had so ordered the seasons, that when the moon was in such or such a mansion or house, or at the rising or setting of such and such a star, it should rain or be windy, hot or cold.[1]

The old Arabians therefore seem to have made no further progress in astronomy, which science they afterwards cultivated with so much success and applause, than to observe the influence of the stars on the weather, and to give them names; and this it was obvious for them to do, by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the Arabic; for though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the Greeks, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more ancient, particularly those of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the Greeks.[2]

Thus have I given the most succinct account I have been able, of the state of the ancient Arabians before Mohammed, or, to use their expression, in the time of ignorance. I shall now proceed briefly to consider the state of religion in the east, and of the two great empires which divided that part of the world between them, at the time of Mohammed's setting up for a prophet, and what were the conducive circumstances and accidents that favoured his success.

SECTION II

OF THE STATE OF CHRISTIANITY, PARTICULARLY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES, AND OF JUDAISM, AT THE TIME OF MOHAMMED'S APPEARANCE; AND OF THE METHODS TAKEN BY HIM FOR THE ESTABLISHING HIS RELIGION, AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH CONCURRED THERETO.

IF we look into the ecclesiastical historians even from the third century, we shall find the Christian world to have then had a very different aspect from what some authors have represented; and so far from being endued with active graces, zeal, and devotion, and established within itself with purity of doctrine, union, and firm profession of the faith,[1] that on the contrary, what by the ambition of the clergy, and what by drawing the abstrusest niceties into controversy, and dividing and subdividing about them into endless schisms and contentions, they had so destroyed that peace, love, and charity from among

[1] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 163, &c. [2] Vide Hyde ubi sup. p. 4. [1] Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 187.

them, which the Gospel was given to promote; and instead thereof continually provoked each other to that malice, rancour, and every evil work; that they had lost the whole substance of their religion, while they thus eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it; and in a manner quite drove Christianity out of the world by those very controversies in which they disputed with each other about it.[2] In these dark ages it was that most of those superstitions and corruptions we now justly abhor in the church of Rome were not only broached, but established; which gave great advantages to the propagation of Mohammedism. The worship of saints and images, in particular, was then arrived at such a scandalous pitch that it even surpassed whatever is now practised among the Romanists.[3]

After the Nicene council, the eastern church was engaged in perpetual controversies, and torn to pieces by the disputes of the Arians, Sabellians, Nestorians, and Eutychians; the heresies of the two last of which have been shown to have consisted more in the words and form of expression than in the doctrines themselves;[4] and were rather the pretences than real motives of those frequent councils to and from which the contentious prelates were continually riding post, that they might bring everything to their own will and pleasure.[1] And to support themselves by dependants and bribery, the clergy in any credit at court undertook the protection of some officer in the army, under the colour of which justice was publicly sold, and all corruption encouraged.

In the western church Damasus and Ursicinus carried their contests at Rome for the episcopal seat so high, that they came to open violence and murder, which Viventius the governor not being able to suppress, he retired into the country, and left them to themselves, till Damasus prevailed. It is said that on this occasion, in the church of Sicininus, there were no less than 137 found killed in one day. And no wonder they were so fond of these seats, when they became by that means enriched by the presents of matrons and went abroad in their chariots and sedans in great state, feasting sumptuously even beyond the luxury of princes, quite contrary to the way of living of the country prelates, who alone seemed to have some temperance and modesty left.[2]

These dissensions were greatly owing to the emperors, and particularly to Constantius, who, confounding the pure and simple Christian religion with anile superstitions, and perplexing it with intricate questions, instead of reconciling different opinions excited many disputes, which he fomented as they proceeded with infinite altercations.[3] This grew worse in the time of Justinian, who, not to be behind the bishops of the fifth and sixth centuries in zeal, thought it no crime to condemn to death a man of a different persuasion from his own.[4]

This corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy, was necessarily followed by a general depravity of the people;[5] those of all conditions making it their sole business to get money by any means,

[2] Prideaux's preface to his Life of Mahomet. [3] Vide La Vie de Mahommed, par Boulainvilliers, p. 219, &c. [4] Vide Simon. Hist. Crit. de la créance, &c., des Nations du Levant. [1] Ammian. Marcellin. l. 21. Vide etiam Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 8, c. 1. Sozom. l. 1, c. 14, &c. Hilar. and Sulpic. Sever. in Hist. Sacr. p. 112, &c. [2] Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 27. [3] Idem, l. 21. [4] Procop. in Anecd. p. 60. [5] See an instance of the wickedness of the Christian army, even when they were under the terror of the Saracens, in Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac., vol. i. p. 239.

and then to squander it away when they had got it in luxury and debauchery.[6]

But, to be more particular as to the nation we are now writing of, Arabia was of old famous for heresies;[7] which might be in some measure attributed to the liberty and independency of the tribes. Some of the Christians of that nation believed the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day:[1] these Origen is said to have convinced.[2] Among the Arabs it was that the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, and the Nazaræans,[3] and also that of the Collyridians, were broached, or at least propagated; the latter introduced the Virgin Mary for GOD, or worshipped her as such, offering her a sort of twisted cake called *collyris*, whence the sect had its name.[4]

This notion of the divinity of the Virgin Mary was also believed by some at the council of Nice, who said there were two gods besides the Father, viz., Christ and the Virgin Mary, and were thence named Mariamites.[5] Others imagined her to be exempt from humanity, and deified; which goes but little beyond the Popish superstition in calling her the complement of the Trinity, as if it were imperfect without her. This foolish imagination is justly condemned in the Korân[6] as idolatrous, and gave a handle to Mohammed to attack the Trinity itself.

Other sects there were of many denominations within the borders of Arabia, which took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts; several of whose notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion, as may be observed hereafter.

Though the Jews were an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, yet in Arabia, whither many of them fled from the destruction of Jerusalem, they grew very powerful, several tribes and princes embracing their religion; which made Mohammed at first show great regard to them, adopting many of their opinions, doctrines, and customs, thereby to draw them, if possible, into his interest. But that people, agreeably to their wonted obstinacy, were so far from being his proselytes, that they were some of the bitterest enemies he had, waging continual war with him, so that their reduction cost him infinite trouble and danger, and at last his life. This aversion of theirs created at length as great a one in him to them, so that he used them, for the latter part of his life, much worse than he did the Christians, and frequently exclaims against them in his Korân; his followers to this day observe the same difference between them and the Christians, treating the former as the most abject and contemptible people on earth.

It has been observed by a great politician,[7] that it is impossible a person should make himself a prince and found a state without opportunities. If the distracted state of religion favoured the designs of Mohammed on that side, the weakness of the Roman and Persian monarchies might flatter him with no less hopes in any attempt on those once formidable empires, either of which, had they been in their full vigour, must have crushed Mohammedism in its birth; whereas nothing nourished it more than the success the Arabians met with in

[6] Vide Boulainvill. Vie de Mahom. ubi sup. [7] Vide Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 1, c. 16, 17. Sulpic. Sever. ubi supra. [1] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 6, c. 33. [2] Idem ibid. c. 37. [3] Epiphan. de Hæres. l. 2; Hær. 40. [4] Idem ibid. l. 3, Hæres. 75, 79. [5] Elmacin. Eutych. [6] Cap. 5. [7] Machiavelli. Princ. c. 6, p. 19.

their enterprises against those powers, which success they failed not to attribute to their new religion and the divine assistance thereof.

The Roman empire declined apace after Constantine, whose successors were for the generality remarkable for their ill qualities, especially cowardice and cruelty. By Mohammed's time, the western half of the empire was overrun by the Goths; and the eastern so reduced by the Huns on the one side, and the Persians on the other, that it was not in a capacity of stemming the violence of a powerful invasion. The emperor Maurice paid tribute to the Khagân or king of the Huns; and after Phocas had murdered his master, such lamentable havoc there was among the soldiers, that when Heraclius came, not above seven years after, to muster the army, there were only two soldiers left alive, of all those who had borne arms when Phocas first usurped the empire. And though Heraclius was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, and had done what possibly could be done to restore the discipline of the army, and had had great success against the Persians, so as to drive them not only out of his own dominions, but even out of part of their own; yet still the very vitals of the empire seemed to be mortally wounded; that there could no time have happened more fatal to the empire or more favourable to the enterprises of the Arabs, who seem to have been raised up on purpose by GOD, to be a scourge to the Christian church, for not living answerably to that most holy religion which they had received.[1]

The general luxury and degeneracy of manners into which the Grecians were sunk, also contributed not a little to the enervating their forces, which were still farther drained by those two great destroyers, monachism and persecution.

The Persians had also been in a declining condition for some time before Mohammed, occasioned chiefly by their intestine broils and dissensions; great part of which arose from the devilish doctrines of Manes and Mazdak. The opinions of the former are tolerably well known; the latter lived in the reign of Khosru Kobâd, and pretended himself a prophet sent from GOD to preach a community of women and possessions, since all men were brothers and descended from the same common parents. This he imagined would put an end to all feuds and quarrels among men, which generally arose on account of one of the two. Kobâd himself embraced the opinions of this impostor, to whom he gave leave, according to his new doctrine, to lie with the queen his wife; which permission Anushirwân, his son, with much difficulty prevailed on Mazdak not to make use of. These sects had certainly been the immediate ruin of the Persian empire, had not Anushirwân, as soon as he succeeded his father, put Mazdak to death with all his followers, and the Manicheans also, restoring the ancient Magian religion.[2]

In the reign of this prince, deservedly surnamed the Just, Mohammed was born. He was the last king of Persia who deserved the throne, which after him was almost perpetually contended for, till subverted by the Arabs. His son Hormûz lost the love of his subjects by his excessive cruelty; having had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, he was

[1] Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 19, &c. [2] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 70.

obliged to resign the crown to his son Khosrû Parvîz, who at the instigation of Bahrâm Chubîn had rebelled against him, and was afterwards strangled. Parvîz was soon obliged to quit the throne to Bahrâm; but obtaining succours of the Greek emperor Maurice, he recovered the crown; yet towards the latter end of a long reign he grew so tyrannical and hateful to his subjects, that they held private correspondence with the Arabs; and he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son Shirûyeh.[1] After Parvîz no less than six princes possessed the throne in less than six years. These domestic broils effectually brought ruin upon the Persians; for though they did rather by the weakness of the Greeks, than their own force, ravage Syria, and sack Jerusalem and Damascus under Khosrû Parvîz, and, while the Arabs were divided and independent, had some power in the province of Yaman, where they set up the four last kings before Mohammed; yet when attacked by the Greeks under Heraclius, they not only lost their new conquests, but part of their own dominions; and no sooner were the Arabs united by Mohammedism, than they beat them in every battle, and in a few years totally subdued them.

As these empires were weak and declining, so Arabia at Mohammed's setting up, was strong and flourishing having been peopled at the expense of the Grecian empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering sects forced many to seek refuge in a free country, as Arabia then was, where they who could not enjoy tranquillity and their conscience at home, found a secure retreat. The Arabians were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the Greeks and Persians, and inured to hardships of all sorts; living in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting on the ground. Their political government was also such as favoured the designs of Mohammed, for the division and independency of their tribes were so necessary to the first propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either, had the Arabs been united in one society. But when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur.

This posture of public affairs in the eastern world, both as to its religious and political state, it is more than probable Mohammed was well acquainted with, he having had sufficient opportunities of informing himself in those particulars, in his travels as a merchant in his younger years: and though it is not to be supposed his views at first were so extensive as afterwards, when they were enlarged by his good fortune, yet he might reasonably promise himself success in his first attempts from thence. As he was a man of extraordinary parts and address, he knew how to make the best of every incident, and turn what might seem dangerous to another, to his own advantage.

Mohammed came into the world under some disadvantages, which he soon surmounted. His father Abd'allah was a younger son[2] of Abd'almotalleb, and dying very young and in his father's lifetime, left

[1] Vide Teixeira, Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia, p. 195 &c. [2] He was not his eldest son, as Dr. Prideaux tells us whose reflections built on that foundation must necessarily fail (see his Life of Mahomet, p. 9), nor yet his youngest son, as M. de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahommed, p. 182, &c.) supposes; for Hamza and al Abbâs were both younger than Abd'allah.

his widow and infant son in very mean circumstances, his whole substance consisting but of five camels and one Ethiopian she-slave.[1] Abd'almotalleb was therefore obliged to take care of his grandchild Mohammed, which he not only did during his life, but at his death enjoined his eldest son Abu Tâleb, who was brother to Abd'allah by the same mother, to provide for him for the future; which he very affectionately did, and instructed him in the business of a merchant, which he followed, and to that end he took him with him into Syria when he was but thirteen, and afterward recommended him to Khadîjah, a noble and rich widow, for her factor, in whose service he behaved himself so well, that by making him her husband she soon raised him to an equality with the richest in Mecca.

After he began by this advantageous match to live at his ease, it was that he formed the scheme of establishing a new religion, or, as he expressed it, of replanting the only true and ancient one, professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all the prophets,[2] by destroying the gross idolatry into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and weeding out the corruptions and superstitions which the latter Jews and Christians had, as he thought, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which consisted chiefly in the worship of one only GOD.

Whether this was the effect of enthusiasm, or only a design to raise himself to the supreme government of his country, I will not pretend to determine. The latter is the general opinion of Christian writers, who agree that ambition, and the desire of satisfying his sensuality, were the motives of his undertaking. It may be so, yet his first views, perhaps, were not so interested. His original design of bringing the pagan Arabs to the knowledge of the true GOD, was certainly noble, and highly to be commended, for I cannot possibly subscribe to the assertion of a late learned writer,[3] that he made that nation exchange their idolatry for another religion altogether as bad. Mohammed was no doubt fully satisfied in his conscience of the truth of his grand point, the unity of GOD, which was what he chiefly attended to; all his other doctrines and institutions being rather accidental and unavoidable, than premeditated and designed.

Since then Mohammed was certainly himself persuaded of his grand article of faith, which, in his opinion, was violated by all the rest of the world; not only by the idolaters, but by the Christians, as well those who rightly worshipped Jesus as GOD, as those who superstitiously adored the Virgin Mary, saints, and images, and also by the Jews, who are accused in the Korân of taking Ezra for the son of GOD;[4] it is easy to conceive that he might think it a meritorious work to rescue the world from such ignorance and superstition; and by degrees, with the help of a warm imagination, which an Arab seldom wants,[5] to suppose himself destined by providence for the effecting that great reformation. And this fancy of his might take still deeper root in his mind, during the solitude he thereupon affected, usually retiring for a month in the year to a cave in Mount Hara, near Mecca. One thing which may be probably urged against the enthusiasm of this prophet of

[1] Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 2. [2] See Kor. c. 2. [3] Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 76.
[4] Kor. c. 9. [5] See Casaub. of Enthusiasm, p. 148.

the Arabs, is the wise conduct and great prudence he all along showed in pursuing his design, which seem inconsistent with the wild notions of a hot-brained religionist. But though all enthusiasts or madmen do not behave with the same gravity and circumspection that he did, yet he will not be the first instance, by several, of a person who has been out of the way only *quoad hoc*, and in all other respects acted with the greatest decency and precaution.

The terrible destruction of the eastern churches, once so glorious and flourishing, by the sudden spreading of Mohammedism, and the great successes of its professors against the Christians, necessarily inspire a horror of that religion in those to whom it has been so fatal; and no wonder if they endeavour to set the character of its founder, and its doctrines, in the most infamous light. But the damage done by Mohammed to Christianity seems to have been rather owing to his ignorance than malice; for his great misfortune was, his not having a competent knowledge of the real and pure doctrines of the Christian religion, which was in his time so abominably corrupted, that it is not surprising if he went too far, and resolved to abolish what he might think incapable of reformation.

It is scarce to be doubted but that Mohammed had a violent desire of being reckoned an extraordinary person, which he could attain to by no means more effectually, than by pretending to be a messenger sent from GOD, to inform mankind of his will. This might be at first his utmost ambition; and had his fellow-citizens treated him less injuriously, and not obliged him by their persecutions to seek refuge elsewhere, and to take up arms against them in his own defence, he had perhaps continued a private person and contented himself with the veneration and respect due to his prophetical office; but being once got at the head of a little army, and encouraged by success, it is no wonder if he raised his thoughts to attempt what had never before entered into his imagination.

That Mohammed was, as the Arabs are by complexion,[1] a great lover of women, we are assured by his own confession; and he is constantly upbraided with it by the controversial writers, who fail not to urge the number of women with whom he had to do, as a demonstrative argument of his sensuality, which they think sufficiently proves him to have been a wicked man, and consequently an impostor But it must be considered that polygamy, though it be forbidden by the Christian religion, was in Mohammed's time frequently practised in Arabia and other parts of the east, and was not counted an immorality, nor was a man worse esteemed on that account, for which reason Mohammed permitted the plurality of wives, with certain limitations, among his own followers, who argue for the lawfulness of it from several reasons, and particularly from the examples of persons allowed on all hands to have been good men; some of whom have been honoured with the divine correspondence. The several laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar privileges granted to Mohammed in his Korân, were almost all taken by him from the Jewish decisions, as will appear hereafter; and therefore he might think those

[1] Ammian Marcell. l 14, c. 4

institutions the more just and reasonable, as he found them practised or approved by the professors of a religion which was confessedly of divine original.

But whatever were his motives, Mohammed had certainly the personal qualifications which were necessary to accomplish his undertaking. The Mohammedan authors are excessive in their commendations of him, and speak much of his religious and moral virtues; as his piety, veracity, justice, liberality, clemency, humility, and abstinence. His charity, in particular, they say, was so conspicuous, that he had seldom any money in his house, keeping no more for his own use than was just sufficient to maintain his family; and he frequently spared even some part of his own provisions to supply the necessities of the poor; so that before the year's end he had generally little or nothing left:[1] "GOD," says al Bokhâri, "offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, but he would not accept them." Though the eulogies of these writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, yet thus much, I think, may be inferred from thence, that for an Arab who had been educated in Paganism, and had but a very imperfect knowledge of his duty, he was a man of at least tolerable morals, and not such a monster of wickedness as he is usually represented. And indeed it is scarce possible to conceive, that a wretch of so profligate a character should ever have succeeded in an enterprise of this nature; a little hypocrisy and saving of appearances, at least, must have been absolutely necessary, and the sincerity of his intentions is what I pretend not to inquire into.

He had indisputably a very piercing and sagacious wit, and was thoroughly versed in all the arts of insinuation.[2] The eastern historians describe him to have been a man of an excellent judgment, and a happy memory; and these natural parts were improved by a great experience and knowledge of men, and the observations he had made in his travels. They say he was a person of few words, of an equal cheerful temper, pleasant and familiar in conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condescension towards his inferiors.[3] To all which were joined a comely agreeable person, and a polite address, accomplishments of no small service in preventing those in his favour whom he attempted to persuade.

As to acquired learning, it is confessed he had none at all; having had no other education than what was customary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps despised, what we call literature; esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained by use and not by books, and contenting themselves with improving their private experience by committing to memory such passages of their poets as they judged might be of use to them in life. This defect was so far from being prejudicial or putting a stop to his design, that he made the greatest use of it, insisting that the writings which he produced as revelations from GOD, could not possibly be a forgery of his own; because it was not conceivable that a person who could neither write nor read should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style; and thereby obviating

[1] Vide Abulfeda Vit. Moham. p. 144, &c.
[2] Vide Prid Life of Mahomet, p. 105.
[3] Vide Abulfed. ubi sup.

an objection that might have carried a great deal of weight.[1] And for this reason his followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it, as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him (as he is indeed called in the Korân itself[2]) the "illiterate prophet."

The scheme of religion which Mohammed framed, and the design and artful contrivance of those written revelations (as he pretended them to be) which compose his Korân, shall be the subject of the following sections: I shall therefore in the remainder of this relate, as briefly as possible, the steps he took towards the effecting of his enterprise, and the accidents which concurred to his success therein.

Before he made any attempt abroad, he rightly judged that it was necessary for him to begin by the conversion of his own household. Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done several times before, to the above-mentioned cave in Mount Hara, he there opened the secret of his mission to his wife Khadijah; and acquainted her that the angel Gabriel had just before appeared to him, and told him that he was appointed the apostle of GOD: he also repeated to her a passage[3] which he pretended had been revealed to him by the ministry of the angel, with those other circumstances of his first appearance, which are related by the Mohammedan writers. Khadijah received the news with great joy,[1] swearing by him in whose hands her soul was, that she trusted he would be the prophet of his nation, and immediately communicated what she had heard to her cousin, Warakah Ebn Nawfal, who, being a Christian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the scriptures;[2] and he as readily came into her opinion, assuring her that the same angel who had formerly appeared unto Moses was now sent to Mohammed.[3] This first overture the prophet made in the month of Ramadân, in the fortieth year of his age, which is therefore usually called the year of his mission.

Encouraged by so good a beginning, he resolved to proceed, and try for some time what he could do by private persuasion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made proselytes of those under his own roof, viz., his wife Khadijah, his servant Zeid Ebn Hâretha (to whom he gave his freedom[4] on that occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers), and his cousin and pupil Ali, the son of Abu Tâleb, though then very young but this last, making no account of the other two, used to style himself the "first of believers." The next person Mohammed applied to was Abdallah Ebn Abi Kohâfa, surnamed Abu Becr, a man of great authority among the Koreish, and one whose interest he well knew would be of great service to him, as it soon appeared, for Abu Becr being gained over, prevailed also on Othmân Ebn Affân, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, al Zobeir Ebn al Awâm, and Telha Ebn Obeid'allah, all principal men in Mecca, to follow his example.

[1] See Kor. c 29. Prid Life of Mahomet, p 28. &c. [2] Chap. 7 [3] This passage is generally agreed to be the first five verses of the 96th chapter. [1] I do not remember to have read in any eastern author, that Khadijah ever rejected her husband's pretences as delusions, or suspected him of any imposture Yet see Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 11, &c. [2] Vide Poc Spec p. 157. [3] Vide Abulfed Vit. Moham. p. 16, where the learned translator has mistaken the meaning of this passage. [4] For he was his purchased slave, as Abulfeda expressly tells us, and not his cousin-german, as M. de Boulainvill asserts (Vie de Mah. p. 272

These men were the six chief companions, who, with a few more, were converted in the space of three years, at the end of which, Mohammed having, as he hoped, a sufficient interest to support him, made his mission no longer a secret, but gave out that GOD had commanded him to admonish his near relations,[5] and in order to do it with more convenience and prospect of success, he directed Ali to prepare an entertainment, and invite the sons and descendants of Abd'almotalleb, intending then to open his mind to them; this was done, and about forty of them came, but Abu Laheb, one of his uncles, making the company break up before Mohammed had an opportunity of speaking, obliged him to give them a second invitation the next day, and when they were come, he made them the following speech "I know no man in all Arabia who can offer his kindred a more excellent thing than I now do you. I offer you happiness, both in this life and in that which is to come. GOD Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him; who therefore among you will be assisting to me herein, and become my brother and my vicegerent?" All of them hesitating, and declining the matter, Ali at length rose up and declared that he would be his assistant, and vehemently threatened those who should oppose him Mohammed upon this embraced Ali with great demonstrations of affection, and desired all who were present to hearken to and obey him as his deputy, at which the company broke out into great laughter, telling Abu Tâleb that he must now pay obedience to his son

This repulse however was so far from discouraging Mohammed, that he began to preach in public to the people, who heard him with some patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness of themselves and their fathers, which so highly provoked them that they declared themselves his enemies, and would soon have procured his ruin had he not been protected by Abu Tâleb The chief of the Koreish warmly solicited this person to desert his nephew, making frequent remonstrances against the innovations he was attempting, which proving ineffectual, they at length threatened him with an open rupture if he did not prevail on Mohammed to desist At this, Abu Tâleb was so far moved that he earnestly dissuaded his nephew from pursuing the affair any farther, representing the great danger he and his friends must otherwise run But Mohammed was not to be intimidated, telling his uncle plainly "that if they set the sun against him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprise," and Abu Tâleb, seeing him so firmly resolved to proceed, used no further arguments, but promised to stand by him against all his enemies[6]

The Koreish, finding they could prevail neither by fair words nor menaces, tried what they could do by force and ill-treatment, using Mohammed's followers so very injuriously that it was not safe for them to continue at Mecca any longer: whereupon Mohammed gave leave to such of them as had not friends to protect them, to seek for refuge elsewhere. And accordingly, in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, sixteen of them, four of whom were women, fled into Ethiopia; and among them Othmân Ebn Affân and his wife Rakiah, Mohammed's

[5] Kor c 74. See the notes thereon [6] Abulfeda ubi supra

daughter. This was the first flight; but afterwards several others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, besides children.[1] These refugees were kindly received by the Najâshi,[2] or king of Ethiopia, who refused to deliver them up to those whom the Koreish sent to demand them, and, as the Arab writers unanimously attest, even professed the Mohammedan religion.

In the sixth year of his mission[3] Mohammed had the pleasure of seeing his party strengthened by the conversion of his uncle Hamza, a man of great valour and merit, and of Omar Ebn al Khattâb, a person highly esteemed, and once a violent opposer of the prophet. As persecution generally advances rather than obstructs the spreading of a religion, Islamism made so great a progress among the Arab tribes, that the Koreish, to suppress it effectually, if possible, in the seventh year of Mohammed's mission,[4] made a solemn league or covenant against the Hashemites and the family of al Motalleb, engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them and to have no communication with them, and to give it the greater sanction reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the Caaba. Upon this the tribe became divided into two factions, and the family of Hashem all repaired to Abu Taleb, as their head, except only Abd al Uzza, surnamed Abu Laheb, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party, whose chief was Abu Sofian Ebn Harb, of the family of Ommeya.

The families continued thus at variance for three years; but in the tenth year of his mission, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Taleb that GOD had manifestly showed his disapprobation of the league which the Koreish had made against them, by sending a worm to eat out every word of the instrument except the name of GOD. Of this accident Mohammed had probably some private notice; for Abu Taleb went immediately to the Koreish and acquainted them with it, offering, if it proved false, to deliver his nephew up to them; but in case it were true, he insisted that they ought to lay aside their animosity, and annul the league they had made against the Hashemites. To this they acquiesced, and going to inspect the writing, to their great astonishment found it to be as Abu Tâleb had said, and the league was thereupon declared void.

In the same year Abu Tâleb died, at the age of above fourscore, and it is the general opinion that he died an infidel, though others say that when he was at the point of death he embraced Mohammedism, and produce some passages out of his poetical compositions to confirm their assertion. About a month, or as some write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, Mohammed had the additional mortification to lose his wife Khadîjah, who had so generously made his fortune. For which reason this year is called the year of mourning.[5]

On the death of these two persons the Koreish began to be more troublesome than ever to their prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends, insomuch that he found himself

[1] Idem, Ebn Shohnah. [2] Dr Prideaux seems to take this word for a proper name, but it is only the title the Arabs give to every king of this country. See his Life of Mahomet, p. 55. [3] Ebn Shohnah. [4] Al Jannâbi. [5] Abulfed. p. 28. Ebn Shohnah.

obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, and first pitched upon Tâyef, about sixty miles east from Mecca, for the place of his retreat. Thither therefore he went, accompanied by his servant Zeid, and applied himself to two of the chief of the tribe of Thakif, who were the inhabitants of that place; but they received him very coldly. However, he stayed there a month; and some of the more considerate and better sort of men treated him with a little respect but the slaves and inferior people at length rose against him, and bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart and return to Mecca, where he put himself under the protection of al Motâam Ebn Adi.[2]

This repulse greatly discouraged his followers however, Mohammed was not wanting to himself, but boldly continued to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage, and gained several proselytes, and among them six of the inhabitants of Yathreb of the Jewish tribe of Khazraj, who on their return home failed not to speak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow-citizens to embrace the same.

In the twelfth year of his mission it was that Mohammed gave out that he had made his night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and thence to heaven,[3] so much spoken of by all that write of him Dr. Prideaux[4] thinks he invented it either to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission, or else, by pretending to have conversed with GOD, to establish the authority of whatever he should think fit to leave behind by way of oral tradition, and make his sayings to serve the same purpose as the oral law of the Jews But I do not find that Mohammed himself ever expected so great a regard should be paid to his sayings, as his followers have since done; and seeing he all along disclaimed any power of performing miracles, it seems rather to have been a fetch of policy to raise his reputation, by pretending to have actually conversed with GOD in heaven, as Moses had heretofore done in the mount, and to have received several institutions immediately from him, whereas before he contented himself with persuading them that he had all by the ministry of Gabriel.

However, this story seemed so absurd and incredible, that several of his followers left him upon it, and it had probably ruined the whole design, had not Abu Becr vouched for his veracity, and declared that if Mohammed affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole. Which happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increased it to such a degree, that he was secure of being able to make his disciples swallow whatever he pleased to impose on them for the future. And I am apt to think this fiction, notwithstanding its extravagance, was one of the most artful contrivances Mohammed ever put in practice, and what chiefly contributed to the raising of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived

In this year, called by the Mohammedans the accepted year, twelve men of Yathreb or Medina, of whom ten were of the tribe of Khazraj, and the other two of that of Aws, came to Mecca, and took an oath of fidelity to Mohammed at al Akaba, a hill on the north of that city. This oath was called the women's oath, not that any women were pre-

[2] Ebn Shohnah. [3] See the notes on the 17th chapter of the Korân. [4] Life of Mahomet.

sent at this time, but because a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Mohammed or his religion; it being the same oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the Korân,[1] and is to this effect, viz.: "That they should renounce all idolatry; that they should not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the pagan Arabs used to do when they apprehended they should not be able to maintain them[2]), nor forge calumnies; and that they should obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable." When they had solemnly engaged to do all this, Mohammed sent one of his disciples, named Masáb Ebn Omair, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion.

Masáb, being arrived at Medina, by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, gained several proselytes, particularly Osaid Ebn Hodeira, a chief man of the city, and Saad Ebn Moâdh, prince of the tribe of Aws; Mohammedism spreading so fast, that there was scarce a house wherein there were not some who had embraced it.

The next year, being the thirteenth of Mohammed's mission, Masáb returned to Mecca, accompanied by seventy-three men and two women of Medina, who had professed Islamism, besides some others who were as yet unbelievers On their arrival, they immediately sent to Mohammed, and offered him their assistance, of which he was now in great need, for his adversaries were by this time grown so powerful in Mecca, that he could not stay there much longer without imminent danger. Wherefore he accepted their proposal, and met them one night, by appointment, at al Akaba above mentioned, attended by his uncle al Abbas, who, though he was not then a believer, wished his nephew well, and made a speech to those of Medina, wherein he told them, that as Mohammed was obliged to quit his native city, and seek an asylum elsewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him, and that if they were not firmly resolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his safety in some other manner. Upon their protesting their sincerity, Mohammed swore to be faithful to them, on condition that they should protect him against all insults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families. They then asked him what recompense they were to expect if they should happen to be killed in his quarrel; he answered, Paradise. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and so returned home;[3] after Mohammed had chosen twelve out of their number, who were to have the same authority among them as the twelve apostles of Christ had among his disciples.[4]

Hitherto Mohammed had propagated his religion by fair means, so that the whole success of his enterprise, before his flight to Medina, must be attributed to persuasion only, and not to compulsion. For before this second oath of fealty or inauguration at al Akaba, he had no permission to use any force at all; and in several places of the Korân, which he pretended were revealed during his stay at Mecca,

[1] Cap. 60. [2] Vide Kor. c. 6. [3] Abulfeda. Vit. Moham. p. 40, &c. [4] Ebn Ishak.

he declares his business was only to preach and admonish; that he had no authority to compel any person to embrace his religion; and that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged solely unto GOD. And he was so far from allowing his followers to use force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently those injuries which were offered them on account of their faith; and when persecuted himself, chose rather to quit the place of his birth and retire to Medina, than to make any resistance. But this great passiveness and moderation seems entirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers for the first twelve years of his mission, for no sooner was he enabled, by the assistance of those of Medina, to make head against his enemies, than he gave out, that GOD had allowed him and his followers to defend themselves against the infidels; and at length as his forces increased, he pretended to have the divine leave even to attack them, and to destroy idolatry, and set up the true faith by the sword; finding by experience that his designs would otherwise proceed very slowly, if they were not utterly overthrown, and knowing on the other hand that innovators, when they depend solely on their own strength, and can compel, seldom run any risk; from whence, the politician observes, it follows, that all the armed prophets have succeeded, and the unarmed ones have failed. Moses, Cyrus, Theseus, and Romulus would not have been able to establish *the observance of their institutions for any length of time had they not been armed*.[1] The first passage of the Korân which gave Mohammed the permission of defending himself by arms, is said to have been that in the twenty-second chapter; after which a great number to the same purpose were revealed.

That Mohammed had a right to take up arms for his own defence against his unjust persecutors, may perhaps be allowed; but whether he ought afterwards to have made use of that means for the establishing of his religion is a question I will not here determine. How far the secular power may or ought to interpose in affairs of this nature, mankind are not agreed. The method of converting by the sword, gives no very favourable idea of the faith which is so propagated, and is disallowed by everybody in those of another religion, though the same persons are willing to admit of it for the advancement of their own; supposing that though a false religion ought not to be established by authority, yet a true one may; and accordingly force is almost as constantly employed in these cases by those who have the power in their hands, as it is constantly complained of by those who suffer the violence. It is certainly one of the most convincing proofs that Mohammedism was no other than a human invention, that it owed its progress and establishment almost entirely to the sword; and it is one of the strongest demonstrations of the divine original of Christianity, that it prevailed against all the force and powers of the world by the mere dint of its own truth, after having stood the assaults of all manner of persecutions, as well as other oppositions, for 300 years together, and at length made the Roman emperors themselves submit thereto;[2] after which time, indeed, this proof seems to fail, Christianity being

[1] Machiavelli, Princ. c. 6. [2] See Prideaux's Letter to the Deists, p. 220, &c.

then established and Paganism abolished by public authority, which has had great influence in the propagation of the one and destruction of the other ever since.[1] But to return.

Mohammed having provided for the security of his companions as well as his own, by the league offensive and defensive which he had now concluded with those of Medina, directed them to repair thither, which they accordingly did; but himself with Abu Becr and Ali stayed behind, having not yet received the divine permission, as he pretended, to leave Mecca. The Koreish, fearing the consequence of this new alliance, began to think it absolutely necessary to prevent Mohammed's escape to Medina, and having held a council thereon, after several milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a resolution that he should be killed; and agreed that a man should be chosen out of every tribe for the execution of this design, and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whose united power the Hashemites were much inferior, and therefore durst not attempt to revenge their kinsman's death.

This conspiracy was scarce formed when by some means or other it came to Mohammed's knowledge, and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel, who had now ordered him to retire to Medina. Whereupon, to amuse his enemies, he directed Ali to lie down in his place and wrap himself up in his green cloak, which he did, and Mohammed escaped miraculously, as they pretend,[2] to Abu Becr's house, unperceived by the conspirators, who had already assembled at the prophet's door. They in the meantime, looking through the crevice and seeing Ali, whom they took to be Mohammed himself, asleep, continued watching there till morning, when Ali arose, and they found themselves deceived.

From Abu Becr's house Mohammed and he went to a cave in Mount Thur, to the south-east of Mecca, accompanied only by Amer Ebn Foheirah, Abu Becr's servant, and Abd'allah Ebn Oreikit, an idolater, whom they had hired for a guide. In this cave they lay hid three days to avoid the search of their enemies, which they very narrowly escaped, and not without the assistance of more miracles than one; for some say that the Koreish were struck with blindness, so that they could not find the cave; others, that after Mohammed and his companions were got in, two pigeons laid their eggs at the entrance, and a spider covered the mouth of the cave with her web,[3] which made them look no farther.[4] Abu Becr, seeing the prophet in such imminent danger, became very sorrowful, whereupon Mohammed comforted him with these words, recorded in the Korân:[5] "Be not grieved, for GOD is with us." Their enemies being retired, they left the cave and set out for Medina, by a by-road, and having fortunately, or as the Mohammedans tell us, miraculously, escaped some who were sent to pursue them,

[1] See Bayle's Dict. Hist. Art. Mahomet, Rem. O. [2] See the notes to chap. 8 and 36.
[3] It is observable that the Jews have a like tradition concerning David, when he fled from Saul into the cave; and the Targum paraphrases these words of the second verse of Psalm lvii., which was composed on occasion of that deliverance: "I will pray before the most high GOD that performeth all things for me," in this manner: "I will pray before the most high GOD, who called a spider to weave a web for my sake in the mouth of the cave." [4] Al Beidâwi in Kor. c. 9. Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 445. [5] Cap. 9.

arrived safely at that city; whither Ali followed them in three days, after he had settled some affairs at Mecca.[4]

The first thing Mohammed did after his arrival at Medina, was to build a temple for his religious worship, and a house for himself, which he did on a parcel of ground which had before served to put camels in, or as others tell us, for a burying-ground, and belonged to Sahal and Soheil the sons of Amru, who were orphans.[5] This action Dr. Prideaux exclaims against, representing it as a flagrant instance of injustice, for that, says he, he violently dispossessed these poor orphans, the sons of an inferior artificer (whom the author he quotes[6] calls a carpenter) of this ground, and so founded the first fabric of his worship with the like wickedness as he did his religion.[7] But to say nothing of the improbability that Mohammed should act in so impolitic a manner at his first coming, the Mohammedan writers set this affair in a quite different light; one tells us that he treated with the lads about the price of the ground, but they desired he would accept it as a present;[8] however, as historians of good credit assure us, he actually bought it,[9] and the money was paid by Abu Becr.[1] Besides, had Mohammed accepted it as a present, the orphans were in circumstances sufficient to have afforded it; for they were of a very good family, of the tribe of Najjâr, one of the most illustrious among the Arabs, and not the sons of a carpenter, as Dr Prideaux's author writes, who took the word Najjâr, which signifies a *carpenter*, for an appellative, whereas it is a proper name.[2]

Mohammed being securely settled at Medina, and able not only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, but to attack them, began to send out small parties to make reprisals on the Koreish; the first party consisting of no more than nine men, who intercepted and plundered a caravan belonging to that tribe, and in the action took two prisoners. But what established his affairs very much, and was the foundation on which he built all his succeeding greatness, was the gaining of the battle of Bedr, which was fought in the second year of the Hejra, and is so famous in the Mohammedan history.[3] As my design is not to write the life of Mohammed, but only to describe the manner in which he carried on his enterprise, I shall not enter into any detail of his subsequent battles and expeditions, which amounted to a considerable number. Some reckon no less than twenty-seven expeditions wherein Mohammed was personally present, in nine of which he gave battle, besides several other expeditions in which he was not present;[4] some of them, however, will be necessarily taken notice of in explaining several passages of the Korân. His forces he maintained partly by the contributions of his followers for this purpose, which he called by the name of *Zacât* or *alms*, and the paying of which he very artfully made one main article of his religion; and partly by ordering a fifth part of the plunder to be brought into the public treasury for that purpose, in which matter he likewise pretended to act by the divine direction.

[4] Abulfeda Vit Moh p 50, &c Ebn Shohnah. [5] Abulfeda, ib p 52, 53. [6] Disputatio Christiani contra Saracen c 4. [7] Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p 58. [8] Al Bokhâri in Sonna. [9] Al Jannâbi. [1] Ahmed Ebn Yusef. [2] Vide Gagnier, not in Abulfed. de Vit Moh p 52, 53. [3] See the notes on the Korân, chap. 2. [4] Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 158.

In a few years by the success of his arms (notwithstanding he sometimes came off by the worst) he considerably raised his credit and power. In the sixth year of the Hejra he set out with 1,400 men to visit the temple of Mecca, not with any intent of committing hostilities, but in a peaceable manner. However, when he came to al Hodeibiya, which is situate partly within and partly without the sacred territory, the Koreish sent to let him know that they would not permit him to enter Mecca, unless he forced his way; whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all took a solemn oath of fealty or homage to him, and he resolved to attack the city; but those of Mecca sending Araw Ebn Masúd, prince of the tribe of Thakîf, as their ambassador to desire peace, a truce was concluded between them for ten years, by which any person was allowed to enter into league either with Mohammed or with the Koreish as he thought fit.

It may not be improper, to show the inconceivable veneration and respect the Mohammedans by this time had for their prophet, to mention the account which the above-mentioned ambassador gave the Koreish, at his return, of their behaviour. He said he had been at the courts both of the Roman emperor and of the king of Persia, and never saw any prince so highly respected by his subjects as Mohammed was by his companions; for whenever he made the Ablution, in order to say his prayers, they ran and catched the water that he had used; and whenever he spit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered up every hair that fell from him with great superstition.[1]

In the seventh year of the Hejra, Mohammed began to think of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of Arabia, and sent messengers to the neighbouring princes with letters to invite them to Mohammedism. Nor was this project without some success. Khosrû Parvîz, then king of Persia, received his letter with great disdain, and tore it in a passion, sending away the messenger very abruptly; which when Mohammed heard, he said "GOD shall tear his kingdom." And soon after a messenger came to Mohammed from Badhan, king of Yaman, who was a dependant on the Persians,[2] to acquaint him that he had received orders to send him to Khosrû. Mohammed put off his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him that night that Khosrû was slain by his son Shirûyeh; adding that he was well assured his new religion and empire should rise to as great a height as that of Khosrû; and therefore bid him advise his master to embrace Mohammedism. The messenger being returned, Badhân in a few days received a letter from Shirûyeh informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further disturbance. Whereupon Badhân and the Persians with him turned Mohammedans.[3]

The emperor Heraclius, as the Arabian historians assure us, received Mohammed's letter with great respect, laying it on his pillow, and dismissed the bearer honourably. And some pretend that he would have professed this new faith, had he not been afraid of losing his crown.[4]

Mohammed wrote to the same effect to the king of Ethiopia, though he had been converted before, according to the Arab writers; and to

[1] Abulfeda Vit. Moh. p. 85. [2] See before, p. 8. [3] Abulfeda, Vit Moh. p. 92, &c. [4] Al Jannâbi.

Mokawkas, governor of Egypt, who gave the messenger a very favourable reception, and sent several valuable presents to Mohammed, and among the rest two girls, one of which, named Mary,[1] became a great favourite with him. He also sent letters of the like purport to several Arab princes, particularly one to al Hareth Ebn Abi Shamer,[2] king of Ghassân, who, returning for answer that he would go to Mohammed himself, the prophet said, "May his kingdom perish;" another to Hawdha Ebn Ali, king of Yamâma, who was a Christian, and having some time before professed Islamism, had lately returned to his former faith; this prince sent back a very rough answer, upon which Mohammed cursing him, he died soon after, and a third to al Mondar Ebn Sâwa, king of Bahrein, who embraced Mohammedism, and all the Arabs of that country followed his example.[3]

The eighth year of the Hejra was a very fortunate year to Mohammed. In the beginning of it Khâled Ebn al Walîd and Amru Ebn al As, both excellent soldiers, the first of whom afterwards conquered Syria and other countries, and the latter Egypt, became proselytes of Mohammedism. And soon after the prophet sent 3,000 men against the Grecian forces, to revenge the death of one of his ambassadors, who being sent to the governor of Bosra on the same errand as those who went to the above-mentioned princes, was slain by an Arab of the tribe of Ghassân at Mûta, a town in the territory of Balkâ in Syria, about three days' journey eastward from Jerusalem, near which town they encountered. The Grecians being vastly superior in number (for, including the auxiliary Arabs, they had an army of 100,000 men), the Mohammedans were repulsed in the first attack, and lost successively three of their generals, viz., Zeid Ebn Hâretha, Mohammed's freedman, Jaafar, the son of Abu Taleb, and Abdállah Ebn Rawaha; but Khâled Ebn al Walid, succeeding to the command, overthrew the Greeks with a great slaughter, and brought away abundance of rich spoil,[4] on occasion of which action Mohammed gave him the honourable title of Seif min soyûf Allah, One of the Swords of GOD.[5]

In this year also Mohammed took the city of Mecca, the inhabitants whereof had broken the truce concluded on two years before. For the tribe of Becr, who were confederates of the Koreish, attacking those of Khozâah, who were allies of Mohammed, killed several of them, being supported in the action by a party of the Koreish themselves. The consequence of this violation was soon apprehended, and Abu Sofiân himself made a journey to Medina on purpose to heal the breach and renew the truce,[6] but in vain, for Mohammed, glad of this opportunity, refused to see him; whereupon he applied to Abu Becr and Ali, but they giving him no answer, he was obliged to return to Mecca as he came.

Mohammed immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might surprise the Meccans while they were unprovided to receive him; in a little time he began his march thither, and by the

[1] It is, however, a different name from that of the Virgin Mary, which the Orientals always write Maryam, or Miriam—whereas this is written Mâriya. [2] This prince is omitted in Dr Pocock's list of the kings of Ghassân, Spec. p. 77. [3] Abulfeda, ubi sup. p. 94, &c. [4] Idem ib. p. 99, 100, &c. [5] Al Bokhari in Sonna. [6] This circumstance is a plain proof that the Koreish had actually broken the truce, and that it was not a mere pretence of Mohammed's, as Dr Prideaux insinuates. Life of Mahomet, p. 94.

time he came near the city his forces were increased to 10,000 men. Those of Mecca being not in a condition to defend themselves against so formidable an army, surrendered at discretion, and Abu Sofian saved his life by turning Mohammedan. About twenty-eight of the idolaters were killed by a party under the command of Khâled; but this happened contrary to Mohammed's orders, who, when he entered the town, pardoned all the Koreish on their submission, except only six men and four women, who were more obnoxious than ordinary (some of them having apostatized), and were solemnly proscribed by the prophet himself; but of these no more than three men and one woman were put to death, the rest obtaining pardon on their embracing Mohammedism, and one of the women making her escape.[1]

The remainder of this year Mohammed employed in destroying the idols in and round about Mecca, sending several of his generals on expeditions for that purpose, and to invite the Arabs to Islamism: wherein it is no wonder if they now met with success.

The next year, being the ninth of the Hejra, the Mohammedans call "the year of embassies"; for the Arabs had been hitherto expecting the issue of the war between Mohammed and the Koreish; but so soon as that tribe, the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine descendants of Ismael, whose prerogatives none offered to dispute—had submitted, they were satisfied that it was not in their power to oppose Mohammed, and therefore began to come in to him in great numbers, and to send embassies to make their submissions to him, both to Mecca, while he stayed there, and also to Medina, whither he returned this year.[2] Among the rest, five kings of the tribe of Hamyar professed Mohammedism, and sent ambassadors to notify the same.

In the tenth year Ali was sent into Yaman to propagate the Mohammedan faith there, and, as it is said, converted the whole tribe of Hamdan in one day. Their example was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only those of Najrân, who, being Christians, chose rather to pay tribute.[4]

Thus was Mohammedism established, and idolatry rooted out, even in Mohammed's lifetime (for he died the next year), throughout all Arabia, except only Yamama, where Moseilama, who set up also for a prophet as Mohammed's competitor, had a great party, and was not reduced till the khalifat of Abu Becr. And the Arabs being then united in one faith, and under one prince, found themselves in a condition of making those conquests which extended the Mohammedan faith over so great a part of the world.

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[1] Vide Abulfed. ubi sup. c. 51, 52.
[2] Vide Gagnier, not. ad Abulfed. p. 121.
[3] Abulfeda, p. [illegible]
[4] Ibid. p. 129.

taken the pains to compute (how exactly I know not) the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the Korân.[1]

Besides these unequal divisions of chapter and verse, the Mohammedans have also divided their Korân into sixty equal portions, which they call *Ahzâb*, in the singular *Hizb*, each subdivided into four equal parts; which is also an imitation of the Jews, who have an ancient division of their Mishna into sixty portions, called *Massictoth*.[2] but the Korân is more usually divided into thirty sections only, named Ajza, from the singular *Joz*, each of twice the length of the former, and in the like manner subdivided into four parts. These divisions are for the use of the readers of the Korân in the royal temples, or in the adjoining chapels where the emperors and great men are interred. There are thirty of these readers belonging to every chapel, and each reads his section every day, so that the whole Korân is read over once a day.[3] I have seen several copies divided in this manner, and bound up in as many volumes, and have thought it proper to mark these divisions in the margin of this translation by numeral letters.

Next after the title, at the head of every chapter, except only the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form, by the Mohammedans called the Bismillah, "In the name of the most merciful GOD," which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark or distinguishing characteristic of their religion, it being counted a sort of impiety to omit it. The Jews for the same purpose make use of the form, "In the name of the LORD," or, "In the name of the great GOD," and the eastern Christians, that of "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." But I am apt to believe Mohammed really took this form, as he did many other things, from the Persian Magi, who used to begin their books in these words, *Benâm Yezdân bakhshaishgher dâdâr;* that is, "In the name of the most merciful, just GOD."[4]

This auspicatory form, and also the titles of the chapters, are by the generality of the doctors and commentators believed to be of divine original, no less than the text itself, but the more moderate are of opinion they are only human additions, and not the very word of GOD.

There are twenty-nine chapters of the Korân, which have this peculiarity, that they begin with certain letters of the alphabet, some with a single one, others with more. These letters the Mohammedans believe to be the peculiar marks of the Korân, and to conceal several profound mysteries, the certain understanding of which, the more intelligent confess, has not been communicated to any mortal, their prophet only excepted. Notwithstanding which, some will take the liberty of guessing at their meaning by that species of Cabbala called, by the Jews, Notarikon,[1] and suppose the letters to stand for as many words expressing the names and attributes of GOD, his works, ordinances, and decrees, and therefore these mysterious letters, as well as the verses themselves, seem in the Korân to be called signs. Others explain the intent of these letters from their nature or organ, or else from their value in numbers, according to another species of the Jewish Cabbala

[1] Vide Reland de Relig. Moh. p. 25. [2] Vide Gol. ubi sup. p. 178. Maimon. præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57. [3] Vide Smith, de Moribus et Instit. Turcar. p. 58. [4] Hyde, Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 14. [1] Vide Buxtorf. Lexicon Rabbin.

called Gematria;[2] the uncertainty of which conjectures sufficiently appears from their disagreement. Thus, for example, five chapters, one of which is the second, begin with these letters, A.L.M., which some imagine to stand for *Allah latîf magîd*; "GOD is gracious and to be glorified;" or, *Ana li minni*, "to me and from me," viz., belongs all perfection, and proceeds all good; or else for *Ana Allah âlam*, "I am the most wise GOD," taking the first letter to mark the beginning of the first word, the second the middle of the second word, and the third the last of the third word: or for "Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed," the author, revealer, and preacher of the Korân. Others say that as the letter A belongs to the lower part of the throat, the first of the organs of speech; L to the palate, the middle organ; and M to the lips, which are the last organs; so these letters signify that GOD is the beginning, middle, and end, or ought to be praised in the beginning, middle, and end of all our words and actions: or, as the total value of those three letters in numbers is seventy-one, they signify that in the space of so many years, the religion preached in the Korân should be fully established. The conjecture of a learned Christian[3] is, at least, as certain as any of the former, who supposes those letters were set there by the amanuensis, for *Amar li Mohammed*, i.e., "at the command of Mohammed," as the five letters prefixed to the nineteenth chapter seem to be there written by a Jewish scribe, for *Coh yaas*, i.e., "thus he commanded."

The Korân is universally allowed to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language, in the dialect of the tribe of Koreish, the most noble and polite of all the Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects. It is confessedly the standard of the Arabic tongue, and as the more orthodox believe, and are taught by the book itself, inimitable by any human pen (though some sectaries have been of another opinion[1]), and therefore insisted on as a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead,[2] and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine original.

And to this miracle did Mohammed himself chiefly appeal for the confirmation of his mission, publicly challenging the most eloquent men in Arabia, which was at that time stocked with thousands whose sole study and ambition it was to excel in elegance of style and composition,[3] to produce even a single chapter that might be compared with it.[4] I will mention but one instance out of several, to show that this book was really admired for the beauty of its composure by those who must be allowed to have been competent judges. A poem of Labîd Ebn Rabîa, one of the greatest wits in Arabia in Mohammed's time, being fixed up on the gate of the temple of Mecca, an honour allowed to none but the most esteemed performances, none of the other poets durst offer anything of their own in competition with it. But the second chapter of the Korân being fixed up by it soon after, Labid

[2] Vide Ibid. See also Schickardi Bechinat happeruschim, p. 62, &c. [3] Golius in append. ad Gram. Erp. p. 182. [1] See after. [2] Ahmed Ebn Abd'alhalim apud Marracc. de Alc. p. 43. [3] A noble writer therefore mistakes the question when he says these eastern religionists leave their sacred writ the sole standard of literate performance by extinguishing all true learning. For though they were destitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant, or unable to compose elegantly in their own tongue. See L. Shaftesbury's Characteristics, vol. iii. p. 235. [4] Al Ghazâli, apud Poc. Spec. 191. See Kor. c. 17, and also c. 2, p. 3, and c. 11, &c.

himself (then an idolater) on reading the first verses only, was struck with admiration, and immediately professed the religion taught thereby, declaring that such words could proceed from an inspired person only. This Labîd was afterwards of great service to Mohammed, in writing answers to the satires and invectives that were made on him and his religion by the infidels, and particularly by Amri al Kais,[5] prince of the tribe of Asad,[6] and author of one of those seven famous poems called al Moallakât.[7]

The style of the Korân is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner and scripture phrases. It is concise and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of GOD are described, sublime and magnificent, of which the reader cannot but observe several instances, though he must not imagine the translation comes up to the original, notwithstanding my endeavours to do it justice.

Though it be written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long continued rhyme, for the sake of which the sense is often interrupted, and unnecessary repetitions too frequently made, which appear still more ridiculous in a translation, where the ornament, such as it is, for whose sake they were made, cannot be perceived. However, the Arabians are so mightily delighted with this jingling, that they employ it in their most elaborate compositions, which they also embellish with frequent passages of, and allusions to, the Korân, so that it is next to impossible to understand them without being well versed in this book.

It is probable the harmony of expression which the Arabians find in the Korân might contribute not a little to make them relish the doctrine therein taught, and give an efficacy to arguments which, had they been nakedly proposed without this rhetorical dress, might not have so easily prevailed. Very extraordinary effects are related of the power of words well chosen and artfully placed, which are no less powerful either to ravish or amaze than music itself; wherefore as much has been ascribed by the best orators to this part of rhetoric as to any other.[1] He must have a very bad ear who is not uncommonly moved with the very cadence of a well-turned sentence, and Mohammed seems not to have been ignorant of the enthusiastic operation of rhetoric on the minds of men; for which reason he has not only employed his utmost skill in these his pretended revelations, to preserve that dignity and sublimity of style, which might seem not unworthy of the majesty of that Being, whom he gave out to be the author of them, and to imitate the prophetic manner of the Old Testament, but he has not neglected even the other arts of oratory; wherein he succeeded so well, and so strangely captivated the minds of his audience, that several of his opponents thought it the effect of witchcraft and enchantment, as he sometimes complains.[2]

"The general design of the Korân" (to use the words of a very learned person) "seems to be this. To unite the professors of the

[5] D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 512, &c [6] Poc Spec. p 80. [7] See before, p 22. [1] See Casaubon, of Enthusiasm, c. 4 [2] Kor c 15, 21, &c.

three different religions then followed in the populous country of Arabia, who for the most part lived promiscuously, and wandered without guides, the far greater number being idolaters, and the rest Jews and Christians, mostly of erroneous and heterodox belief, in the knowledge and worship of one eternal, invisible GOD, by whose power all things were made, and those which are not, may be, the supreme Governor, Judge, and absolute Lord of the creation; established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution, and enforced by setting before them rewards and punishments, both temporal and eternal; and to bring them all to the obedience of Mohammed, as the prophet and ambassador of GOD, who after the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish and propagate GOD'S religion on earth by force of arms, and to be acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual matters, as well as supreme prince in temporal."[1]

The great doctrine then of the Korân is the unity of GOD; to restore which point Mohammed pretended was the chief end of his mission; it being laid down by him as a fundamental truth, that there never was nor ever can be more than one true orthodox religion For though the particular laws or ceremonies are only temporary, and subject to alteration according to the divine direction, yet the substance of it being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the same And he taught that whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in essentials, GOD had the goodness to re-inform and re-admonish mankind thereof, by several prophets, of whom Moses and Jesus were the most distinguished, till the appearance of Mohammed, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage people to hearken to him, great part of the Korán is employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly inflicted by God on those who rejected and abused his messengers; several of which stories or some circumstances of them are taken from the Old and New Testament, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the Jews and Christians of those ages, set up in the Korân as truths in opposition to the scriptures, which the Jews and Christians are charged with having altered; and I am apt to believe that few or none of the relations or circumstances in the Korân were invented by Mohammed, as is generally supposed, it being easy to trace the greatest part of them much higher, as the rest might be, were more of those books extant, and it was worth while to make the inquiry.

The other part of the Korân is taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and above all to the worshipping and reverencing of the only true GOD, and resignation to his will, among which are many excellent things intermixed not unworthy even a Christian's perusal.

But besides these, there are a great number of passages which are occasional, and relate to particular emergencies. For whenever anything happened which perplexed and gravelled Mohammed, and

[1] Golius in appen. ad Gram. Erp. p. 176.

which he could not otherwise get over, he had constant recourse to a new revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice cases, and he found the success of this method answer his expectation. It was certainly an admirable and politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole Korân at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth, as a bungling prophet would probably have done, for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve. but as he pretended to have received it by parcels, as GOD saw proper that they should be published for the conversion and instruction of the people, he had a sure way to answer all emergencies, and to extricate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur If any objection be hence made to that eternity of the Korân, which the Mohammedans are taught to believe, they easily answer it by their doctrine of absolute predestination, according to which all the accidents for the sake of which these occasional passages were revealed, were predetermined by GOD from all eternity

That Mohammed was really the author and chief contriver of the Korân is beyond dispute though it be highly probable that he had no small assistance in his design from others, as his countrymen failed not to object to him,[1] however, they differed so much in their conjectures as to the particular persons who gave him such assistance,[2] that they were not able, it seems, to prove the charge, Mohammed, it is to be presumed, having taken his measures too well to be discovered Dr Prideaux[3] has given the most probable account of this matter, though chiefly from Christian writers, who generally mix such ridiculous fables with what they deliver, that they deserve not much credit

However it be, the Mohammedans absolutely deny the Korân was composed by their prophet himself, or any other for him, it being their general and orthodox belief that it is of divine original, nay, that it is eternal and uncreated, remaining, as some express it, in the very essence of GOD, that the first transcript has been from everlasting by GOD's throne, written on a table of vast bigness, called the preserved table, in which are also recorded the divine decrees past and future that a copy from this table, in one volume on paper, was by the ministry of the angel Gabriel sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of Ramadân, on the night of power,[4] from whence Gabriel revealed it to Mohammed by parcels, some at Mecca, and some at Medina, at different times, during the space of twenty-three years, as the exigency of affairs required, giving him, however, the consolation to show him the whole (which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones of paradise) once a year; but in the last year of his life he had the favour to see it twice They say that few chapters were delivered entire, the most part being revealed piecemeal, and written down from time to time by the prophet's amanuenses in such or such a part of such or such a chapter till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel.[5] The first parcel that was

[1] Vide Kor. c. [illegible] c. 25 [2] See the notes on those passages. [3] Life of Mahomet, p. 31, &c. [4] Vide Kor. c. [illegible] and note ibid [5] Therefore it is a mistake of Dr. Prideaux to say it was brought him chapter by chapter Life of Mahomet, p 6 The Jews also say the Law was given to Moses by parcels. Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham p 365

revealed, is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter.[1]

After the new revealed passages had been from the prophet's mouth taken down in writing by his scribe, they were published to his followers, several of whom took copies for their private use, but the far greater number got them by heart. The originals when returned were put promiscuously into a chest, observing no order of time, for which reason it is uncertain when many passages were revealed.

When Mohammed died, he left his revelations in the same disorder I have mentioned, and not digested into the method, such as it is, which we now find them in. This was the work of his successor, Abu Becr, who considering that a great number of passages were committed to the memory of Mohammed's followers, many of whom were slain in their wars, ordered the whole to be collected, not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers, but also from the mouths of such as had gotten them by heart. And this transcript when completed he committed to the custody of Hafsa the daughter of Omar, one of the prophet's widows.[2]

From this relation it is generally imagined that Abu Becr was really the compiler of the Koran; though for aught appears to the contrary, Mohammed left the chapters complete as we now have them, excepting such passages as his successor might add or correct from those who had gotten them by heart; what Abu Becr did else being perhaps no more than to range the chapters in their present order, which he seems to have done without any regard to time, having generally placed the longest first.

However, in the thirtieth year of the Hejra, Othmân being then Khalîf, and observing the great disagreement in the copies of the Korân in the several provinces of the empire—those of Irak, for example, following the reading of Abu Musa al Ashari, and the Syrians that of Macdad Ebn Aswad—he, by advice of the companions, ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of Abu Becr, in Hafsa's care, under the inspection of Zeid Ebn Thabet, Abd'allah Ebn Zobair, Said Ebn al As, and Abd'alrahman Ebn al Hareth, the Makhzumite, whom he directed that wherever they disagreed about any word, they should write it in the dialect of the Koreish, in which it was at first delivered.[3] These copies when made were dispersed in the several provinces of the empire, and the old ones burnt and suppressed. Though many things in Hafsa's copy were corrected by the above-mentioned supervisors, yet some few various readings still occur, the most material of which will be taken notice of in their proper places.

The want of vowels[4] in the Arabic character made Mokris, or readers whose peculiar study and profession it was to read the Korân with its proper vowels, absolutely necessary. but these differing in their

[1] Not the whole chapter, as Golius says. Append. ad Gr. Erp. p. 180. [2] Elmacin. in Vita Abu Becr. Abulfeda. [3] Abulfeda, in Vitis Othmani and Omari. [4] The characters or marks of the Arabic vowels were not in use till several years after Mohammed. Some ascribe the invention of them to Yahya Ebn Yâmer, some to Nasr Ebn Asam, surnamed al Leithi, and others to Abu'laswad al Dili; all three of whom were doctors of Basra, and immediately succeeded the companions. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 87.

manner of reading, occasioned still further variations in the copies of the Korân, as they are now written with the vowels; and herein consist much the greater part of the various readings throughout the book. The readers whose authority the commentators chiefly allege, in admitting these various readings, are seven in number.

There being some passages in the Korân which are contradictory, the Mohammedan doctors obviate any objection from thence by the doctrine of abrogation; for they say, that GOD in the Korân commanded several things which were for good reasons afterwards revoked and abrogated.

Passages abrogated are distinguished into three kinds: the first where the letter and the sense are both abrogated; the second, where the letter only is abrogated, but the sense remains; and the third, where the sense is abrogated, though the letter remains.

Of the first kind were several verses, which, by the tradition of Malec Ebn Ans, were in the prophet's lifetime read in the chapter of Repentance, but are not now extant, one of which, being all he remembered of them, was the following: "If a son of Adam had two rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third; and if he had three, he would covet yet a fourth (to be added) unto them; neither shall the belly of a son of Adam be filled, but with dust. GOD will turn unto him who shall repent." Another instance of this kind we have from the tradition of Abd'allah Ebn Masûd, who reported that the prophet gave him a verse to read which he wrote down; but the next morning looking in his book, he found it was vanished, and the leaf blank: this he acquainted Mohammed with, who assured him the verse was revoked the same night.

Of the second kind is a verse called the verse of stoning, which, according to the tradition of Omar, afterwards Khalif, was extant while Mohammed was living, though it be not now to be found. The words are these: "Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingratitude in you. If a man and woman of reputation commit adultery, ye shall stone them both; it is a punishment ordained by GOD; for GOD is mighty and wise."

Of the last kind are observed several verses in sixty-three different chapters, to the number of 225. Such as the precepts of turning in prayer to Jerusalem; fasting after the old custom; forbearance towards idolaters; avoiding the ignorant, and the like.[1] The passages of this sort have been carefully collected by several writers, and are most of them remarked in their proper places.

Though it is the belief of the Sonnites or orthodox that the Korân is uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the very essence of GOD, and Mohammed himself is said to have pronounced him an infidel who asserted the contrary,[2] yet several have been of a different opinion, particularly the sect of the Mótazalites,[3] and the followers of Isa Ebn Sobeih Abu Musa, surnamed al Mozdar, who stuck not to accuse those who held the Korân to be uncreated of infidelity, as asserters of two eternal beings.[4]

This point was controverted with so much heat that it occasioned

[1] Abu Hashem Hebatallah, apud Marracc. de Alc. p. 42. [2] Apud Poc. Spec. 220. [3] See after, in Sect. VIII. [4] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 219, &c.

many calamities under some of the Khalifs of the family of Abbâs, al Mamûn[5] making a public edict declaring the Korân to be created, which was confirmed by his successors Al Mótasem[6] and Al Wâthek,[7] who whipped, imprisoned, and put to death those of the contrary opinion. But at length Al Motawakkel,[1] who succeeded Al Wâthek, put an end to these persecutions, by revoking the former edicts, releasing those that were imprisoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point[2]

Al Ghazâli seems to have tolerably reconciled both opinions, saying, that the Korân is read and pronounced with the tongue, written in books, and kept in memory; and is yet eternal, subsisting in GOD'S essence, and not possible to be separated thence by any transmission into men's memories or the leaves of books;[3] by which he seems to mean no more than that the original idea of the Korân only is really in GOD, and consequently co-essential and co-eternal with him, but that the copies are created and the work of man.

The opinion of Al Jahedh, chief of a sect bearing his name, touching the Korân, is too remarkable to be omitted he used to say it was a body, which might sometimes be turned into a man,[4] and sometimes into a beast;[5] which seems to agree with the notion of those who assert the Korân to have two faces, one of a man, the other of a beast;[6] thereby, as I conceive, intimating the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the spirit.

As some have held the Korân to be created, so there have not been wanting those who have asserted that there is nothing miraculous in that book in respect to style or composition, excepting only the prophetical relations of things past, and predictions of things to come; and that had GOD left men to their natural liberty, and not restrained them in that particular, the Arabians could have composed something not only equal, but superior to the Korân in eloquence, method, and purity of language. This was another opinion of the Mótazalites, and in particular of al Mozdâr, above mentioned, and al Nodhâm.[7]

The Korân being the Mohammedans' rule of faith and practice, it is no wonder its expositors and commentators are so very numerous And it may not be amiss to take notice of the rules they observe in expounding it.

One of the most learned commentators[1] distinguishes the contents of the Korân into allegorical and literal. The former comprehends the more obscure, parabolical, and enigmatical passages, and such as

[5] Anno Hej 218. Abulfarag, p 245, v. etiam Elmacin in Vita al Mamûn. [6] In the time of al Mótasem, a doctor named Abu Harûn Ebn al Baca found out a distinction to screen himself, by affirming that the Korân was ordained, because it is said in that book, "And I have ordained thee the Korân" He went still farther to allow that what was ordained was created, and yet he denied it thence followed that the Korân was created Abulfarag, p 253. [7] Ibid p. 257 [1] Anno Hej 242 [2] Abulfarag, p 262 [3] Al Ghazâli, in prof fid. [4] The Khalif al Walid Ebn Yazid, who was the eleventh of the race of Ommeya, and is looked on by the Mohammedans as a reprobate, and one of no religion, seems to have treated this book as a rational creature, for, dipping into it one day, the first words he met with were these · "Every rebellious perverse person shall not prosper" Whereupon he stuck it on a lance, and shot it to pieces with arrows, repeating these verses · "Dost thou rebuke every rebellious perverse person? Behold, I am that rebellious, perverse person. When thou appearest before thy LORD on the day of resurrection, say, O LORD, al Walid has torn me thus." Ebn Shohnah. v. Poc. Spec p. 223. [5] Poc. Spec. p. 222 [6] Herbelot, p 87. [7] Abulfeda, Shahrestani, &c. apud Poc Spec. p 222, et Marracc. de Kor p [illegible] [1] Al Zamakhshari Vide Kor c. 3 [illegible]

are repealed or abrogated; the latter those which are plain, perspicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force.

To explain these severally in a right manner, it is necessary from tradition and study to know the time when each passage was revealed, its circumstances, state, and history, and the reasons or particular emergencies for the sake of which it was revealed.[1] Or, more explicitly, whether the passage was revealed at Mecca, or at Medina; whether it be abrogated, or does itself abrogate any other passage, whether it be anticipated in order of time, or postponed; whether it be distinct from the context, or depends thereon, whether it be particular or general; and, lastly, whether it be implicit by intention, or explicit in words.[2]

By what has been said the reader may easily believe this book is in the greatest reverence and esteem among the Mohammedans. They dare not so much as touch it without being first washed or legally purified,[4] which, lest they should do by inadvertence, they write these words on the cover or label, "Let none touch it but they who are clean." They read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles They swear by it, consult it in their weighty occasions,[5] carry it with them to war, write sentences of it on their banners, adorn it with gold and precious stones, and knowingly suffer it not to be in the possession of any of a different persuasion

The Mohammedans, far from thinking the Korân to be profaned by a translation, as some authors have written,[6] have taken care to have their scriptures translated not only into the Persian tongue, but into several others, particularly the Javan and Malayan,[7] though out of respect to the original Arabic, these versions are generally (if not always) interlineary.

SECTION IV.

OF THE DOCTRINES AND POSITIVE PRECEPTS OF THE KORAN, WHICH RELATE TO FAITH AND RELIGIOUS DUTIES

IT has been already observed more than once, that the fundamental position on which Mohammed erected the superstructure of his religion was, that from the beginning to the end of the world there has been, and for ever will be, but one true orthodox belief; consisting, as to matter of faith, in the acknowledging of the only true GOD, and the believing in and obeying such messengers or prophets as he should from time to time send, with proper credentials, to reveal his will to

[1] Ahmed Ebn Moh al Thalebi in Princip. Expos Alc [2] Yahya Ebn al Salâm al Basri, in Princep Expos Alc [4] The Jews have the same veneration for their law, not daring to touch it with unwashed hands, nor then neither without a cover Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moh p 306 [5] This they do by dipping into it, and taking an omen from the words which they first light on; which practice they also learned of the Jews, who do the same with the scriptures Vide Millium, ubi sup [6] Sionita, de Urb Orient p 41 et Marrac de Alc p 33 [7] Reland de Rel Moh p 264

mankind; and as to matter of practice, in the observance of the immutable and eternal laws of right and wrong, together with such other precepts and ceremonies as GOD should think fit to order for the time being, according to the different dispensations in different ages of the world. for these last he allowed were things indifferent in their own nature, and became obligatory by GOD'S positive precept only; and were therefore temporary, and subject to alteration according to his will and pleasure. And to this religion he gives the name of Islâm, which word signifies resignation, or submission to the service and commands of GOD,[1] and is used as the proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which they will also have to be the same at bottom with that of all the prophets from Adam.

Under pretext that this eternal religion was in his time corrupted, and professed in its purity by no one sect of men, Mohammed pretended to be a prophet sent by GOD to reform those abuses which had crept into it, and to reduce it to its primitive simplicity, with the addition, however, of peculiar laws and ceremonies, some of which had been used in former times, and others were now first instituted. And he comprehended the whole substance of his doctrine under these two propositions, or articles of faith, viz., that there is but one GOD, and that himself was the apostle of GOD, in consequence of which latter article, all such ordinances and institutions as he thought fit to establish must be received as obligatory and of divine authority.

The Mohammedans divide their religion, which, as I just now said, they call Islam, into two distinct parts. Iman, i.e., faith, or theory, and Dîn, i.e., religion, or practice and teach that it is built on five fundamental points, one belonging to faith, and the other four to practice.

The first is that confession of faith which I have already mentioned; that "there is no god but the true GOD, and that Mohammed is his apostle." Under which they comprehend six distinct branches; viz., 1 Belief in GOD, 2 In his angels, 3 In his scriptures; 4 In his prophets; 5 In the resurrection and day of judgment, and, 6 In GOD'S absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil.

The four points relating to practice are 1 Prayer, under which are comprehended those washings or purifications which are necessary preparations required before prayer; 2. Alms, 3 Fasting, and, 4. The pilgrimage to Mecca. Of each of these I shall speak in their order.

That both Mohammed and those among his followers who are reckoned orthodox, had and continue to have just and true notions of GOD and his attributes (always excepting their obstinate and impious rejecting of the Trinity), appears so plain from the Korân itself and all the Mohammedan divines, that it would be loss of time to refute those who suppose the GOD of Mohammed to be different from the true GOD, and only a fictitious deity or idol of his own creation.[2] Nor shall I here enter into any of the Mohammedan controversies concerning the divine nature and attributes, because I shall have a more proper opportunity of doing it elsewhere.[3]

[1] The root Salama, from whence Islâm is formed, in the first and fourth conjugations signifies also to be saved, or to enter into a state of salvation according to which Islâm may be translated the religion or state of salvation but the other sense is more approved by the Mohammedans, and alluded to in the Korân itself. See [illegible] and [illegible]

[2] Marracc. in Alc. p. 102. [3] Sect. VIII.

The existence of angels and their purity are absolutely required to be believed in the Korân; and he is reckoned an infidel who denies there are such beings, or hates any of them,[4] or asserts any distinction of sexes among them. They believe them to have pure and subtle bodies, created of fire;[5] that they neither eat nor drink, nor propagate their species; that they have various forms and offices; some adoring GOD in different postures, others singing praises to him, or interceding for mankind. They hold that some of them are employed in writing down the actions of men; others in carrying the throne of GOD and other services.

The four angels whom they look on as more eminently in GOD'S favour, and often mention on account of the offices assigned them, are Gabriel, to whom they give several titles, particularly those of the holy spirit,[1] and the angel of revelations,[2] supposing him to be honoured by GOD with a greater confidence than any other, and to be employed in writing down the divine decrees;[3] Michael, the friend and protector of the Jews;[4] Azrael, the angel of death, who separates men's souls from their bodies;[5] and Israfîl, whose office it will be to sound the trumpet at the resurrection.[6] The Mohammedans also believe that two guardian angels attend on every man, to observe and write down his actions,[7] being changed every day, and therefore called al Moakkibât, or the angels who continually succeed one another.

This whole doctrine concerning angels Mohammed and his disciples have borrowed from the Jews, who learned the names and offices of those beings from the Persians, as themselves confess.[8] The ancient Persians firmly believed the ministry of angels, and their superintendence over the affairs of this world (as the Magians still do), and therefore assigned them distinct charges and provinces, giving their names to their months and the days of their months. Gabriel they called Sorûsh and Revân bakhsh, or the *giver of souls*, in opposition to the contrary office of the angel of death, to whom among other names they gave that of Mordâd, or the *giver of death*; Michael they called Beshter, who according to them provides sustenance for mankind.[9] The Jews teach that the angels were created of fire,[10] that they have several offices,[11] that they intercede for men,[12] and attend them.[13] The angel of death they name Dûma, and say he calls dying persons by their respective names at their last hour.[14]

The devil, whom Mohammed names Eblîs from his *despair*, was once one of those angels who are nearest to GOD'S presence, called Azazîl,[15] and fell, according to the doctrine of the Korân, for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of GOD.[16]

Besides angels and devils, the Mohammedans are taught by the

[4] Kor. c. 2, p. 13. [5] Ibid. c. 7 and 38. [1] Ibid. c. 2, p. 12. [2] See the notes, Ibid, p. 13. [3] Vide Hyde Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 262. [4] Vide Ibid. p. 271, and not. in Kor. p. 13. [5] Vide not. Ibid. p. 4. [6] Kor. c. 6, 13, and 86. The offices of these four angels are described almost in the same manner in the apocryphal gospel of Barnabas, where it is said that Gabriel reveals the secrets of GOD, Michael combats against his enemies, Raphael receives the souls of those who die, and Uriel is to call every one to judgment on the last day. See the Menagiana, tom. iv, p. 333. [7] Kor. c. 10. [8] Talmud Hieros. in Rosh hashan. [9] Vide Hyde, ubi sup. c. 19 and 20. [10] Gemar. in Hagig. and Bereshit rabbah, &c. Vide Psalm civ. 4. [11] Yalkut hadash. [12] Gemar. in Shebet, and Bava Bathra, &c. [13] Midrash, Yalkut Shemûni. [14] Gemar. Berachoth. [15] Vide Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 189, &c. [16] Kor. c. 2. See also c. 7, 38, &c.

Korân to believe an intermediate order of creatures, which they call Jin or Genii, created also of fire,[17] but of a grosser fabric than angels; since they eat and drink, and propagate their species, and are subject to death.[1] Some of these are supposed to be good, and others bad, and capable of future salvation or damnation, as men are; whence Mohammed pretended to be sent for the conversion of genii as well as men.[2] The orientals pretend that these genii inhabited the world for many ages before Adam was created, under the government of several successive princes, who all bore the common name of Solomon; but falling at length into an almost general corruption, Eblîs was sent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined: that some of that generation still remaining, were by Tahmûrath, one of the ancient kings of Persia, who waged war against them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Kâf. Of which successions and wars they have many fabulous and romantic stories. They also make different ranks and degrees among these beings (if they be not rather supposed to be of a different species), some being called absolutely Jin, some Peri or fairies, some Div or giants, others Tacwins or fates[3]

The Mohammedan notions concerning these genii agree almost exactly with what the Jews write of a sort of demons, called Shedîm, whom some fancy to have been begotten by two angels named Aza and Azael, on Naamah the daughter of Lamech, before the Flood.[4] However, the Shedîm, they tell us, agree in three things with the ministering angels; for that, like them, they have wings, and fly from one end of the world to the other, and have some knowledge of futurity; and in three things they agree with men, like whom they eat and drink, and are propagated, and die[5] They also say that some of them believe in the law of Moses, and are consequently good, and that others of them are infidels and reprobates.[6]

As to the scriptures, the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân that GOD, in divers ages of the world, gave revelations of his will in writing to several prophets, the whole and every word of which it is absolutely necessary for a good Moslem to believe. The number of these sacred books were, according to them, 104 Of which ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Edris or Enoch, ten to Abraham, and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Korân, were successively delivered to Moses, David, Jesus, and Mohammed; which last being the seal of the prophets, those revelations are now closed, and no more are to be expected. All these divine books, except the four last they agree to be now entirely lost, and their contents unknown, though the Sabians have several books which they attribute to some of the antediluvian prophets. And of those four the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, they say, have undergone so many alterations and corruptions, that though there may possibly be some part of the true word of GOD therein, yet no credit is to be given to the present copies in the hands of the Jews and Christians. The Jews in particular are frequently reflected on in the Korân for falsifying and corrupting their copies of their law; and some instances of such pre-

[17] Kor c. 55. See the notes there [1] Jallalo'ddin, in Kor c. 2 and 18 [2] Vide Kor, c. 55, 72, and 74. [3] See D'Herbelot Bibl Orient. p 369, 820, &c. [4] In libro Zoh [5] Gemara, in Hagiga. [6] Igrat Baale hayyim ...

tended corruptions, both in that book and the two others, are produced by Mohammedan writers, wherein they merely follow their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of spurious legends. Whether they have any copy of the Pentateuch among them different from that of the Jews or not, I am not entirely satisfied, since a person who travelled into the east was told that they had the books of Moses, though very much corrupted,[1] but I know nobody that has ever seen them. However, they certainly have and privately read a book which they call the Psalms of David, in Arabic and Persian, to which are added some prayers of Moses, Jonas, and others.[2] This Mr. Reland supposes to be a translation from our copies (though no doubt falsified in more places than one); but M. D'Herbelot says it contains not the same Psalms which are in our Psalter, being no more than an extract from thence mixed with other very different pieces.[3] The easiest way to reconcile these two learned gentlemen, is to presume that they speak of different copies. The Mohammedans have also a Gospel in Arabic, attributed to St. Barnabas, wherein the history of Jesus Christ is related in a manner very different from what we find in the true Gospels, and correspondent to those traditions which Mohammed has followed in his Korân. Of this Gospel the Moriscoes in Africa have a translation in Spanish;[4] and there is in the library of Prince Eugene of Savoy, a manuscript of some antiquity, containing an Italian translation of the same Gospel,[5] made, it is to be supposed, for the use of renegades. This book appears to be no original forgery of the Mohammedans, though they have no doubt interpolated and altered it since, the better to serve their purpose, and in particular, instead of the Paraclete or Comforter,[6] they have in this apocryphal gospel inserted the word Periclyte, that is, the *famous* or *illustrious*, by which they pretend their prophet was foretold by name, that being the signification of Mohammed in Arabic:[1] and this they say to justify that passage of the Korân,[2] where Jesus Christ is formally asserted to have foretold his coming, under his other name of Ahmed, which is derived from the same root as Mohammed and of the same import. From these or some other forgeries of the same stamp it is that the Mohammedans quote several passages, of which there are not the least footsteps in the New Testament. But after all we must not hence infer that the Mohammedans, much less all of them, hold these copies of theirs to be the ancient and genuine scriptures themselves. If any argue, from the corruption which they insist has happened to the Pentateuch and Gospel, that the Korân may possibly be corrupted also, they answer, that God has promised that he will take care of the latter, and preserve it from any addition or diminution;[3] but that he left the two other to the care of men. However, they confess there are some various readings in the Korân,[4] as has been observed.

Besides the books above mentioned, the Mohammedans also take notice of the writings of Daniel and several other prophets, and even

[1] Terry's Voyage to the East Indies, p. 277. [2] De Rel. Moham. p. 23. [3] A copy of this kind, he tells us, is in the library of the Duke of Tuscany, Bibl. Orient. p. 924. [4] Reland. ubi sup. [5] Menagian. tom. iv. p. 321, &c. [6] John xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, and xvi. 7, compared with Luke xxiv. 49. [1] See Toland's Nazarenus, the first eight chapters. [2] Cap. 61. [3] Kor. c. 15. [4] Reland. ubi sup. p. 26, 27.

make quotations thence; but these they do not believe to be divine scripture, or of any authority in matters of religion.[5]

The number of the prophets, which have been from time to time sent by GOD into the world, amounts to no less than 224,000, according to one Mohammedan tradition, or to 124,000, according to another, among whom 313 were apostles, sent with special commissions to reclaim mankind from infidelity and superstition; and six of them brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding: these were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. All the prophets in general the Mohammedans believe to have been free from great sins and errors of consequence, and professors of one and the same religion, that is Islâm, notwithstanding the different laws and institutions which they observed. They allow of degrees among them, and hold some of them to be more excellent and honourable than others.[6] The first place they give to the revealers and establishers of new dispensations, and the next to the apostles.

In this great number of prophets, they not only reckon divers patriarchs and persons named in scripture, but not recorded to have been prophets (wherein the Jewish and Christian writers have sometimes led the way[1]), as Adam, Seth, Lot, Ismael, Nun, Joshua, &c., and introduce some of them under different names, as Enoch, Heber, and Jethro, who are called in the Korân, Edrís, Hûd, and Shoaib; but several others whose very names do not appear in scripture (though they endeavour to find some persons there to fix them on), as Saleh, Khedr, Dhu'lkefl, &c. Several of their fabulous traditions concerning these prophets we shall occasionally mention in the notes on the Korân.

As Mohammed acknowledged the divine authority of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, he often appeals to the consonancy of the Korân with those writings, and to the prophecies which he pretended were therein concerning himself, as proofs of his mission; and he frequently charges the Jews and Christians with stifling the passages which bear witness to him.[2] His followers also fail not to produce several texts even from our present copies of the Old and New Testament, to support their master's cause.[3]

The next article of faith required by the Korân is the belief of a general resurrection and a future judgment. But before we consider the Mohammedan tenets in those points, it will be proper to mention what they are taught to believe concerning the intermediate state, both of the body and of the soul, after death.

When a corpse is laid in the grave, they say he is received by an angel, who gives him notice of the coming of the two examiners; who are two black livid angels, of a terrible appearance, named Monker and Nakír. These order the dead person to sit upright, and examine him concerning his faith, as to the unity of GOD, and the mission of Mohammed: if he answer rightly, they suffer the body to rest in peace, and it is refreshed by the air of paradise; but if not, they beat him on the temples with iron maces, till he roars out for anguish so loud, that

[5] Idem, ibid. p. 41. [6] Kor. c. 2, p. 27, &c. [1] Thus Heber is said to have been a prophet by the Jews (Seder Olam, p. 2), and Adam by Epiphanius (Adv. Hæres. p. 6). See also Joseph. Ant. l. 1, c. 2. [2] Kor. c. 2, p. 5, 10, 16; c. 3, &c. [3] Some of these texts are produced by Dr. Prideaux at the end of his Life of Mahomet, and more by Marracci in Alcor. p. 26, &c.

he is heard by all from east to west, except men and genii Then they press the earth on the corpse, which is gnawed and stung till the resurrection by ninety-nine dragons, with seven heads each; or as others say, their sins will become venomous beasts, the grievous ones stinging like dragons, the smaller like scorpions, and the others like serpents: circumstances which some understand in a figurative sense.[4]

The examination of the sepulchre is not only founded on an express tradition of Mohammed, but is also plainly hinted at, though not directly taught, in the Korân,[1] as the commentators agree. It is therefore believed by the orthodox Mohammedans in general, who take care to have their graves made hollow, that they may sit up with more ease while they are examined by the angels,[2] but is utterly rejected by the sect of the Mótazalites, and perhaps by some others.

These notions Mohammed certainly borrowed from the Jews, among whom they were very anciently received.[3] They say that the angel of death coming and sitting on the grave, the soul immediately enters the body and raises it on its feet, that he then examines the departed person, and strikes him with a chain half of iron and half of fire; at the first blow all his limbs are loosened, at the second his bones are scattered, which are gathered together again by angels, and the third stroke reduces the body to dust and ashes, and it returns into the grave. This rack or torture they call *Hibbût hakkeber*, or the *beating of the sepulchre*, and pretend that all men in general must undergo it, except only those who die on the evening of the sabbath, or have dwelt in the land of Israel.[4]

If it be objected to the Mohammedans that the cry of the persons under such examination has been never heard; or if they be asked how those can undergo it whose bodies are burnt or devoured by beasts or birds, or otherwise consumed without burial, they answer, that it is very possible notwithstanding, since men are not able to perceive what is transacted on the other side the grave; and that it is sufficient to restore to life any part of the body which is capable of understanding the questions put by the angels.[5]

As to the soul, they hold that when it is separated from the body by the angel of death, who performs his office with ease and gentleness towards the good, and with violence towards the wicked,[6] it enters into that state which they call *Al Berzakh*,[7] or *the interval* between death and the resurrection If the departed person was a believer, they say two angels meet it, who convey it to heaven, that its place there may be assigned, according to its merit and degree. For they distinguish the souls of the faithful into three classes the first of prophets, whose souls are admitted into paradise immediately; the second of martyrs, whose spirits, according to a tradition of Mohammed, rest in the crops of green birds which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradise, and the third of other believers, concerning the state of whose souls before the resurrection there are various opinions. For, 1. Some say they stay near the sepulchres, with liberty, however, of going wherever they please; which they confirm from Mohammed's manner of saluting

[4] Al Ghazâli Vide Poc not in Port Mosis, p 241, &c [1] Cap 8 and 47, &c. [2] Smith de Morib et Instit Turcar Ep 2, p 57 [3] Vide Hyde, in Notis ad Bobov de Visit Ægrot p 19 [4] R. Elias, in Tishbi See also Buxtorf Synag Judaic and Lexic Talmud [5] Vide Poc ubi sup [6] Kor c 79 The Jews say the same in Nishmat hayim, f 77 [7] Vide Kor c 23, and not ib

them at their graves, and his affirming that the dead heard those salutations as well as the living, though they could not answer. Whence perhaps proceeded the custom of visiting the tombs of relations, so common among the Mohammedans.[1] 2. Others imagine they are with Adam, in the lowest heaven; and also support their opinion by the authority of their prophet, who gave out that in his return from the upper heavens in his pretended night journey, he saw there the souls of those who were destined to paradise on the right hand of Adam, and of those who were condemned to hell on his left.[2] 3. Others fancy the souls of believers remain in the well Zemzem, and those of infidels in a certain well in the province of Hadramaut, called Borhût; but this opinion is branded as heretical. 4 Others say they stay near the graves for seven days; but that whither they go afterwards is uncertain 5 Others that they are all in the trumpet whose sound is to raise the dead. And, 6. Others that the souls of the good dwell in the forms of white birds, under the throne of GOD[3] As to the condition of the souls of the wicked, besides the opinions that have been already mentioned, the more orthodox hold that they are offered by the angels to heaven, from whence being repulsed as stinking and filthy, they are offered to the earth, and being also refused a place there, are carried down to the seventh earth, and thrown into a dungeon, which they call Sajîn, under a green rock, or according to a tradition of Mohammed, under the devil's jaw,[4] to be there tormented, till they are called up to be joined again to their bodies

Though some among the Mohammedans have thought that the resurrection will be merely spiritual, and no more than the returning of the soul to the place whence it first came (an opinion defended by Ebn Sina,[5] and called by some the *opinion of the philosophers*[6]), and others, who allow man to consist of body only, that it will be merely corporeal, the received opinion is, that both body and soul will be raised, and their doctors argue strenuously for the possibility of the resurrection of the body, and dispute with great subtlety concerning the manner of it[7] But Mohammed has taken care to preserve one part of the body, whatever becomes of the rest, to serve for a basis of the future edifice, or rather a leaven for the mass which is to be joined to it. For he taught that a man's body was entirely consumed by the earth, except only the bone called al Ajb, which we name the *os coccygis*, or rump-bone; and that as it was the first formed in the human body, it will also remain uncorrupted till the last day, as a seed from whence the whole is to be renewed · and this he said would be effected by a forty days' rain which GOD should send, and which would cover the earth to the height of twelve cubits, and cause the bodies to sprout forth like plants.[1] Herein also is Mohammed beholden to the Jews, who say the same things of the bone Luz,[2] excepting that what he attributes to a great rain, will be effected according to them by a dew, impregnating the dust of the earth.

The time of the resurrection the Mohammedans allow to be a perfect

[1] Poc ubi sup p. 247. [2] Ibid, p 248 Consonant hereto are the Jewish notions of the souls of the just being on high, under the throne of glory. Vide ibid p 156. [3] Ibid p 250. [4] Al Beidâwi Vide Poc. ubi sup. p. 251. [5] Or, as we corruptly name him, Avicenna. [6] Kenz al arrâr. [7] Vide Poc. ubi sup. p. 254. [1] Idem, ibid. p 255. &c. [2] Bereshit. rabbah, &c. Vide Poc. ubi sup p. 117, &c.

secret to all but GOD alone the angel Gabriel himself acknowledging his ignorance on this point when Mohammed asked him about it. However, they say the approach of that day may be known from certain signs which are to precede it. These signs they distinguish into two sorts—the lesser and the greater—which I shall briefly enumerate after Dr Pocock.[3]

The lesser signs are: 1. The decay of faith among men.[4] 2. The advancing of the meanest persons to eminent dignity. 3. That a maid-servant shall become the mother of her mistress (or master); by which is meant either that towards the end of the world men shall be much given to sensuality, or that the Mohammedans shall then take many captives. 4. Tumults and seditions. 5. A war with the Turks. 6. Great distress in the world, so that a man when he passes by another's grave shall say "Would to GOD I were in his place." 7. That the provinces of Irâk and Syria shall refuse to pay their tribute. And, 8. That the buildings of Medina shall reach to Ahâb, or Yahâb.

The greater signs are:

1. The sun's rising in the west: which some have imagined it originally did.[5]

2. The appearance of the beast, which shall rise out of the earth, in the temple of Mecca, or on Mount Safâ, or in the territory of Tâyef, or some other place. This beast they say is to be sixty cubits high: though others, not satisfied with so small a size, will have her reach to the clouds and to heaven when her head only is out; and that she will appear for three days, but show only a third part of her body. They describe this monster, as to her form, to be a compound of various species, having the head of a bull, the eyes of a hog, the ears of an elephant, the horns of a stag, the neck of an ostrich, the breast of a lion, the colour of a tiger, the back of a cat, the tail of a ram, the legs of a camel, and the voice of an ass. Some say this beast is to appear three times in several places, and that she will bring with her the rod of Moses and the seal of Solomon, and being so swift that none can overtake or escape her, will with the first strike all the believers on the face and mark them with the word Mûmen, *i.e.*, believer, and with the latter will mark the unbelievers, on the face likewise, with the word Câfer, *i.e.*, infidel, that every person may be known for what he really is. They add that the same beast is to demonstrate the vanity of all religions except Islâm, and to speak Arabic. All this stuff seems to be the result of a confused idea of the beast in the Revelations.[6]

3. War with the Greeks, and the taking of Constantinople by 70,000 of the posterity of Isaac, who shall not win that city by force of arms, but the walls shall fall down while they cry out, "There is no god but GOD. GOD is most great!" As they are dividing the spoil, news will come to them of the appearance of Antichrist, whereupon they shall leave all, and return back.

4. The coming of Antichrist, whom the Mohammedans call al Masîh al Dajjâl, *i.e.*, the false or lying Christ, and simply al Dajjâl. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters C.F.R., signifying Câfer, or infidel. They say that the Jews give him the name of Messiah

[3] Ibid p. 256, &c. [4] See Luke xviii. 8. [5] See Whiston's Theory of the Earth, bk. ii. p. 98, &c. [6] Chap. xiii.

Ben David, and pretend he is to come in the last days and to be lord both of land and sea, and that he will restore the kingdom to them. According to the traditions of Mohammed, he is to appear first between Irâk and Syria, or according to others, in the province of Khorasân, they add that he is to ride on an ass, that he will be followed by 70,000 Jews of Ispahân, and continue on earth forty days, of which one will be equal in length to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the rest will be common days, that he is to lay waste all places, but will not enter Mecca or Medina, which are to be guarded by angels; and that at length he will be slain by Jesus, who is to encounter him at the gate of Lud. It is said that Mohammed foretold several Antichrists, to the number of about thirty, but one of greater note than the rest.

5. The descent of Jesus on earth. They pretend that he is to descend near the white tower to the east of Damascus, when the people are returned from the taking of Constantinople, that he is to embrace the Mohammedan religion, marry a wife, get children, kill Antichrist, and at length die after forty years', or, according to others, twenty-four years',[1] continuance on earth. Under him they say there will be great security and plenty in the world, all hatred and malice being laid aside; when lions and camels, bears and sheep, shall live in peace, and a child shall play with serpents unhurt.[2]

6. War with the Jews, of whom the Mohammedans are to make a religious slaughter, the very trees and stones discovering such of them as hide themselves, except only the tree called Gharkad which is the tree of the Jews.

7. The eruption of Gog and Magog, or, as they are called in the east, Yâjûj and Mâjûj; of whom many things are related in the Korân,[3] and the traditions of Mohammed. These barbarians, they tell us, having passed the lake of Tiberias, which the vanguard of their vast army will drink dry, will come to Jerusalem, and there greatly distress Jesus and his companions; till at his request GOD will destroy them, and fill the earth with their carcasses, which after some time GOD will send birds to carry away, at the prayers of Jesus and his followers. Their bows, arrows, and quivers the Moslems will burn for seven years together;[4] and at last GOD will send a rain to cleanse the earth, and to make it fertile.

8. A smoke, which shall fill the whole earth.[5]

9. An eclipse of the moon. Mohammed is reported to have said that there would be three eclipses before the last hour, one to be seen in the east, another in the west, and the third in Arabia.

10. The returning of the Arabs to the worship of Allat and al Uzza, and the rest of their ancient idols, after the decease of every one in whose heart there was faith equal to a grain of mustard-seed, none but the very worst of men being left alive. For GOD, they say, will send a cold odoriferous wind, blowing from Syria Damascena, which shall sweep away the souls of all the faithful, and the Korân itself, so that men will remain in the grossest ignorance for a hundred years.

[1] Al Thalabi, in Kor. c. 4. [2] See Isaiah xi. 6, &c. [3] Cap. 18 and 21. [4] See Ezek. xxxix. 9, Rev. xx. 8. [5] See Kor. c. 44, and the notes thereon. Compare also Joel ii. 30, and Rev. ix. 2.

11. The discovery of a vast heap of gold and silver by the retreating of the Euphrates, which will be the destruction of many.

12. The demolition of the Caaba, or temple of Mecca, by the Ethiopians.[1]

13 The speaking of beasts and inanimate things.

14 The breaking out of fire in the province of Hejâz; or, according to others, in Yaman

15. The appearance of a man of the descendants of Kahtân, who shall drive men before him with his staff.

16. The coming of the Mohdi, or director; concerning whom Mohammed prophesied that the world should not have an end till one of his own family should govern the Arabians, whose name should be the same with his own name, and whose father's name should also be the same with his father's name; and who should fill the earth with righteousness. This person the Shiites believe to be now alive, and concealed in some secret place, till the time of his manifestation; for they suppose him to be no other than the last of the twelve Imâms, named Mohammed Abu'lkasem, as their prophet was, and the son of Hassan al Askeri, the eleventh of that succession He was born at Sermanrai in the 255th year of the Hejra.[2] From this tradition, it is to be presumed, an opinion pretty current among the Christians took its rise, that the Mohammedans are in expectation of their prophet's return.

17. A wind which shall sweep away the souls of all who have but a grain of faith in their hearts, as has been mentioned under the tenth sign.

These are the greater signs, which, according to their doctrine, are to precede the resurrection, but still leave the hour of it uncertain: for the immediate sign of its being come will be the first blast of the trumpet; which they believe will be sounded three times. The first they call the *blast of consternation;* at the hearing of which all creatures in heaven and earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom GOD shall please to exempt from it The effects attributed to this first sound of the trumpet are very wonderful. for they say the earth will be shaken, and not only all buildings, but the very mountains levelled; that the heavens shall melt, the sun be darkened, the stars fall, on the death of the angels, who, as some imagine, hold them suspended between heaven and earth, and the sea shall be troubled and dried up, or, according to others, turned into flames, the sun, moon, and stars being thrown into it the Korân, to express the greatness of the terror of that day, adds that women who give suck shall abandon the care of their infants, and even the she-camels which have gone ten months with young (a most valuable part of the substance of that nation) shall be utterly neglected. A farther effect of this blast will be that concourse of beasts mentioned in the Korân,[3] though some doubt whether it be to precede the resurrection or not. They who suppose it will precede, think that all kinds of animals, forgetting their respective natural fierceness and timidity, will run together into one place, being terrified by the sound of the trumpet and the sudden shock of nature.

The Mohammedans believe that this first blast will be followed by a second, which they call the *blast of examination*,[2] when all creatures, both in heaven and earth, shall die or be annihilated, except those which GOD shall please to exempt from the common fate;[3] and this, they say, shall happen in the twinkling of an eye, nay, in an instant; nothing surviving except GOD alone, with paradise and hell, and the inhabitants of those two places, and the throne of glory.[4] The last who shall die will be the angel of death.

Forty years after this will be heard the *blast of resurrection*, when the trumpet shall be sounded the third time by Israfil, who, together with Gabriel and Michael, will be previously restored to life, and standing on the rock of the temple of Jerusalem,[5] shall, at GOD'S command, call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other dispersed parts of the bodies, and the very hairs, to judgment. This angel having, by the divine order, set the trumpet to his mouth, and called together all the souls from all parts, will throw them into his trumpet, from whence, on his giving the last sound, at the command of GOD, they will fly forth like bees, and fill the whole space between heaven and earth, and then repair to their respective bodies, which the opening earth will suffer to arise, and the first who shall so arise, according to a tradition of Mohammed, will be himself. For this birth the earth will be prepared by the rain above mentioned, which is to fall continually for forty years,[6] and will resemble the seed of a man, and be supplied from the water under the throne of GOD, which is called living water; by the efficacy and virtue of which the dead bodies shall spring forth from their graves, as they did in their mother's womb, or as corn sprouts forth by common rain, till they become perfect; after which breath will be breathed into them, and they will sleep in their sepulchres till they are raised to life at the last trump.

As to the length of the day of judgment the Korân in one place tells us that it will last 1,000 years,[1] and in another 50,000.[2] To reconcile this apparent contradiction, the commentators use several shifts; some saying they know not what measure of time GOD intends in those passages; others, that these forms of speaking are figurative and not to be strictly taken, and were designed only to express the terribleness of that day, it being usual for the Arabs to describe what they dislike as of long continuance, and what they like, as the contrary; and others suppose them spoken only in reference to the difficulty of the business of the day, which, if GOD should commit to any of his creatures, they would not be able to go through it in so many thousand years; to omit some other opinions which we may take notice of elsewhere.

Having said so much in relation to the time of the resurrection, let us now see who are to be raised from the dead, in what manner and

[2] Several writers, however, make no distinction between this blast and the first, supposing the trumpet will sound but twice. See the notes to Kor. c. 39. [3] Kor. c. 39. [4] To these some add the spirit who bears the waters on which the throne is placed, the preserved table, wherein the decrees of GOD are registered, and the pen wherewith they are written, all which things the Mohammedans imagine were created before the world. [5] In this circumstance the Mohammedans follow the Jews, who also agree that the trumpet will sound more than once. Vide R. Bechai in Biur hattoran, and Otioth shel R. Akiba. [6] Elsewhere (see before p. 61) this rain is said to continue only forty days; but it rather seems that it is to fall during the whole interval between the second and third blasts. [1] Kor. c. 32. [2] Ibid. c. 70.

form they shall be raised, in what place they shall be assembled, and to what end, according to the doctrine of the Mohammedans.

That the resurrection will be general, and extend to all creatures both angels, genii, men, and animals, is the received opinion, which they support by the authority of the Korân, though that passage which is produced to prove the resurrection of brutes be otherwise interpreted by some[3]

The manner of their resurrection will be very different. Those who are destined to be partakers of eternal happiness will arise in honour and security; and those who are doomed to misery, in disgrace and under dismal apprehensions. As to mankind, they say that they will be raised perfect in all their parts and members, and in the same state as they came out of their mother's wombs, that is, barefooted, naked, and uncircumcised; which circumstances when Mohammed was telling his wife Ayesha, she, fearing the rules of modesty might be thereby violated, objected that it would be very indecent for men and women to look upon one another in that condition; but he answered her, that the business of the day would be too weighty and serious to allow them the making use of that liberty. Others, however, allege the authority of their prophet for a contrary opinion as to their nakedness, and pretend he asserted that the dead should arise dressed in the same clothes in which they died;[1] unless we interpret these words, as some do, not so much of the outward dress of the body, as the inward clothing of the mind; and understand thereby that every person will rise again in the same state as to his faith or infidelity, his knowledge or ignorance, his good or bad works. Mohammed is also said to have farther taught, by another tradition, that mankind shall be assembled at the last day, distinguished into three classes. The first, of those who go on foot; the second, of those who ride; and the third, of those who creep groveling with their faces on the ground The first class is to consist of those believers whose good works have been few, the second of those who are in greater honour with GOD, and more acceptable to him, whence Ali affirmed that the pious when they come forth from their sepulchres, shall find ready prepared for them white-winged camels, with saddles of gold, wherein are to be observed some footsteps of the doctrine of the ancient Arabians,[2] and the third class, they say, will be composed of the infidels, whom GOD shall cause to make their appearance with their faces on the earth, blind, dumb, and deaf. But the ungodly will not be thus only distinguished, for, according to a tradition of the prophet, there will be ten sorts of wicked men on whom GOD shall on that day fix certain discretory marks. The first will appear in the form of apes, these are the professors of Zendicism: the second in that of swine, these are they who have been greedy of filthy lucre, and enriched themselves by public oppression: the third will be brought with their heads reversed and their feet distorted; these are the usurers the fourth will wander about blind; these are unjust judges: the fifth will be deaf, dumb, and blind, understanding nothing; these are they

[3] See the notes to Kor c 81, and the preceding page [1] In this also they follow their old guides, the Jews, who say that if the wheat which is sown naked rise clothed it is no wonder the pious who are buried in their clothes should rise with them Gemar Sanhedr fol 90
[2] See before, Sect. I. p. 26.

who glory in their own works: the sixth will gnaw their tongues, which will hang down upon their breasts, corrupted blood flowing from their mouths like spittle, so that everybody shall detest them; these are the learned men and doctors, whose actions contradict their sayings: the seventh will have their hands and feet cut off; these are they who have injured their neighbours: the eighth will be fixed to the trunks of palm trees or stakes of wood; these are the false accusers and informers: the ninth will stink worse than a corrupted corpse; these are they who have indulged their passions and voluptuous appetites, but refused GOD such part of their wealth as was due to him: the tenth will be clothed with garments daubed with pitch; and these are the proud, the vainglorious, and the arrogant.

As to the place where they are to be assembled to judgment, the Korân and the traditions of Mohammed agree that it will be on the earth, but in what part of the earth it is not agreed. Some say their prophet mentioned Syria for the place; others, a white and even tract of land, without inhabitants or any signs of buildings. Al Ghazâli imagines it will be a second earth, which he supposes to be of silver; and others, an earth which has nothing in common with ours but the name; having, it is possible, heard something of the new heavens and new earth mentioned in scripture, whence the Korân has this expression, "on the day wherein the earth shall be changed into another earth."[1]

The end of the resurrection the Mohammedans declare to be, that they who are so raised may give an account of their actions, and receive the reward thereof. And they believe that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals also,[2] shall be judged on this great day; when the unarmed cattle shall take vengeance on the horned, till entire satisfaction shall be given to the injured.[3]

As to mankind, they hold that when they are all assembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgment, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpose; and this attendance some say is to last forty years, others seventy, others 300, nay, some say no less than 50,000 years, each of them vouching their prophet's authority. During this space they will stand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders thence, and are to suffer grievous torments, both the just and the unjust, though with manifest difference. For the limbs of the former, particularly those parts which they used to wash in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, shall shine gloriously, and their sufferings shall be light in comparison, and shall last no longer than the time necessary to say the appointed prayers; but the latter will have their faces obscured with blackness, and disfigured with all the marks of sorrow and deformity. What will then occasion not the least of their

[1] Cap. 14. [2] Kor. c. 6. Vide Maim. in Mor. Nev. part iii. c. 17. [3] This opinion the learned Greaves supposed to have taken its rise from the following words of Ezekiel, wrongly understood: "And as for ye, O my flock, thus saith the LORD GOD, Behold I, even I, will judge between the fat cattle, and between the lean cattle; because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder, and pushed all the diseased with your horns, till ye have scattered them abroad; therefore will I save my flock, and they shall no more be a prey; and I will judge between cattle and cattle, &c. Ezek. xxxiv. 17, 20, 21, 22. Much might be said concerning brutes deserving future reward and punishment. See Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Rorarius, Rem. D. &c.

pain, is a wonderful and incredible sweat, which will even stop their mouths, and in which they will be immersed in various degrees according to their demerits, some to the ankles only, some to the knees, some to the middle, some so high as their mouth, and others as their ears. And this sweat, they say, will be provoked not only by that vast concourse of all sorts of creatures mutually pressing and treading on one another's feet, but by the near and unusual approach of the sun, which will be then no farther from them than the distance of a mile, or, as some translate the word, the signification of which is ambiguous, than the length of a bodkin. So that their skulls will boil like a pot,[1] and they will be all bathed in sweat. From this inconvenience, however, the good will be protected by the shade of GOD'S throne; but the wicked will be so miserably tormented with it, and also with hunger, and thirst, and a stifling air, that they will cry out, "Lord, deliver us from this anguish, though thou send us into hell fire."[2] What they fable of the extraordinary heat of the sun on this occasion, the Mohammedans certainly borrowed from the Jews, who say, that for the punishment of the wicked on the last day, that planet shall be drawn from its sheath, in which it is now put up, lest it should destroy all things by its excessive heat.[3]

When those who have risen shall have waited the limited time, the Mohammedans believe GOD will at length appear to judge them, Mohammed undertaking the office of intercessor, after it shall have been declined by Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Jesus, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. They say that on this solemn occasion GOD will come in the clouds, surrounded by angels, and will produce the books wherein the actions of every person are recorded by their guardian angels,[4] and will command the prophets to bear witness against those to whom they have been respectively sent. Then every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions, uttered and done by him in this life; not as if GOD needed any information in those respects, but to oblige the person to make public confession and acknowledgment of GOD'S justice. The particulars of which they shall give an account, as Mohammed himself enumerated them, are—of their time, how they spent it, of their wealth, by what means they acquired it, and how they employed it, of their bodies, wherein they exercised them; of their knowledge and learning, what use they made of them. It is said, however, that Mohammed has affirmed that no less than 70,000 of his followers should be permitted to enter paradise without any previous examination, which seems to be contradictory to what is said above. To the questions we have mentioned each person shall answer, and make his defence in the best manner he can, endeavouring to excuse himself by casting the blame of his evil deeds on others, so that a dispute shall arise even between the soul and the body, to which of them their guilt ought to be imputed, the soul saying, "O Lord, my body I received from thee; for thou createdst me without a hand to lay hold with, a foot to walk with, an eye to see with, or an understanding to apprehend with, till I came and entered into this body; therefore, punish it eternally, but deliver me." The body, on the other

[1] Al Ghazâli [2] Idem. [3] Vide Pocock not. in Port. Mosis, p. 277 [4] See before, p. 56

side, will make this apology :—" O Lord, thou createdst me like a stock of wood, having neither hand that I could lay hold with, nor foot that I could walk with, till this soul, like a ray of light, entered into me, and my tongue began to speak, my eye to see, and my foot to walk; therefore, punish it eternally, but deliver me." But GOD will propound to them the following parable of the blind man and the lame man, which, as well as the preceding dispute, was borrowed by the Mohammedans from the Jews :[5] A certain king, having a pleasant garden, in which were ripe fruits, set two persons to keep it, one of whom was blind and the other lame, the former not being able to see the fruit nor the latter to gather it; the lame man, however, seeing the fruit, persuaded the blind man to take him upon his shoulders; and by that means he easily gathered the fruit, which they divided between them. The lord of the garden, coming some time after, and inquiring after his fruit, each began to excuse himself; the blind man said he had no eyes to see with, and the lame man that he had no feet to approach the trees. But the king, ordering the lame man to be set on the blind, passed sentence on and punished them both. And in the same manner will GOD deal with the body and the soul. As these apologies will not avail on that day, so will it also be in vain for any one to deny his evil actions, since men and angels and his own members, nay, the very earth itself, will be ready to bear witness against him.

Though the Mohammedans assign so long a space for the attendance of the resuscitated before their trial, yet they tell us the trial itself will be over in much less time, and, according to an expression of Mohammed, familiar enough to the Arabs, will last no longer than while one may milk an ewe, or than the space between the two milkings of a she-camel.[1] Some, explaining those words so frequently used in the Korân, "GOD will be swift in taking an account," say that he will judge all creatures in the space of half a day, and others that it will be done in less time than the twinkling of an eye.[2]

At this examination they also believe that each person will have the book, wherein all the actions of his life are written, delivered to him; which books the righteous will receive in their right hand, and read with great pleasure and satisfaction, but the ungodly will be obliged to take them against their wills in their left,[3] which will be bound behind their backs, their right hand being tied up to their necks.[4]

To show the exact justice which will be observed on this great day of trial, the next thing they describe is the balance, wherein all things shall be weighed. They say it will be held by Gabriel, and that it is of so vast a size, that its two scales, one of which hangs over paradise, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven and earth. Though some are willing to understand what is said in the Korân concerning this balance, allegorically, and only as a figurative representation of GOD'S equity, yet the more ancient and orthodox opinion is that it is to be taken literally; and since words and actions, being mere accidents, are not capable of being themselves

[5] Gemara, Sanhed. c. 11 R. Jos. Albo, Serm iv c. 33 See also Epiphan. in Ancorat. sect 89.
[1] The Arabs use, after they have drawn some milk from the camel, to wait a while and let her young one suck a little, that she may give down her milk more plentifully at the second milking. [2] Pocock, not. in Port. Mosis, p. 278—282. See also Kor. c. 2, p. 21 [3] Kor c. 17, 18, 69, and 84 [4] Jallalo'ddin.

weighed, they say that the books wherein they are written will be thrown into the scales, and according as those wherein the good or the evil actions are recorded shall preponderate, sentence will be given; those whose balances laden with their good works shall be heavy, will be saved, but those whose balances are light will be condemned.[5] Nor will any one have cause to complain that GOD suffers any good action to pass unrewarded, because the wicked for the good they do have their reward in this life, and therefore can expect no favour in the next.

The old Jewish writers make mention as well of the books to be produced at the last day, wherein men's actions are registered,[6] as of the balance wherein they shall be weighed;[7] and the scripture itself seems to have given the first notion of both.[8] But what the Persian Magi believe of the balance comes nearest to the Mohammedan opinion. They hold that on the day of judgment two angels, named Mihr and Sorûsh, will stand on the bridge we shall describe by-and-bye, to examine every person as he passes; that the former, who represents the divine mercy, will hold a balance in his hand, to weigh the actions of men; that according to the report he shall make thereof to GOD, sentence will be pronounced, and those whose good works are found more ponderous, if they turn the scale but by the weight of a hair, will be permitted to pass forward to paradise, but those whose good works shall be found light, will be by the other angel, who represents GOD's justice, precipitated from the bridge into hell.[1]

This examination being passed, and every one's works weighed in a just balance, that mutual retaliation will follow, according to which every creature will take vengeance one of another, or have satisfaction made them for the injuries which they have suffered. And since there will then be no other way of returning like for like, the manner of giving this satisfaction will be by taking away a proportionable part of the good works of him who offered the injury, and adding it to those of him who suffered it. Which being done, if the angels (by whose ministry this is to be performed) say, "Lord, we have given to every one his due, and there remaineth of this person's good works so much as equalleth the weight of an ant,' GOD will of his mercy cause it to be doubled unto him, that he may be admitted into paradise; but if, on the contrary, his good works be exhausted, and there remain evil works only, and there be any who have not yet received satisfaction from him, GOD will order that an equal weight of their sins be added unto his, that he may be punished for them in their stead, and he will be sent to hell laden with both. This will be the method of GOD'S dealing with mankind. As to brutes, after they shall have likewise taken vengeance of one another, as we have mentioned above, he will command them to be changed into dust;[2] wicked men being reserved to more grievous punishment so that they shall cry out, on hearing this sentence passed on the brutes, "Would to GOD that we were dust also" As to the genii, many Mohammedans are of opinion that such of them as are true believers will undergo the same fate as the irrational animals, and

[5] Kor. c. 23, 7, &c [6] Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, f 153, c. 3. [7] Gemar Sanhedr f. 91, &c. [8] Exod. xxxii 32, 33, Dan vii. 10, Revel xx. 12, &c, and Dan v 27 [1] Hyde, de Rel Vet Pers p 245. 401, &c [2] Yet they say the dog of the seven sleepers, and Ezra's ass, which was raised to life, will, by peculiar favour, be admitted into paradise. See Kor. c. 18, and c. 2.

have no other reward than the favour of being converted into dust; and for this they quote the authority of their prophet. But this, however, is judged not so very reasonable, since the genii, being capable of putting themselves in the state of believers as well as men, must consequently deserve, as it seems, to be rewarded for their faith, as well as to be punished for infidelity. Wherefore some entertain a more favourable opinion, and assign the believing genii a place near the confines of paradise, where they will enjoy sufficient felicity, though they be not admitted into that delightful mansion. But the unbelieving genii, it is universally agreed, will be punished eternally, and be thrown into hell with the infidels of mortal race. It may not be improper to observe, that under the denomination of unbelieving genii, the Mohammedans comprehend also the devil and his companions.[1]

The trials being over and the assembly dissolved, the Mohammedans hold that those who are to be admitted into paradise will take the right-hand way, and those who are destined to hell fire will take the left; but both of them must first pass the bridge, called in Arabic al Sirât, which they say is laid over the midst of hell, and described to be finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword so that it seems very difficult to conceive how any one shall be able to stand upon it: for which reason most of the sect of the Mótazalites reject it as a fable, though the orthodox think it a sufficient proof of the truth of this article, that it was seriously affirmed by him who never asserted a falsehood, meaning their prophet; who to add to the difficulty of the passage, has likewise declared that this bridge is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns; which will, however, be no impediment to the good, for they shall pass with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning or the wind, Mohammed and his Moslems leading the way; whereas the wicked, what with the slipperiness and extreme narrowness of the path, the entangling of the thorns, and the extinction of the light, which directed the former to paradise, will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath them.[2]

This circumstance Mohammed seems also to have borrowed from the Magians, who teach that on the last day all mankind will be obliged to pass a bridge which they call Pûl Chinavad, or Chînavar, that is, *the straight bridge*, leading directly into the other world; on the midst of which they suppose the angels, appointed by GOD to perform that office, will stand, who will require of every one a strict account of his actions, and weigh them in the manner we have already mentioned.[3] It is true the Jews speak likewise of the bridge of hell, which they say is no broader than a thread; but then they do not tell us that any shall be obliged to pass it, except the idolaters, who will fall thence into perdition.[1]

As to the punishment of the wicked, the Mohammedans are taught that hell is divided into seven stories, or apartments, one below another, designed for the reception of as many distinct classes of the damned.[5] The first which they call Jehennam, they say, will be the receptacle of those who acknowledged one GOD, that is, the wicked Mohammedans,

[1] Vide Kor c. 18 [2] Pocock ubi sup p. 282—289 [3] Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 245 402 &c [1] Midrash, Yalkut Reubeni. § Gehinnom [5] Kor c. 15.

who after having there been punished according to their demerits, will at length be released. The second, named Ladhâ, they assign to the Jews; the third, named al Hotama, to the Christians; the fourth, named al Saîr, to the Sabians; the fifth, named Sakar, to the Magians; the sixth, named al Jahîm, to the idolaters; and the seventh, which is the lowest and worst of all, and is called al Hâwiyat, to the hypocrites, or those who outwardly professed some religion, but in their hearts were of none.[3] Over each of these apartments they believe there will be set a guard of angels,[4] nineteen in number;[5] to whom the damned will confess the just judgment of GOD, and beg them to intercede with him for some alleviation of their pain, or that they may be delivered by being annihilated.[6]

Mohammed has, in his Korân and traditions, been very exact in describing the various torments of hell, which, according to him, the wicked will suffer both from intense heat and excessive cold. We shall, however, enter into no detail of them here, but only observe that the degrees of these pains will also vary, in proportion to the crimes of the sufferer, and the apartment he is condemned to; and that he who is punished the most lightly of all will be shod with shoes of fire, the fervour of which will cause his skull to boil like a cauldron. The condition of these unhappy wretches, as the same prophet teaches, cannot be properly called either life or death; and their misery will be greatly increased by their despair of being ever delivered from that place, since, according to that frequent expression in the Korân, "they must remain therein for ever." It must be remarked, however, that the infidels alone will be liable to eternity of damnation, for the Moslems, or those who have embraced the true religion, and have been guilty of heinous sins, will be delivered thence after they shall have expiated their crimes by their sufferings. The contrary of either of these opinions is reckoned heretical; for it is the constant orthodox doctrine of the Mohammedans that no unbeliever or idolater will ever be released, nor any person who in his lifetime professed and believed the unity of GOD be condemned to eternal punishment. As to the time and manner of the deliverance of those believers whose evil actions shall outweigh their good, there is a tradition of Mohammed that they shall be released after they shall have been scorched and their skins burnt black, and shall afterwards be admitted into paradise; and when the inhabitants of that place shall, in contempt, call them infernals, GOD will, on their prayers, take from them that opprobrious appellation. Others say he taught that while they continue in hell they shall be deprived of life, or (as his words are otherwise interpreted) be cast into a most profound sleep, that they may be the less sensible of their torments; and that they shall afterwards be received into paradise, and there revive on their being washed with the water of life, though some suppose they will

[3] Others fill these apartments with different company Some place in the second, the idolaters; in the third, Gog and Magog, &c.; in the fourth, the devils, in the fifth, those who neglect alms and prayers, and crowd the Jews, Christians, and Magians together in the sixth. Some, again, will have the first to be prepared for the Dahrians or those who deny the creation, and believe the eternity of the world, the second, for the Dualists, or Manichees, and the idolatrous Arabs; the third, for the Bramins of the Indies; the fourth, for the Jews; the fifth, for the Christians; and the sixth, for the Magians. But all agree in assigning the seventh to the hypocrites. Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham p 412; D'Herbel Bibl. Orient. p 368, &c. [4] Kor c. 40, 43, 74, &c. [5] Ibid. c. 74. [6] Ibid c. 40, 43

be restored to life before they come forth from their place of punishment, that at their bidding farewell to their pains, they may have some little taste of them. The time which these believers shall be detained there, according to a tradition handed down from their prophet, will not be less than 900 years, nor more than 7,000. And as to the manner of their delivery, they say that they shall be distinguished by the marks of prostration on those parts of their bodies with which they used to touch the ground in prayer, and over which the fire will, therefore, have no power; and that being known by this characteristic, they will be relieved by the mercy of GOD, at the intercession of Mohammed and the blessed; whereupon those who shall have been dead will be restored to life, as has been said; and those whose bodies shall have contracted any sootiness or filth from the flames and smoke of hell will be immersed in one of the rivers of paradise, called the river of life, which will wash them whiter than pearls.[1]

For most of these circumstances relating to hell and the state of the damned, Mohammed was likewise, in all probability, indebted to the Jews, and in part to the Magians; both of whom agree in making seven distinct apartments in hell,[2] though they vary in other particulars. The former place an angel as a guard over each of these infernal apartments, and suppose he will intercede for the miserable wretches there imprisoned, who will openly acknowledge the justice of GOD in their condemnation.[1] They also teach that the wicked will suffer a diversity of punishments, and that by intolerable cold[2] as well as heat, and that their faces shall become black;[3] and believe those of their own religion shall also be punished in hell hereafter, according to their crimes (for they hold that few or none will be found so exactly righteous as to deserve no punishment at all), but will soon be delivered thence, when they shall be sufficiently purged from their sins, by their father Abraham, or at the intercession of him or some other of the prophets.[4] The Magians allow but one angel to preside over all the seven hells, who is named by them Vanánd Yezád, and, as they teach, assigns punishments proportionate to each person's crimes, restraining also the tyranny and excessive cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to himself, torment the damned beyond their sentence.[5] Those of this religion do also mention and describe various kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will be punished in the next life; among which though they reckon extreme cold to be one, yet they do not admit fire, out of respect, as it seems, to that element, which they take to be the representation of the divine nature; and, therefore, they rather choose to describe the damned souls as suffering by other kinds of punishments; such as an intolerable stink, the stinging and biting of serpents and wild beasts, the cutting and tearing of the flesh by the devils, excessive hunger and thirst, and the like.[6]

Before we proceed to a description of the Mohammedan paradise, we must not forget to say something of the wall or partition which they imagine to be between that place and hell, and seems to be copied

[1] Poc. not. in Port. Mosis, p. 289—291. [2] Nishmat hayim, f. 32; Gemar. in Arubin, f. 19; Zohar ad Exod. xxvi. 2, &c.; and Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 245. [1] Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, part ii. f. 116. [2] Zohar ad Exod. xix. [3] Yalkut Shemuni, ubi sup. f. 80. [4] Nishmat hayim, f. 82; Gemar. Arubin, f. 19. Vide Kor. c. 2, p. 10, and 3, p. 34, and notes there. [5] Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 182. [6] Vide Eundem, ibid. p.

from the great gulf of separation mentioned in scripture.[7] They call it al Orf, and more frequently in the plural, al Araf, a word derived from the verb *arafa*, which signifies to *distinguish* between things, or to *part* them, though some commentators give another reason for the imposition of this name, because, they say, those who stand on this partition will know and distinguish the blessed from the damned, by their respective marks or characteristics [8] and others say the word properly intends anything that is high raised or elevated as such a wall of separation must be supposed to be.[9] The Mohammedan writers greatly differ as to the persons who are to be found on al Arâf. Some imagine it to be a sort of limbo for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for sanctity, among whom they say, there will be also angels in the form of men. Others place here such whose good and evil works are so equal that they exactly counterpoise each other, and therefore, deserve neither reward nor punishment and these they say will, on the last day, be admitted into paradise after they shall have performed an act of adoration, which will be imputed to them as a merit and will make the scale of their good works to overbalance. Others suppose this intermediate space will be a receptacle for those who have gone to war without their parents leave, and therein suffered martyrdom being excluded paradise for their disobedience and escaping hell because they are martyrs. The breadth of this partition wall cannot be supposed to be exceeding great since not only those who shall stand thereon will hold conference with the inhabitants both of paradise and of hell, but the blessed and the damned themselves will also be able to talk to one another.[1]

If Mohammed did not take his notions of the partition we have been describing from scripture he must at least have borrowed it at second hand from the Jews, who mention a thin wall dividing paradise from hell.[2]

The righteous as the Mohammedans are taught to believe having surmounted the difficulties and passed the sharp bridge above mentioned, before they enter paradise will be refreshed by drinking at the pond of their prophet who describes it to be an exact square, of a month's journey in compass its water which is supplied by two pipes from al Cawthar one of the rivers of paradise being whiter than milk or silver and more odoriferous than musk with as many cups set around it as there are stars in the firmament of which water, whoever drinks will thirst no more for ever.[3] This is the first taste which the blessed will have of their future and now near approaching felicity.

Though paradise be so very frequently mentioned in the Korân, yet it is a dispute among the Mohammedans whether it be already created or be to be created hereafter the Motazalites and some other sectaries asserting that there is not at present any such place in nature and that the paradise which the righteous will inhabit in the next life will be different from that from which Adam was expelled. However the orthodox profess the contrary, maintaining that it was created even

[7] Luke xvi 26. [8] Jallalo'ddin Vide Kor c 7. [9] Al Beidâwi. [1] Kor ubi sup. Vide D'Herbel Bibl Orient. p. 121 &c. [2] Midrash. Yalkut Simeoni. f. 11. [3] Al Ghazâli.

before the world, and describe it, from their prophet's traditions, in the following manner

They say it is situate above the seven heavens (or in the seventh heaven) and next under the throne of GOD and to express the amenity of the place, tell us that the earth of it is of the finest wheat flour, or of the purest musk, or, as others will have it, of saffron that its stones are pearls and jacinths, the walls of its buildings enriched with gold and silver, and that the trunks of all its trees are of gold, among which the most remarkable is the tree called Tûba or the tree of happiness. Concerning this tree they fable that it stands in the palace of Mohammed, though a branch of it will reach to the house of every true believer,[1] that it will be laden with pomegranates grapes dates and other fruits of surprising bigness, and of tastes unknown to mortals So that if a man desire to eat of any particular kind of fruit, it will immediately be presented him or if he choose flesh, birds ready dressed will be set before him according to his wish They add that the boughs of this tree will spontaneously bend down to the hand of the person who would gather of its fruits, and that it will supply the blessed not only with food but also with silken garments and beasts to ride on ready saddled and bridled, and adorned with rich trappings which will burst forth from its fruits, and that this tree is so large that a person mounted on the fleetest horse would not be able to gallop from one end of its shade to the other in a hundred years[2]

As plenty of water is one of the greatest additions to the pleasantness of any place the Koran often speaks of the rivers of paradise as a principal ornament thereof some of these rivers they say flow with water, some with milk, some with wine and others with honey, all taking their rise from the root of the tree Tuba two of which rivers named al Cawthar and the river of life, we have already mentioned And lest these should not be sufficient we are told this garden is also watered by a great number of lesser springs and fountains whose pebbles are rubies and emeralds their earth of camphire their beds of musk, and their sides of saffron the most remarkable among them being Salsabil and Tasnim

But all these glories will be eclipsed by the resplendent and ravishing girls of paradise, called from their large black eyes Hur al oyûn the enjoyment of whose company will be a principal felicity of the faithful. These, they say are created not of clay, as mortal women are, but of pure musk being as their prophet often affirms in his Korân, free from all natural impurities, defects and inconveniences incident to the sex of the strictest modesty, and secluded from public view in pavilions of hollow pearls so large that as some traditions have it one of them will be no less than four parasangs or, as others say, sixty miles) long, and as many broad

The name which the Mohammedans usually give to this happy mansion is al Jannat, or the garden, and sometimes they call it, with an addition, Jannat al Ferdaws, the garden of paradise, Jannat Aden the garden of Eden (though they generally interpret the word Eden, not according to its acceptation in Hebrew, but according to its meaning in their

[1] Yahya in Kor c. 13. [2] Jallal oddin. ibid.

own tongue, wherein it signifies a settled or perpetual habitation), Jannat al Máwa, the garden of abode, Jannat al Naim, the garden of pleasure, and the like, by which several appellations some understand so many different gardens, or at least places of different degrees of felicity (for they reckon no less than a hundred such in all), the very meanest whereof will afford its inhabitants so many pleasures and delights, that one would conclude they must even sink under them, had not Mohammed declared, that in order to qualify the blessed for a full enjoyment of them, GOD will give to every one the abilities of a hundred men.

We have already described Mohammed's pond, whereof the righteous are to drink before their admission into this delicious seat, besides which some authors[1] mention two fountains, springing from under a certain tree near the gate of paradise, and say, that the blessed will also drink of one of them to purge their bodies and carry off all excrementitious dregs, and will wash themselves in the other. When they are arrived at the gate itself each person will there be met and saluted by the beautiful youths appointed to serve and wait upon him, one of them running before to carry the news of his arrival to the wives destined for him, and also by two angels, bearing the presents sent him by GOD, one of whom will invest him with a garment of paradise, and the other will put a ring on each of his fingers with inscriptions on them alluding to the happiness of his condition. By which of the eight gates (for so many they suppose paradise to have) they are respectively to enter, is not worth inquiry but it must be observed that Mohammed has declared that no person's good works will gain him admittance, and that even himself shall be saved not by his merits, but merely by the mercy of GOD. It is, however the constant doctrine of the Korân, that the felicity of each person will be proportioned to his deserts, and that there will be abodes of different degrees of happiness, the most eminent degree being reserved for the prophets the second for the doctors and teachers of God's worship the next for the martyrs, and the lower for the rest of the righteous, according to their several merits. There will also some distinction be made in respect to the time of their admission, Mohammed (to whom if you will believe him the gates will first be opened) having affirmed that the poor will enter paradise five hundred years before the rich nor is this the only privilege which they will enjoy in the next life since the same prophet has also declared, that when he took a view of paradise he saw the majority of its inhabitants to be the poor, and when he looked down into hell, he saw the greater part of the wretches confined there to be women.

For the first entertainment of the blessed on their admission, they fable that the whole earth will then be as one loaf of bread, which GOD will reach to them with his hand, holding it like a cake, and that for meat they will have the ox Balâm, and the fish Nun, the lobes of whose livers will suffice 70,000 men being as some imagine to be set before the principal guests, viz, those who, to that number, will be admitted into paradise without examination,[2] though others suppose that a definite number is here put for an indefinite and that

[1] Al Ghazâli, Kenz al Afrâr [2] See before p. 68

nothing more is meant thereby, than to express a great multitude of people

From this feast every one will be dismissed to the mansion designed for him, where (as has been said) he will enjoy such a share of felicity as will be proportioned to his merits, but vastly exceed comprehension or expectation, since the very meanest in paradise (as he who, it is pretended, must know best, has declared) will have eighty thousand servants, seventy two wives of the girls of paradise, besides the wives he had in this world, and a tent erected for him of pearls, jacinths, and emeralds, of a very large extent, and, according to another tradition, will be waited on by three hundred attendants while he eats, will be served in dishes of gold, whereof three hundred shall be set before him at once, containing each a different kind of food, the last morsel of which will be as grateful as the first, and will also be supplied with as many sorts of liquors in vessels of the same metal and, to complete the entertainment, there will be no want of wine which, though forbidden in this life, will yet be freely allowed to be drunk in the next, and without danger, since the wine of paradise will not inebriate, as that we drink here The flavour of this wine we may conceive to be delicious without a description, since the water of Tasnim and the other fountains which will be used to dilute it, is said to be wonderfully sweet and fragrant. If any object to these pleasures as an impudent Jew did to Mohammed, that so much eating and drinking must necessarily require proper evacuations, we answer, as the prophe did, that the inhabitants of paradise will not need to ease themselves, nor even to blow their nose, for that all superfluities will be discharged and carried off by perspiration, or a sweat as odoriferous as musk, after which their appetite shall return afresh

The magnificence of the garments and furniture promised by the Koran to the godly in the next life is answerable to the delicacy of their diet. For they are to be clothed in the richest silks and brocades, chiefly of green which will burst forth from the fruits of paradise, and will be also supplied by the leaves of the tree Tuba, they will be adorned with bracelets of gold and silver, and crowns set with pearls of incomparable lustre, and will make use of silken carpets, litters of a prodigious size couches, pillows, and other rich furniture embroidered with gold and precious stones

That we may the more readily believe what has been mentioned of the extraordinary abilities of the inhabitants of paradise to taste these pleasures in their height, it is said they will enjoy a perpetual youth that in whatever age they happen to die, they will be raised in their prime and vigour that is of about thirty years of age, which age they will never exceed (and the same they say of the damned), and that when they enter paradise they will be of the same stature with Adam, who, as they fable, was no less than sixty cubits high And to this age and stature their children, if they shall desire any (for otherwise their wives will not conceive), shall immediately attain according to that saying of their prophet, "If any of the faithful in paradise be desirous of issue, it shall be conceived, born, and grown up within the space of an hour" And in the same manner, if any one shall have a fancy to employ himself in agriculture (which rustic pleasure may suit

the wanton fancy of some), what he shall sow will spring up and come to maturity in a moment.

Lest any of the senses should want their proper delight, we are told the ear will there be entertained, not only with the ravishing songs of the angel Israfil, who has the most melodious voice of all GOD'S creatures, and of the daughters of paradise, but even the trees themselves will celebrate the divine praises with a harmony exceeding whatever mortals have heard, to which will be joined the sound of the bells hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of GOD, so often as the blessed wish for music nay, the very clashing of the golden bodied trees, whose fruits are pearls and emeralds, will surpass human imagination, so that the pleasures of this sense will not be the least of the enjoyments of paradise.

The delights we have hitherto taken a view of, it is said, will be common to all the inhabitants of paradise, even those of the lowest order What then think we, must they enjoy who shall obtain a superior degree of honour and felicity? To these, they say, there are prepared, besides all his, ' such things as eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive," an expression most certainly borrowed from scripture[1] That we may know wherein the felicity of those who shall attain the highest degree will consist, Mohammed is reported to have said that the meanest of the inhabitants of paradise will see his gardens, wives, servants, furniture, and other possessions take up the space of a thousand years journey (for so far and farther will the blessed see in the next life) but that he will be in the highest honour with GOD, who shall behold his face morning and evening and this favour al Ghazali supposes to be that additional or superabundant recompense promised in the Koran[2] which will give such exquisite delight that in respect thereof all the other pleasures of paradise will be forgotten and lightly esteemed, and not without reason since, as the same author says, every other enjoyment is equally tasted by the very brute beast who is turned loose into luxuriant pasture[3] The reader will observe, by the way that this is a full confutation of those who pretend that the Mohammedans admit of no spiritual pleasure in the next life but make the happiness of the blessed to consist wholly in corporeal enjoyments[4]

Whence Mohammed took the greatest part of his paradise it is easy to show The Jews constantly describe the future mansion of the just as a delicious garden and make it also reach to the seventh heaven[5] They also say it has three gates,[6] or, as others will have it two[7] and four rivers (which last circumstance they copied, to be sure, from those of the garden of Eden[8] flowing with milk wine, balsam and honey[1] Their Behemoth and Leviathan, which they pretend will be slain for the entertainment of the blessed[2] are so apparently the Balâm and Nûn of Mohammed, that his followers themselves confess he is obliged to them for both[3] The Rabbins likewise mention seven different

[1] Isaiah lxiv 4 1 Cor ii 9. [2] Cap. 10, &c. [3] Vide Poc in not ad Port. Mosis p 305
[4] Vide Reland de Rel Moh l 2 § 17 [5] Vide Gemar Tânith f 25 Beracoth f 34 and Midrash sabboth f 37 [6] Megillah Amkoth, p 78 [7] Midrash Yalkut Shemuni
[8] Gen. ii 10 &c. [1] Midrash Yalk Shem [2] Gemar Bava Bathra f 78 Rashi in Job
[3] Vide Poc not in Port Mosis p 298

Mohammedans, whose understandings are too refined to admit such gross conceptions, look on their prophet's descriptions as parabolical, and are willing to receive them in an allegorical or spiritual acceptation,[3] yet the general and orthodox doctrine is, that the whole is to be strictly believed in the obvious and literal acceptation; to prove which I need only urge the oath they exact from Christians (who they know abhor such fancies) when they would bind them in the most strong and sacred manner; for in such a case they make them swear that if they falsify their engagement, they will affirm that there will be black-eyed girls in the next world, and corporeal pleasures.[4]

Before we quit this subject it may not be improper to observe the falsehood of a vulgar imputation on the Mohammedans, who are by several writers[5] reported to hold that women have no souls, or, if they have, that they will perish, like those of brute beasts, and will not be rewarded in the next life. But whatever may be the opinion of some ignorant people among them, it is certain that Mohammed had too great a respect for the fair sex to teach such a doctrine; and there are several passages in the Korân which affirm that women, in the next life, will not only be punished for their evil actions, but will also receive the rewards of their good deeds, as well as the men, and that in this case GOD will make no distinction of sexes.[6] It is true, the general notion is, that they will not be admitted into the same abode as the men are, because their places will be supplied by the paradisiacal females (though some allow that a man will there also have the company of those who were his wives in this world, or at least such of them as he shall desire[1]), but that good women will go into a separate place of happiness, where they will enjoy all sorts of delights;[2] but whether one of those delights will be the enjoyment of agreeable paramours created for them, to complete the economy of the Mohammedan system, is what I have nowhere found decided. One circumstance relating to these beatified females, conformable to what he had asserted of the men, he acquainted his followers with in the answer he returned to an old woman, who, desiring him to intercede with GOD that she might be admitted into paradise, he told her that no old woman would enter that place; which setting the poor woman a-crying, he explained himself by saying that GOD would then make her young again.[3]

The sixth great point of faith, which the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân to believe, is GOD'S absolute decree, and predestination both of good and evil. For the orthodox doctrine is, that whatever hath or shall come to pass in this world, whether it be good or whether it be bad, proceedeth entirely from the divine will, and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the preserved table;[4] GOD having secretly predetermined not only the adverse and prosperous fortune of every person in this world, in the most minute particulars, but also his faith or infidelity, his obedience or disobedience, and con-

[3] Vide Eund. in not. ad Bobov. Lit. Turcar p 21. [4] Poc. ad Port Mos p. 305 [5] Hornbek, Sum. Contr. p. 16 Grelot, Voyage de Constant p. 275. Ricaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire, l. 2, c. 21 [6] See Kor c. 3, p. 57, c 4, p. 67, and also c 13, 16, 40, 48, 57, &c. · Vide etiam Reland. de Rel Moh l 2, § 18; and Hyde, in not. ad Bobov de Visit. ægr p 21 [1] See before, p 77. [2] Vide Chardin, Voy tom ii. p 328, and Bayle, Dict. Hist Art Mahomet, Rem Q. [3] See Kor. c. 56, and the notes there; and Gagnier not. in Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 145. [4] See before, p. 57

sequently his everlasting happiness or misery after death, which fate or predestination it is not possible, by any foresight or wisdom, to avoid.

Of this doctrine Mohammed makes great use in his Korân for the advancement of his designs, encouraging his followers to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith, by representing to them that all their caution could not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment,[5] and deterring them from disobeying or rejecting him as an impostor, by setting before them the danger they might thereby incur of being by the just judgment of GOD, abandoned to seduction, hardness of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a punishment for their obstinacy.[6]

As this doctrine of absolute election and reprobation has been thought by many of the Mohammedan divines to be derogatory to the goodness and justice of GOD, and to make GOD the author of evil, several subtle distinctions have been invented and disputes raised to explicate or soften it, and different sects have been formed, according to their several opinions or methods of explaining this point, some of them going so far as even to hold the direct contrary position of absolute free will in man, as we shall see hereafter.[1]

Of the four fundamental points of religious practice required by the Koran, the first is prayer, under which as has been said, are also comprehended those legal washings or purifications which are necessary preparations thereto.

Of these purifications there are two degrees, one called Ghosl, being a total immersion or bathing of the body in water, and the other called Wodu (by the Persians, Abdest) which is the washing of their faces, hands, and feet, after a certain manner. The first is required in some extraordinary cases only, as after having lain with a woman, or been polluted by emission of seed, or by approaching a dead body, women also being obliged to it after their courses or childbirth. The latter is the ordinary ablution in common cases and before prayer, and must necessarily be used by every person before he can enter upon that duty.[2] It is performed with certain formal ceremonies, which have been described by some writers, but are much easier apprehended by seeing them done than by the best description.

These purifications were perhaps borrowed by Mohammed of the Jews, at least they agree in a great measure with those used by that nation,[3] who in process of time burdened the precepts of Moses in this point, with so many traditionary ceremonies, that whole books have been written about them, and who were so exact and superstitious therein, even in our Saviour's time, that they are often reproved by him for it.[4] But as it is certain that the pagan Arabs used lustrations of this kind[5] long before the time of Mohammed, as most nations did, and still do in the east, where the warmth of the climate requires a greater nicety and degree of cleanliness than these colder parts, perhaps Mohammed only recalled his countrymen to a more strict observance of those purifying rites, which had been probably neglected by them, or at least performed in a careless and perfunctory manner.

[5] Kor. c. 3. c. 4. &c. [6] Ibid. c. 4. c. 2. &c. passim. [1] Sect. VIII. [2] Kor. c. 4. and c. 5. Vide Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 1. c. 8. [3] Poc. not. in Port. Mosis, p. 356, &c. [4] Mark vii. 3, &c. [5] Vide Herodot. l. 2. c. 198.

The Mohammedans, however, will have it that they are as ancient as Abraham,[1] who, they say, was enjoined by GOD to observe them, and was shown the manner of making the ablution by the angel Gabriel, in the form of a beautiful youth[2] Nay, some deduce the matter higher, and imagine that these ceremonies were taught our first parents by the angels[3]

That his followers might be the more punctual in this duty, Mohammed is said to have declared, that 'the practice of religion is founded on cleanliness," which is the one half of the faith, and the key of prayer, without which it will not be heard by GOD[4] That these expressions may be the better understood al Ghazâli reckons four degrees of purification, of which the first is, the cleansing of the body from all pollution, filth, and excrements the second, the cleansing of the members of the body from all wickedness and unjust actions, the third, the cleansing of the heart from all blamable inclinations and odious vices and the fourth, the purging a man's secret thoughts from all affections which may divert their attendance on GOD adding that the body is but as the outward shell in respect to the heart, which is as the kernel And for this reason he highly complains of those who are superstitiously solicitous in exterior purifications, avoiding those persons as unclean who are not so scrupulously nice as themselves, and at the same time have their minds lying waste and overrun with pride, ignorance, and hypocrisy Whence it plainly appears with how little foundation the Mohammedans have been charged, by some writers,[5] with teaching or imagining that these formal washings alone cleanse them from their sins

Lest so necessary a preparation to their devotions should be omitted either where water cannot be had, or when it may be of prejudice to a person's health, they are allowed in such cases to make use of fine sand or dust in lieu of it[6] and then they perform this duty by clapping their open hands on the sand, and passing them over the parts, in the same manner as if they were dipped in water But for this expedient Mohammed was not so much indebted to his own cunning,[7] as to the example of the Jews, or perhaps that of the Persian Magi, almost as scrupulous as the Jews themselves in their lustrations, who both of them prescribe the same method in cases of necessity,[8] and there is a famous instance, in ecclesiastical history, of sand being used, for the same reason instead of water in the administration of the Christian sacrament of baptism many years before Mohammed's time[9]

Neither are the Mohammedans contented with bare washing, but

[1] Al Jannâbi in Vita Abrah Vide Poc Spec p 303

[2] Herewith agrees the Gospel of St Barnabas the Spanish translation of which (cap 29) has these words *Lavo* Abraham *Dime ... yo para servir al Dios de los santos y prophetas? Respondió el angel Ve a aquella fuente y lavate porque Dios quiere hablar contigo* Dixo Abraham *Como tengo de lavarme? Luego el angel se le aparecio como uno bello mancebo y se lavó en la fuente y le dixo* Abraham *haz como yo* Y Abraham se lavó &c

[3] Al Kessai Vide Reland de Rel Mohamm p 81 [4] Al Ghazâli Ebn al Athir [5] Vide Poc. Spec. p 302 &c [6] Barthol Edessen Confut Hagaren p 360 G Sionita and J Hesronita in Tract de Urb and Morib Orient. ad Calcem Geogr Nubiens c. 15 Du Ryer dans le Sommaire de la Rel des Turcs mis à la tete de sa version de l'Alcor St Olon Descr du Royaume de Maroc c 2 Hyde in not in Bobov de Prec. Moh p 1, Smith de Morib et Instit. Turcar Ep 1 p 32 Vide Reland de Rel Moh l 2, c 11 [8] Kor c. 4 and 5 p 74 [1] Vide Smith ubi sup [2] Gemar Perachoth. c 2 Vide Poc not ad Port Mosis p 8 Sadder porta 84. [7] Cedren p 2 0

think themselves obliged to several other necessary points of cleanliness, which they make also parts of this duty, such as combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their armpits, shaving their private parts, and circumcision;[4] of which last I will add a word or two, lest I should not find a more proper place.

Circumcision, though it be not so much as once mentioned in the Korân, is yet held by the Mohammedans to be an ancient divine institution, confirmed by the religion of Islâm, and though not so absolutely necessary but that it may be dispensed with in some cases,[5] yet highly proper and expedient. The Arabs used this rite for many ages before Mohammed, having probably learned it from Ismael, though not only his descendants, but the Hamyarites,[6] and other tribes, practised the same. The Ismaelites, we are told, used to circumcise their children, not on the eighth day, as is the custom of the Jews, but when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which age their father underwent that operation;[8] and the Mohammedans imitate them so far as not to circumcise children before they be able, at least, distinctly to pronounce that profession of their faith, "There is no GOD but GOD, Mohammed is the apostle of GOD,"[9] but pitch on what age they please for the purpose between six and sixteen or thereabouts.[10] Though the Moslem doctors are generally of opinion, conformably to the scripture, that this precept was originally given to Abraham, yet some have imagined that Adam was taught it by the angel Gabriel, to satisfy an oath he had made to cut off that flesh which, after his fall, had rebelled against his spirit; whence an odd argument has been drawn for the universal obligation of circumcision.[1] Though I cannot say the Jews led the Mohammedans the way here, yet they seem so unwilling to believe any of the principal patriarchs or prophets before Abraham were really uncircumcised, that they pretend several of them, as well as some holy men who lived after his time, were born ready circumcised, or without a foreskin, and that Adam in particular was so created,[2] whence the Mohammedans affirm the same thing of their prophet.[3]

Prayer was by Mohammed thought so necessary a duty, that he used to call it the pillar of religion and the key of paradise;[4] and when the Thakifites, who dwelt at Tayef, sending in the ninth year of the Hejra to make their submission to that prophet, after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them, begged at least that they might be dispensed with as to their saying of the appointed prayers, he answered, "That there could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer."[5]

[4] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 303. [5] Vide Bobov. de Circumcis. p. 22. [6] Philostorg. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. [7] Joseph. Ant. l. 1, c. 23. [7] Gen. xvii. 25. [8] Vide Bobov. ubi sup. and Poc. Spec. p. 319. [10] Vide Reland. de Rel. Moh. l. 1, p. 75.

[1] This is the substance of the following passage of the Gospel of Barnabas (cap. 23), viz. *Entonces dixo* Jesus, Adam *el primer hombre aviendo comido por engaño del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el parayso, se le rebelò su carne à su espiritu; por lo qual jurò diziendo, Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar; y rompiendo una piedra tomò su carne para cortarla con el corte de la piedra: Por loqual fue reprehendido del angel* Gabriel, *y el le dixo, Yo he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar, y mentiroso no lo serè jamas. A la hora el angel le enseñò la superfluidad de su carne, y aquella cortò. De manera que ansi como todo hombre toma carne de* Adam, *ansi es obligado a cumplir aquello que* Adam *con juramento prometiò.* [2] Shalshel hakkabala. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 320. Gagnier not. in Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 2. [3] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 302. [4] See before, p. 14. [5] Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 127.

That so important a duty, therefore, might not be neglected, Mohammed obliged his followers to pray five times every twenty-four hours, at certain stated times; viz., 1. In the morning, before sunrise; 2. When noon is past, and the sun begins to decline from the meridian; 3. In the afternoon, before sunset; 4. In the evening, after sunset, and before day be shut in; and 5. After the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night.[6] For this institution he pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of GOD himself, when he took his night journey to heaven; and the observing of the stated times of prayer is frequently insisted on in the Korân, though they be not particularly prescribed therein. Accordingly, at the aforesaid times, of which public notice is given by the Muedhdhins, or Criers, from the steeples of their mosques (for they use no bell), every conscientious Moslem prepares himself for prayer, which he performs either in the mosque or any other place, provided it be clean, after a prescribed form, and with a certain number of phrases or ejaculations (which the more scrupulous count by a string of beads) and using certain postures of worship, all which have been particularly set down and described, though with some few mistakes, by other writers,[1] and ought not to be abridged, unless in some special cases; as on a journey, on preparing for battle, &c.

For the regular performance of the duty of prayer among the Mohammedans, besides the particulars above mentioned, it is also requisite that they turn their faces, while they pray, towards the temple of Mecca;[2] the quarter where the same is situate being, for that reason, pointed out within their mosques by a niche, which they call al Mehrab, and without, by the situation of the doors opening into the galleries of the steeples: there are also tables calculated for the ready finding out their Kebla, or part towards which they ought to pray, in places where they have no other direction.[3]

But what is principally to be regarded in the discharge of this duty, say the Moslem doctors, is the inward disposition of the heart, which is the life and spirit of prayer;[4] the most punctual observance of the external rites and ceremonies before mentioned being of little or no avail, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope:[5] so that we must not think the Mohammedans, or the considerate part of them at least, content themselves with the mere *opus operatum*, or imagine their whole religion to be placed therein.[6]

I had like to have omitted two things which in my mind deserve mention on this head, and may, perhaps, be better defended than our contrary practice. One is, that the Mohammedans never address themselves to GOD in sumptuous apparel, though they are obliged to be decently clothed; but lay aside their costly habits and pompous ornaments, if they wear any, when they approach the divine presence, lest they should seem proud and arrogant.[7] The other is, that they admit not their women to pray with them in public; that sex being

[6] Vide Ibid. p. 38, 39. [1] Vide Hotting. Hist. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 470—529, Bobov. in Liturg. Turcic. p. 1, &c.; Grelot, Voyage de Constant. p. 253—264; Chardin, Voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 388, &c.; and Smith, de Moribus ac Instit. Turcar. Ep. 1, p. 33, &c. [2] Kor. c. 2, p. 16. See the notes there. [3] Vide Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 8, 9, and 126. [4] Al Ghazâli. [5] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 305. [6] Vide Smith, ubi sup. p. 40. [7] Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 96. See Kor. c. 7, p. 107.

obliged to perform their devotions at home, or if they visit the mosques, it must be at a time when the men are not there · for the Moslems are of opinion that their presence inspires a different kind of devotion from that which is requisite in a place dedicated to the worship of GOD[8]

The greater part of the particulars comprised in the Mohammedan institution of prayer, their prophet seems to have copied from others, and especially the Jews, exceeding their institutions only in the number of daily prayers[1] The Jews are directed to pray three times a day,[2] in the morning, in the evening, and within night, in imitation of Abraham,[3] Isaac,[4] and Jacob,[5] and the practice was as early, at least, as the time of Daniel[6] The several postures used by the Mohammedans in their prayers are also the same with those prescribed by the Jewish Rabbins, and particularly the most solemn act of adoration, by prostrating themselves so as to touch the ground with their forehead,[7] notwithstanding, the latter pretend the practice of the former, in this respect, to be a relic of their ancient manner of paying their devotions to Baal Peor[8] The Jews likewise constantly pray with their faces turned towards the temple of Jerusalem[9] which has been their Kebla from the time it was first dedicated by Solomon,[10] for which reason Daniel, praying in Chaldea, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city[11] and the same was the Kebla of Mohammed and his followers for six or seven months,[12] and till he found himself obliged to change it for the Caaba The Jews moreover, are obliged by the precepts of their religion to be careful that the place they pray in, and the garments they have on when they perform their duty, be clean[13] the men and women also among them pray apart (in which particular they were imitated by the eastern Christians), and several other conformities might be remarked between the Jewish public worship and that of the Mohammedans[14]

The next point of the Mohammedan religion is the giving of alms, which are of two sorts, legal and voluntary The legal alms are of indispensable obligation being commanded by the law, which directs and determines both the portion which is to be given, and of what things it ought to be given, but the voluntary alms are left to every one's liberty, to give more or less, as he shall see fit. The former kind of alms some think to be properly called Zacat, and the latter Sadakat,

8 A Moor, named Ahmed Ebn Abdalla in a Latin epistle by him written to Maurice, Prince of Orange and Emanuel Prince of Portugal containing a censure of the Christian religion (a copy of which once belonging to Mr Selden who has thence transcribed a considerable passage in his treatise De Synedriis vett. Ebr. l. 1 c. 12 is now in the Bodleian Library) finds great fault with the unedifying manner in which mass is said among the Roman Catholics for this very reason, among others His words are *Ubi unque congregantur simul viri et fæminæ, ibi mens non est intenta et devota nam inter celebrandum missam et sacrificia fæminæ et viri mutuis aspectibus signis ac nutibus accendunt pravorum appetituum et desideriorum suorum ignes et quando hoc non fieret saltem humana fragilitas delectatur mutuo et reciproco aspectu et ita non potest esse mens quieta attenta, et devota*

1 The Sabians, according to some exceed the Mohammedans in this point, praying seven times a day See before p 11 2 Gemar Berachoth 3 Gen xix. 27 4 Gen xxiv 63 5 Gen. xxviii. 11, &c. 6 Dan vi. 10. 7 Vide Millium de Mohammedismo ante Moham. p. 427, &c , and Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p 5, &c. 8 Maimonid in Epist. ad Proselyt. Relig Vide Poc Spec. p 306. 9 Gemar Bava Bathra and Berachoth. 10 1 Kings viii. 29 &c. 11 Dan vi 10 12 Some say eighteen months Vide Abulfed Vit. Moh p 54 13 Maimon. in Halachoth Tephilla, c. 9, § 8, 9. Menura hammeor, fol. 28, 2. 14 Vide Millium, ubi supra, p. 424, et seq.

though this name be also frequently given to the legal alms. They are called Zacât, either because they increase a man's store, by drawing down a blessing thereon and produce in his soul the virtue of liberality,[1] or because they purify the remaining part of one's substance from pollution and the soul from the filth of avarice,[2] and Sadakat, because they are a proof of a man's sincerity in the worship of GOD. Some writers have called the legal alms tithes, but improperly, since in some cases they fall short, and in others exceed that proportion.

The giving of alms is frequently commanded in the Korân, and often recommended therein jointly with prayer, the former being held of great efficacy in causing the latter to be heard of GOD; for which reason the Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz used to say, "that prayer carries us half way to GOD, fasting brings us to the door of his palace and alms procures us admission."[3] The Mohammedans, therefore, esteem almsdeeds to be highly meritorious, and many of them have been illustrious for the exercise thereof. Hasan, the son of Ali, and grandson of Mohammed, in particular is related to have thrice in his life divided his substance equally between himself and the poor, and twice to have given away all he had;[4] and the generality are so addicted to the doing of good, that they extend their charity even to brutes.[5]

Alms, according to the prescriptions of the Mohammedan law, are to be given of five things: 1. Of cattle, that is to say, of camels, kine and sheep. 2. Of money. 3. Of corn. 4. Of fruits, viz. dates and raisins. And 5. Of wares sold. Of each of these a certain portion is to be given in alms, being usually one part in forty, or two and a half per cent. of the value. But no alms are due for them unless they amount to a certain quantity or number; nor until a man has been in possession of them eleven months, he not being obliged to give alms thereout before the twelfth month is begun; nor are alms due for cattle employed in tilling the ground, or in carrying of burdens. In some cases a much larger portion than the before mentioned is reckoned due for alms: thus of what is gotten out of mines, or the sea, or by any art or profession, over and above what is sufficient for the reasonable support of a man's family, and especially where there is a mixture or suspicion of unjust gain, a fifth part ought to be given in alms. Moreover, at the end of the fast of Ramadân, every Moslem is obliged to give in alms for himself and for every one of his family, if he has any, a measure[1] of wheat, barley, dates, raisins, rice, or other provisions commonly eaten.[2]

The legal alms were at first collected by Mohammed himself, who employed them as he thought fit in the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly applied them to the maintenance of those who served in his wars and fought, as he termed it, in the way of GOD. His successors continued to do the same, till in process of time, other taxes and tributes being imposed for the support of the government

[1] Al Beidawi. See Kor. c. 2. p. 29. [2] Idem. Compare this with what our Saviour says (Luke xi. 41): Give alms of such things as ye have; and behold, all things are clean unto you. [3] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 5. [4] Ibid. p. 422. [5] Vide Busbeq. Epist. 3. p. 178. Smith de Morib. Turc. Ep. 1. p. 66, &c. Compare Eccles. xi. 1 and Prov. xii. 10. [1] This measure is a Saâ, and contains about six or seven pounds weight. [2] Vide Reland. de Rel. Mahommed. l. 1. p. 99, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, tom. 2. p. 415, &c.

they seem to have been weary of acting as almoners to their subjects, and to have left the paying them to their consciences

In the foregoing rules concerning alms, we may observe also footsteps of what the Jews taught and practised in respect thereto Alms, which they also call Sedaka, *i e*, justice, or righteousness,[3] are greatly recommended by their Rabbins, and preferred even to sacrifices;[4] as a duty, the frequent exercise whereof will effectually free a man from hell fire,[5] and merit everlasting life[6] wherefore besides the corners of the field, and the gleanings of their harvest and vineyard commanded to be left for the poor and the stranger by the law of Moses[7] a certain portion of their corn and fruits is directed to be set apart for their relief, which portion is called the tithes of the poor[8] The Jews likewise were formerly very conspicuous for their charity Zaccheus gave the half of his goods to the poor,[9] and we are told that some gave their whole substance so that their doctors at length, decreed that no man should give above a fifth part of his goods in alms[10] There were also persons publicly appointed in every synagogue to collect and distribute the people's contributions[11]

The third point of religious practice is fasting a duty of so great moment, that Mohammed used to say it was 'the gate of religion" and that "the odour of the mouth of him who fasteth is more grateful to GOD than that of musk and al Ghazali reckons fasting one fourth part of the faith. According to the Mohammedan divines there are three degrees of fasting 1 The restraining the belly and other parts of the body from satisfying their lusts 2 The restraining the ears, eyes, tongue hands, feet and other members from sin and 3 The fasting of the heart from worldly cares, and refraining the thoughts from everything besides GOD[1]

The Mohammedans are obliged by the express command of the Korân, to fast the whole month of Ramadân from the time the new moon first appears till the appearance of the next new moon during which time they must abstain from eating drinking and women from daybreak till night[2] or sunset And this injunction they observe so strictly that while they fast they suffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts of their body, esteeming the fast broken and null if they smell perfumes, take a clyster or injection, bathe, or even purposely swallow their spittle some being so cautious that they will not open their mouths to speak, lest they should breathe the air too freely[3] the fast is also deemed void if a man kiss or touch a woman, or if he vomit designedly But after sunset they are allowed to refresh themselves and to eat and drink and enjoy the company of their wives till daybreak[4]

[3] Hence alms are in the New Testament termed Δικαιοσύνη Matt vi 1 (Ed Steph), and 2 Cor ix 10. [4] Gemar in Bava Bathra [5] Ibid in Gittin [6] Ibid in Rosh hashana. [7] Levit. xix 9 10 Deut xxiv 19 &c [8] Vide Gemar Hierosol in Peah and Maimon in Halachoth matanoth Aniyyim c. 6 Confer Pirke Avoth v 9 [9] Luke xix 8 [10] Vide Reland. Ant. Sacr Vet. Hebr p. 402. [11] Vide Ibid p. 138 [1] Al Ghazâli Al Mostatraf [2] Kor c. 2 p 19, 20. [3] Hence we read that the Virgin Mary to avoid answering the reflections cast on her for bringing home a child was advised by the angel Gabriel to feign she had vowed a fast and therefore she ought not to speak. See Kor c. 19

[4] The words of the Korân (cap 2 p 20) are "Until ye can distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak"—a form of speaking borrowed by Mohammed from the Jews, who determine the time when they are to begin their morning lesson to be so soon as a man can discern blue from white *i e* the blue threads from the white threads in the fringes of their garments. But this explication the commentators do not approve, pretending that by the white

though the more rigid begin the fast again at midnight.[5] This fast is extremely rigorous and mortifying when the month of Ramadân happens to fall in summer, for the Arabian year being lunar,[6] each month runs through all the different seasons in the course of thirty-three years, the length and heat of the days making the observance of it much more difficult and uneasy then than in winter.

The reason given why the month of Ramadân was pitched on for this purpose is, that on that month the Korân was sent down from heaven.[1] Some pretend that Abraham, Moses, and Jesus received their respective revelations in the same month.[2]

From the fast of Ramadân none are excused, except only travellers and sick persons (under which last denomination the doctors comprehend all whose health would manifestly be injured by their keeping the fast; as women with child and giving suck, ancient people, and young children); but then they are obliged, as soon as the impediment is removed, to fast an equal number of other days · and the breaking the fast is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor.[3]

Mohammed seems to have followed the guidance of the Jews in his ordinances concerning fasting, no less than in the former particulars. That nation, when they fast, abstain not only from eating and drinking, but from women, and from anointing themselves,[4] from daybreak until sunset, and the stars begin to appear,[5] spending the night in taking what refreshments they please.[6] And they allow women with child and giving suck, old persons, and young children to be exempted from keeping most of the public fasts.[7]

Though my design here be briefly to treat of those points only which are of indispensable obligation on a Moslem, and expressly required by the Korân, without entering into their practice as to voluntary and supererogatory works; yet to show how closely Mohammed's institutions follow the Jewish, I shall add a word or two of the voluntary fasts of the Mohammedans. These are such as have been recommended either by the example or approbation of their prophet; and especially certain days of those months which they esteem sacred · there being a tradition that he used to say, That a fast of one day in a sacred month was better than a fast of thirty days in another month, and that the fast of one day in Ramadân was more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month.[8] Among the more commendable days is that of Ashûra, the tenth of Moharram; which, though some writers tell us it was observed by the Arabs, and particularly the tribe of Koreish, before Mohammed's time,[9] yet, as others assure us, that prophet borrowed both the name and the fast from the Jews, it being with them the tenth of

thread and the black thread are to be understood the light and dark streaks of the daybreak; and they say the passage was at first revealed without the words "of the daybreak," but Mohammed's followers, taking the expression in the first sense, regulated their practice accordingly, and continued eating and drinking till they could distinguish a white thread from a black thread, as they lay before them—to prevent which for the future, the words "of the daybreak" were added as explanatory of the former. Al Beidâwi. Vide Pocock. not. in Carmen Tograi, p. 89, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, tom. 2, p. 423.

[5] Vide Chardin, ib. p. 421, &c. Reland de Relig. Moh. p. 109, &c. [6] See hereafter, Sect. VI. [1] Kor. c. 2, p. 19. See also c. 97. [2] Al Beidâwi, ex Trad. Mohammedis. [3] See Kor. c. 2, p. 20. [4] Siphra, f. 252, 2. [5] Tosephoth ad Gemar. Yoma, f. 34. [6] Vide Gemar. Yoma, f. 40, and Maimon. in Halachoth Tânioth, c. 5, § 5. [7] Vide Gemar. Tânith, f. 12, and Yoma, f. 83, and Es Hayim, Tânith, c. 1. [8] Al Ghazâli. [9] Al Bâresi in Comment. ad Orat. Ebn Nobâtæ.

the seventh month, or Tisri, and the great day of expiation commanded to be kept by the law of Moses.[1] Al Kazwini relates that when Mohammed came to Medina, and found the Jews there fasted on the day of Ashûra, he asked them the reason of it; and they told him it was because on that day Pharaoh and his people were drowned, Moses and those who were with him escaping: whereupon he said that he bore a nearer relation to Moses than they, and ordered his followers to fast on that day. However, it seems afterwards he was not so well pleased in having imitated the Jews herein; and therefore declared that, if he lived another year, he would alter the day, and fast on the ninth, abhorring so near an agreement with them.[2]

The pilgrimage to Mecca is so necessary a point of practice that, according to a tradition of Mohammed, he who dies without performing it, may as well die a Jew or a Christian;[3] and the same is expressly commanded in the Korân.[4] Before I speak of the time and manner of performing this pilgrimage, it may be proper to give a short account of the temple of Mecca, the chief scene of the Mohammedan worship; in doing which I need be the less prolix, because that edifice has been already described by several writers,[5] though they, following different relations, have been led into some mistakes, and agree not with one another in several particulars: nor, indeed, do the Arab authors agree in all things, one great reason whereof is their speaking of different times.

The temple of Mecca stands in the midst of the city and is honoured with the title of Masjad al alharâm, *i.e.*, the sacred or inviolable temple. What is principally reverenced in this place, and gives sanctity to the whole, is a square stone building, called the Caaba, as some fancy, from its height, which surpasses that of the other buildings in Mecca,[6] but more probably from its quadrangular form, and Beit Allah, *i.e.*, the house of GOD, being peculiarly hallowed and set apart for his worship. The length of this edifice, from north to south, is twenty-four cubits, its breadth from east to west twenty-three cubits, and its height twenty-seven cubits: the door, which is on the east side, stands about four cubits from the ground; the floor being level with the bottom of the door.[7] In the corner next this door is the black stone, of which I shall take notice by-and-bye. On the north side of the Caaba, within a semicircular enclosure fifty cubits long, lies the white stone, said to be the sepulchre of Ismael, which receives the rain-water that falls off the Caaba by a spout, formerly of wood,[1] but now of gold. The Caaba has a double roof, supported within by three octangular pillars of aloes wood; between which, on a bar of iron, hang some silver lamps. The outside is covered with rich black damask, adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year, and was formerly sent by the Khalifs, afterwards by the Soltans of Egypt, and is now provided by the Turkish emperors. At a small distance from the Caaba, on the east side, is the Station or Place of Abraham, where is another stone

[1] Levit. xvi. 29, and xxiii 27. [2] Ebn al Athir. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 309. [3] Al Ghazâli. [4] Cap. 3, p 42. See also c. 22, p. 252 and c 2, p. 14, &c. [5] Chardin, Voy de Perse, t. 2, p. 428, &c.; Bremond, Descrittioni dell' Egitto, &c., l. 1, c. 29; Pitts' Account of the Rel. &c. of the Mohammedans, p 98, &c.; and Boulainvilliers, Vie de Mahomed, p 54, &c., which last author is the most particular. [6] Ahmed Ebn Yusef. [7] Sharif al Edrisi, and Kitab Masalec, apud Poc. Spec. p. 125, &c. [1] Sharif al Edrisi, ibid.

much respected by the Mohammedans, of which something will be said hereafter

The Caaba, at some distance, is surrounded, but not entirely, by a circular enclosure of pillars, joined towards the bottom by a low balustrade, and towards the top by bars of silver Just without this inner enclosure, on the south, north, and west sides of the Caaba, are three buildings, which are the oratories, or places where three of the orthodox sects assemble to perform their devotions (the fourth sect, viz., that of al Shâfei, making use of the station of Abraham for that purpose), and towards the south-east stands the edifice which covers the well Zemzem, the treasury, and the cupola of al Abbas [2]

All these buildings are enclosed, a considerable distance, by a magnificent piazza, or square colonnade, like that of the Royal Exchange in London, but much larger, covered with small domes or cupolas from the four corners whereof rise as many minarets or steeples, with double galleries, and adorned with gilded spires and crescents, as are the cupolas which cover the piazza and the other buildings Between the pillars of both enclosures hang a great number of lamps, which are constantly lighted at night The first foundations of this outward enclosure were laid by Omar, the second Khalif, who built no more than a low wall to prevent the court of the Caaba, which before lay open, from being encroached on by private buildings, but the structure has been since raised by the liberality of many succeeding princes and great men, to its present lustre [3]

This is properly all that is called the temple, but the whole territory of Mecca being also Haram or sacred, there is a third enclosure, distinguished at certain distances by small turrets, some five, some seven, and others ten miles distant from the city [1] Within this compass of ground it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree which is the true reason why the pigeons at Mecca are reckoned sacred, and not that they are supposed to be of the race of that imaginary pigeon which some authors who should have known better, would persuade us Mohammed made pass for the Holy Ghost.[2]

The temple of Mecca was a place of worship, and in singular veneration with the Arabs from great antiquity, and many centuries before Mohammed. Though it was most probably dedicated at first to an idolatrous use,[3] yet the Mohammedans are generally persuaded that the Caaba is almost coeval with the world for they say that Adam, after his expulsion from paradise, begged of GOD that he might erect a building like that he had seen there, called Beit al Mámûr, or the *frequented house*, and al Dorah, towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compass, as the angels do the celestial one Whereupon GOD let down a representation of that house in curtains of light,[4] and set it in Mecca, perpendicularly under its original,[5] order-

[2] Idem ibid [3] Loc Spec. p. 116 [1] Gol not in Alfrag p 99 [2] Gab Sionita et Joh Hesronita de nonnullis Orient urbib ad calc Geogr Nub p 21 Al Mogholtai in his Life of Mohammed says the pigeons of the temple of Mecca are of the breed of those which laid their eggs at the mouth of the cave where the prophet and Abu Becr hid themselves when they fled from that city See before p 37 [3] See before p 13. [4] Some say that the Beit al Mámûr itself was the Caaba of Adam which having been let down to him from heaven was, at the Flood taken up again into heaven, and is there kept Al Zamakh. in Kor c. 2. [5] Al

ing the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compass it by way of devotion[6] After Adam's death, his son Seth built a house in the same form of stones and clay, which being destroyed by the Deluge, was rebuilt by Abraham and Ismael,[7] at GOD'S command, in the place where the former had stood, and after the same model, they being directed therein by revelation[8]

After this edifice had undergone several reparations, it was, a few years after the birth of Mohammed, rebuilt by the Koreish on the old foundation,[1] and afterwards repaired by Abd allah Ebn Zobeir the Khalif of Mecca, and at length again rebuilt by al Hejaj Ebn Yusof, in the seventy fourth year of the Hejra with some alterations, in the form wherein it now remains[2] Some years after however, the Khalif Harûn al Rashid (or, as others write his father al Mohdi, or his grandfather al Mansur) intended again to change what had been altered by al Hejaj, and to reduce the Caaba to the old form in which it was left by Abd allah, but was dissuaded from meddling with it lest so holy a place should become the sport of princes and being new modelled after every one's fancy, should lose that reverence which was justly paid it[3] But notwithstanding the antiquity and holiness of this building, they have a prophecy, by tradition from Mohammed that in the last times the Ethiopians shall come and utterly demolish it after which it will not be rebuilt again for ever[4]

Before we leave the temple of Mecca two or three particulars deserve further notice One is the celebrated black stone, which is set in silver, and fixed in the south east corner of the Caaba being that which looks towards Basra, about two cubits and one third or, which is the same thing seven spans from the ground This stone is exceedingly respected by the Mohammedans, and is kissed by the pilgrims with great devotion being called by some the right hand of GOD on earth They fable that it is one of the precious stones of paradise and fell down to the earth with Adam and being taken up again or otherwise preserved at the Deluge the angel Gabriel afterwards brought it back to Abraham when he was building the Caaba. It was at first whiter than milk but grew black long since by the touch of a menstruous woman or as others tell us, by the sins of mankind[5] or rather by the touches and kisses of so many people, the superficies only being black and the inside still remaining white.[6] When the Karmatians[7] among other profanations by them offered to the temple of Mecca, took away this stone, they could not be prevailed on for love or money to restore it though those of Mecca offered no less than five thousand pieces of gold for it[8] How

Jûzi ex trad Ebn Abbas It has been observed that the primitive Christian church held a parallel opinion as to the situation of the heavenly Jerusalem with respect to the terrestrial for in the apocryphal book of the revelations of St Peter (c 27) after Jesus has mentioned unto Peter the creation of the seven heavens—whence by the way it appears that this number of heavens was not devised by Mohammed—and of the angels, begins the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in these words We have created the upper Jerusalem above the waters, which are above the third heaven hanging directly over the lower Jerusalem &c Vide Gagnier not. ad Abulfed Vit Moh. p. 28

[6] Shahrestani [7] Vide Kor c 2 p [8] Al Jannabi in Vita Abraham [1] Vide Abulfed Vit Moh p 13. [2] Idem, in Hist Gen. al Jannabi & [3] Al Jannabi [4] Idem Ahmed Ebn Yusef Vide Poc Spec p 115 &c [5] Al Zamakh &c in Kor Ahmed Ebn Yusef [6] Poc. Spec p 117 &c. [7] These Carmatians were a sect which arose in the year of the Hejra 278 and whose opinions overturned the fundamental points of Mohammedism. See D Herbel Bibl Orient Art Carmath and hereafter § viii. [8] D Herbel. p. 40

ever, after they had kept it twenty two years, seeing they could not thereby draw the pilgrims from Mecca, they sent it back of their own accord, at the same time bantering its devotees by telling them it was not the true stone but, as it is said, it was proved to be no counterfeit by its peculiar quality of swimming on water[1]

Another thing observable in this temple is the stone in Abraham's place, wherein they pretend to show his footsteps telling us he stood on it when he built the Caaba,[2] and that it served him for a scaffold, rising and falling of itself as he had occasion,[3] though another tradition says he stood upon it while the wife of his son Ismael, whom he paid a visit to, washed his head.[4] It is now enclosed in an iron chest, out of which the pilgrims drink the water of Zemzem[5] and are ordered to pray at it by the Korân[6] The officers of the temple took care to hide this stone when the Karmatians took the other[7]

The last thing I shall take notice of in the temple is the well Zemzem, on the east side of the Caaba and which is covered with a small building and cupola. The Mohammedans are persuaded it is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ismael when Hagar his mother wandered with him in the desert[8] and some pretend it was so named from her calling to him, when she spied it in the Egyptian tongue, *Zem, zem*, that is, 'Stay stay'[9] though it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters The water of this well is reckoned holy, and is highly reverenced, being not only drunk with particular devotion by the pilgrims but also sent in bottles as a great rarity, to most parts of the Mohammedan dominions Abd allah surnamed al Hafedh, from his great memory particularly was to the traditions of Mohammed gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of Zemzem water,[10] to which I really believe it as efficacious as that of Helicon to the inspiring of a poet.

To this temple every Mohammedan who has health and means sufficient,[11] ought once at least in his life to go on pilgrimage nor are women excused from the performance of this duty The pilgrims meet at different places near Mecca according to the different parts from whence they come[12] during the months of Shawal and Dhu'lkaada being obliged to be there by the beginning of Dhu'lhajja which month as its name imports is peculiarly set apart for the celebration of this solemnity

At the places above mentioned the pilgrims properly commence such, when the men put on the Ihram, or sacred habit which consists only of two woollen wrappers one wrapped about the middle to cover their privities, and the other thrown over their shoulders, having their heads bare and a kind of slippers which cover neither the heel nor the instep, and so enter the sacred territory in their way to Mecca While they have this habit on they must neither hunt nor fowl[1] (though they are allowed to fish[2]), which precept is so punctually observed, that they will not kill even a louse or a flea if they find them on their bodies there are some noxious animals, however which they have permission to kill during the pilgrimage, as kites, ravens, scorpions, mice, and dogs

[1] Ahmed Ebn Yusef Abulfeda. Vide Poc. Spec p. 119. [2] Abulfed [3] Vide Hyde de Rel Vet. Pers p 35 [4] Ahmed Ebn Yusef Safioddin [5] Ahmed Ebn Yusef [6] Cap. 2 p. 14. [7] Vide Poc. Spec. p 120 &c [8] Gen. xxi. 19. [9] G. Sionit. et J Hesr. de nonnull. urb Orient. p 19 [10] D Herbel p 5. [11] See Kor c. 3, p 43 and the notes thereon [12] Vide Bobov de Peregr Mecc. p 12, &c. [1] Kor c. 5, p. 85 [2] Ibid.

given to bite.[3] During the pilgrimage it behoves a man to have a constant guard over his words and actions, and to avoid all quarrelling or ill language, and all converse with women and obscene discourse, and to apply his whole intention to the good work he is engaged in.

The pilgrims, being arrived at Mecca, immediately visit the temple, and then enter on the performance of the prescribed ceremonies, which consist chiefly in going in procession round the Caaba, in running between the Mounts Safâ and Merwâ, in making the station on Mount Arafat, and slaying the victims, and shaving their heads in the valley of Mina. These ceremonies have been so particularly described by others,[4] that I may be excused if I but just mention the most material circumstances thereof.

In compassing the Caaba, which they do seven times, beginning at the corner where the black stone is fixed, they use a short, quick pace the three first times they go round it, and a grave, ordinary pace, the four last, which, it is said, was ordered by Mohammed, that his followers might show themselves strong and active, to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out that the immoderate heats of Medina had rendered them weak.[5] But the aforesaid quick pace they are not obliged to use every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at some particular times.[6] So often as they pass by the black stone, they either kiss it or touch it with their hand, and kiss that.

The running between Safa and Merwa[1] is also performed seven times, partly with a slow pace, and partly running;[2] for they walk gravely till they come to a place between two pillars; and there they run, and afterwards walk again; sometimes looking back, and sometimes stopping, like one who has lost something, to represent Hagar seeking water for her son;[3] for the ceremony is said to be as ancient as her time.[4]

On the ninth of Dhu'lhajja, after morning prayer, the pilgrims leave the valley of Mina, whither they come the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous and rushing manner to Mount Arafat,[5] where they stay to perform their devotions till sunset; then they go to Mozdalifa, an oratory between Arafat and Mina, and there spend the night in prayer and reading the Korân. The next morning, by daybreak, they visit al Mashér al harâm, or the sacred monument,[6] and departing thence before sunrise, haste by Batn Mohasser to the valley of Mina, where they throw seven stones at three marks, or pillars, in imitation of Abraham, who, meeting the devil in that place, and being by him disturbed in his devotions, or tempted to disobedience when he was going to sacrifice his son, was commanded by GOD to drive him away by throwing stones at him;[7] though others pretend this rite to be as old as Adam, who also put the devil to flight in the same place and by the same means.[8]

[3] Al Beid. [4] Bobov. de Peregr. Mecc. p. 11, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. 2, p. 440, &c. See also Pitts' Account of the Rel. &c. of the Mohammedans, p. 92, &c. Gagnier, Vie de Moh. t. 2, p. 258, &c. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 130, &c. and Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 113, &c. [5] Ebn al Athir. [6] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 314. [1] See before, p. 16. [2] Al Ghazâli. [3] Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 121. [4] Ebn al Athir. [5] See Kor. c. 2, p. 21. [6] See Ibid. M. Gagnier has been twice guilty of a mistake in confounding this monument with the sacred enclosure of the Caaba. Vide Gagn. not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 131, and Vie de Moh. t. 2, p. 262. [7] Dr. Pocock, from al Ghazâli, says seventy, at different times and places. Spec. p. 315. [8] Al Ghazâli, Ahmed Ebn Yusef. [8] Ebn al Athir.

This ceremony being over, on the same day, the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, the pilgrims slay their victims in the said valley of Mina; of which they and their friends eat part, and the rest is given to the poor These victims must be either sheep, goats, kine, or camels; males, if of either of the two former kinds, and females if of either of the latter, and of a fit age.[10] The sacrifices being over, they shave their heads and cut their nails, burying them in the same place; after which the pilgrimage is looked on as completed[11] though they again visit the Caaba, to take their leave of that sacred building

The above-mentioned ceremonies, by the confession of the Mohammedans themselves, were almost all of them observed by the pagan Arabs many ages before their prophet's appearance; and particularly the compassing of the Caaba, the running between Safâ and Merwâ, and the throwing of the stones in Mina, and were confirmed by Mohammed, with some alterations in such points as seemed most exceptionable · thus, for example, he ordered that when they compassed the Caaba they should be clothed,[1] whereas, before his time, they performed that piece of devotion naked, throwing off their clothes as a mark that they had cast off their sins,[2] or as signs of their disobedience towards GOD.[3]

It is also acknowledged that the greater part of these rites are of no intrinsic worth, neither affecting the soul, nor agreeing with natural reason, but altogether arbitrary, and commanded merely to try the obedience of mankind, without any further view; and are therefore to be complied with, not that they are good in themselves, but because GOD has so appointed.[4] Some, however, have endeavoured to find out some reasons for the arbitrary injunctions of this kind; and one writer,[5] supposing men ought to imitate the heavenly bodies, not only in their purity, but in their circular motion, seems to argue the procession round the Caaba to be therefore a rational practice Reland[6] has observed that the Romans had something like this in their worship, being ordered by Numa to use a circular motion in the adoration of the Gods, either to represent the orbicular motion of the world, or the perfecting the whole office of prayer to that GOD who is maker of the universe, or else in allusion to the Egyptian wheels, which were hieroglyphics of the instability of human fortune.[7]

The pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies prescribed to those who perform it, are, perhaps, liable to greater exception than other of Mohammed's institutions; not only as silly and ridiculous in themselves, but as relics of idolatrous superstition[8] Yet whoever seriously considers how difficult it is to make people submit to the abolishing of ancient customs, how unreasonable soever, which they are fond of, especially where the interest of a considerable party is also concerned,

[10] Vide Reland ubi sup p 117 [11] See Kor. c 2, p 21 [1] Kor c. 7, p. 106, 102 [2] Al Faik, de Tempore Ignor Arabum, apud Millium de Mohammedismo ante Moh p 322 Compare Isa. lxiv. 6 [3] Jallal al Beid This notion comes very near, if it be not the same with that of the Adamites [4] Al Ghazâli Vide Abulfar Hist Dyn p 171. [5] Abu Jáafar Ebn Tofail, in Vita Hai Ebn Yokdhân p 151 See Mr Ockley's English translation thereof, p 117 [6] De Rel Mah p 123 [7] Plutarch in Numa. [8] Maimonides (in Epist ad Prosel Rel) pretends that the worship of Mercury was performed by throwing of stones and that of Chemosh by making bare the head, and putting on unsewn garments.

and that a man may with less danger change many things than one great one,[9] must excuse Mohammed's yielding some points of less moment, to gain the principal. The temple of Mecca was held in excessive veneration by all the Arabs in general (if we except only the tribe of Tay, and Khathâam and some of the posterity of al Hareth Ebn Caab,[1] who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto), and especially by those of Mecca, who had a particular interest to support that veneration, and as the most silly and insignificant things are generally the objects of the greatest superstition, Mohammed found it much easier to abolish idolatry itself, than to eradicate the superstitious bigotry with which they were addicted to that temple, and the rites performed there, wherefore after several fruitless trials to wean them therefrom,[2] he thought it best to compromise the matter, and rather than to frustrate his whole design, to allow them to go on pilgrimage thither, and to direct their prayers thereto, contenting himself with transferring the devotions there paid from their idols to the true GOD, and changing such circumstances therein as he judged might give scandal And herein he followed the example of the most famous legislators, who instituted not such laws as were absolutely the best in themselves, but the best their people were capable of receiving and we find GOD himself had the same condescendence for the Jews whose hardness of heart he humoured in many things giving them therefore statutes that were not good and judgments whereby they should not live[3]

SECTION V

OF CERTAIN NEGATIVE PRECEPTS IN THE KORAN

HAVING in the preceeding section spoken of the fundamental points of the Mohammedan religion, relating both to faith and to practice, I shall in this and the two following discourses speak in the same brief method of some other precepts and institutions of the Korân which deserve peculiar notice, and first of certain things which are thereby prohibited

The drinking of wine under which name all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended is forbidden in the Korân in more places than one[1] Some indeed have imagined that excess therein is only forbidden, and that the moderate use of wine is allowed by two passages in the same book[2] but the more received opinion is, that to drink any strong liquors either in a lesser quantity, or in a greater, is absolutely unlawful, and though libertines[3] indulge them-

[9] According to the maxim *Tutius est multa mutare quam unum magnum* [1] Al Shahrestani [2] See Kor c p 26 [3] Ezek. xx. 25 Vide Spenc de Urim et Thummim c. 4 § 7 [1] See c 2 p 23 and c. 5 p 84. [2] Cap 2 p 23, and c. 16 p 200. Vide D Herbel. Bibl Orient p 606 [3] Vide Smith de Morib et Instit Turcar Ep 2 p. 28 &c

selves in a contrary practice, yet the more conscientious are so strict, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca,[4] that they hold it unlawful not only to taste wine, but to press grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising by the sale of that liquor. The Persians, however, as well as the Turks, are very fond of wine; and if one asks them how it comes to pass that they venture to drink it, when it is so directly forbidden by their religion, they answer, that it is with them as with the Christians, whose religion prohibits drunkenness and whoredom as great sins, and who glory, notwithstanding, some in debauching girls and married women, and others in drinking to excess.[5]

It has been a question whether coffee comes not under the above-mentioned prohibition, because the fumes of it have some effect on the imagination. This drink, which was first publicly used at Aden in Arabia Felix about the middle of the ninth century of the Hejra, and thence gradually introduced into Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Levant, has been the occasion of great disputes and disorders, having been sometimes publicly condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed.[7] At present the use of coffee is generally tolerated, if not granted, as is that of tobacco, though the more religious make a scruple of taking the latter, not only because it inebriates, but also out of respect to a traditional saying of their prophet (which, if it could be made out to be his, would prove him a prophet indeed), "That in the latter days there should be men who should bear the name of Moslems, but should not be really such; and that they should smoke a certain weed, which should be called TOBACCO." However, the eastern nations are generally so addicted to both, that they say, "A dish of coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment"; and the Persians have a proverb that coffee without tobacco is meat without salt.[1]

Opium and beng (which latter is the leaves of hemp in pills or conserve) are also by the rigid Mohammedans esteemed unlawful, though not mentioned in the Korân, because they intoxicate and disturb the understanding as wine does, and in a more extraordinary manner; yet these drugs are now commonly taken in the east; but they who are addicted to them are generally looked upon as debauchees.[2]

Several stories have been told as the occasion of Mohammed's prohibiting the drinking of wine;[3] but the true reasons are given in the Korân, viz., because the ill qualities of that liquor surpass its good ones, the common effects thereof being quarrels and disturbances in company, and neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performance of religious duties.[4] For these reasons it was that the priests were, by the Levitical law, forbidden to drink wine or strong drink when they entered the tabernacle,[5] and that the Nazarites[6] and Rechabites,[7] and

[4] Vide Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. 2, p. 212. [5] Chardin, ubi sup. p. 344. [6] Abd alkâder Mohammed al Ansâri has written a treatise concerning Coffee, wherein he argues for its lawfulness. Vide D'Herbel. Art. Cahvah. [7] Vide Le Traité Historique de l'Origine et du Progrès du Café, à la fin du Voy. de l'Arabie heur. de la Roque. [1] Reland. Dissert. Miscell. t. 2, p. 280. Vide Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. 2, p. 14 and 66. [2] Vide Chardin, ibid. p. 68, &c. and D'Herbel. p. 200. [3] Vide Prid. Life of Mah. p. 82, &c. Busbeq. Epist. 3, p. 255, and Maundeville's Travels, p. [illegible] [4] Kor. c. 2, p. 25, c. 5, p. 84, and c. 4, p. 59. See Prov. xxiii. 29, &c. [5] Levit. x. 9. [6] Numb. vi. 3. [7] Jerem. xxxv. 6, &c.

many pious persons among the Jews and primitive Christians, wholly abstained therefrom; nay, some of the latter went so far as to condemn the use of wine as sinful.[8] But Mohammed is said to have had a nearer example than any of these, in the more devout persons of his own tribe.[9]

Gaming is prohibited by the Korân[10] in the same passages, and for the same reasons, as wine. The word al Meisar, which is there used, signifies a particular manner of casting lots by arrows, much practised by the pagan Arabs, and performed in the following manner. A young camel being bought and killed, and divided into ten or twenty-eight parts, the persons who cast lots for them, to the number of seven, met for that purpose; and eleven arrows were provided, without heads or feathers, seven of which were marked, the first with one notch, the second with two, and so on, and the other four had no mark at all.[11] These arrows were put promiscuously into a bag, and then drawn by an indifferent person, who had another near him to receive them, and to see he acted fairly, those to whom the marked arrows fell won shares in proportion to their lot, and those to whom the blanks fell were entitled to no part of the camel at all, but were obliged to pay the full price of it. The winners, however, tasted not of the flesh, any more than the losers, but the whole was distributed among the poor; and this they did out of pride and ostentation, it being reckoned a shame for a man to stand out, and not venture his money on such an occasion.[1] This custom, therefore, though it was of some use to the poor and diversion to the rich, was forbidden by Mohammed[2] as the source of great inconveniences, by occasioning quarrels and heart-burnings, which arose from the winners insulting of those who lost.

Under the name of lots the commentators agree that all other games whatsoever, which are subject to hazard or chance, are comprehended and forbidden, as dice, cards, tables, &c. And they are reckoned so ill in themselves, that the testimony of him who plays at them, is by the more rigid judged to be of no validity in a court of justice. Chess is almost the only game which the Mohammedan doctors allo to be lawful (though it has been a doubt with some),[3] because it depends wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance: but then it is allowed under certain restrictions, viz., that it be no hindrance to the regular performance of their devotions, and that no money or other thing be played for or betted; which last the Turks and Sonnites religiously observe, but the Persians and Mogols do not.[4] But what Mohammed is supposed chiefly to have disliked in the game of chess, was the carved pieces, or men, with which the pagan Arabs played, being little figures of men, elephants, horses, and dromedaries;[5] and these are thought, by some commentators, to be truly meant by the images prohibited in one of the passages of the Korân[6] quoted above.

[8] This was the heresy of those called Encratitæ, and Aquarii. Khwâf, a Magian heretic, also declared wine unlawful, but this was after Mohammed's time. Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 300.
[9] Vide Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 271. [10] Cap. 2, p. 23, c. 5, p. 84. [11] Some writers, as al Zamakh. and al Shirâzi, mention but three blank arrows. [1] Auctores Nodhm al dorr, et Nothr al dorr, al Zamakh. al Firauzabâdi, al Shirâzi in Orat. al Hariri, al Beidâwi, &c. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 324, &c. [2] Kor. c. 5, p. 73. [3] Vide Hyde, de Ludis Oriental. in Proleg. ad Shahiludium. [4] Vide eund. ibid. [5] Vide eundem, ibid. and in Hist. Shahiludii, p. 135. [6] Cap. 5, p. 84.

That the Arabs in Mohammed's time actually used such images for chess-men appears from what is related, in the Sonna, of Ali, who passing accidentally by some who were playing at chess, asked, "What images they were which they were so intent upon?"[7] for they were perfectly new to him, that game having been but very lately introduced into Arabia, and not long before into Persia, whither it was first brought from India in the reign of Khosrû Nûshirwân[8] Hence the Mohammedan doctors infer that the game was disapproved only for the sake of the images wherefore the Sonnites always play with plain pieces of wood or ivory, but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, continue to make use of the carved ones[1]

The Mohammedans comply with the prohibition of gaming much better than they do with that of wine, for though the common people, among the Turks more frequently, and the Persians more rarely, are addicted to play, yet the better sort are seldom guilty of it.[2]

Gaming, at least to excess, has been forbidden in all well ordered states Gaming houses were reckoned scandalous places among the Greeks, and a gamester is declared by Aristotle[3] to be no better than a thief the Roman senate made very severe laws against playing at games of hazard,[4] except only during the Saturnalia, though the people played often at other times, notwithstanding the prohibition the civil law forbad all pernicious games,[5] and though the laity were, in some cases, permitted to play for money, provided they kept within reasonable bounds, yet the clergy were forbidden to play at tables (which is a game of hazard), or even to look on while others played.[6] Accursius, indeed, is of opinion they may play at chess, notwithstanding that law, because it is a game not subject to chance[7] and being but newly invented in the time of Justinian, was not then known in the western parts However, the monks for some time were not allowed even chess[8]

As to the Jews, Mohammed's chief guides, they also highly disapprove gaming gamesters being severely censured in the Talmud, and their testimony declared invalid[9]

Another practice of the idolatrous Arabs forbidden also in one of the above mentioned passages,[10] was that of divining by arrows The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Seven such arrows were kept at the temple of Mecca,[11] but generally in divination they made use of three only, on one of which was written, 'My LORD hath commanded me,' on another, "My LORD hath forbidden me,' and the third was blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprise in question, if the second, they made a contrary conclusion, but if the

7 Sokeiker al Dimishki and Auctor libri al M statraf apud Hyde ubi sup p 8 8 Khondemir apud eund ib d p 41 1 Vide Hyde ubi sup p 9. 2 Vide eundem in Proleg and Chardin Voy de Perse t 2 p 4 3 Lib v ad Nicom 4 Vide Horat. l 3 Carm. Od. 24. 5 ff de Aleatoribus Novel Just. 123 &c. Vide Hyde ubi sup in Hist. Aleæ, p 119. 6 Autbe [illegible] interdicimus de episcopis 7 In Com ad Legem Præd 8 Du Fresne, in Gloss. 9 Bava Mesia, 24 1 Rosh Hashana and Sanhedr 24 2 Vide etiam Maimon in Tract Gezila. Among the modern civilians Mascardus thought common gamesters were not to be admitted as witnesses being infamous persons Vide Hyde ubi sup in Proleg et in Hist Aleæ § 3 10 Chap v [illegible] 11 See before p 16.

third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before anything of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like.[1] This superstitious practice of divining by arrows was used by the ancient Greeks,[2] and other nations, and is particularly mentioned in scripture,[3] where it is said, that "the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he made his arrows bright" (or, according to the version of the Vulgate, which seems preferable in this place, "he mixed together, or shook the arrows"), "he consulted with images," &c.; the commentary of St Jerome on which passage wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the aforesaid custom of the old Arabs "He shall stand," says he, "in the highway, and consult the oracle after the manner of his nation, that he may cast arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being written upon or marked with the names of each people that he may see whose arrow will come forth, and which city he ought first to attack."[4]

A distinction of meats was so generally used by the eastern nations, that it is no wonder that Mohammed made some regulations in that matter. The Korán, therefore prohibits the eating of blood, and swine's flesh, and whatever dies of itself, or is slain in the name of in honour of any idol, or is strangled or killed by a blow, or a fall, or by any other beast.[5] In which particulars Mohammed seems chiefly to have imitated the Jews, by whose law, as is well known, all those things are forbidden, but he allowed some things to be eaten which Moses did not,[6] as camels' flesh[7] in particular In cases of necessity, however, where a man may be in danger of starving, he is allowed by the Mohammedan law to eat any of the said prohibited kinds of food,[8] and the Jewish doctors grant the same liberty in the same case[9] Though the aversion to blood and what dies of itself may seem natural, yet some of the pagan Arabs used to eat both. of their eating of the latter some instances will be given hereafter; and as to the former, it is said they used to pour blood, which they sometimes drew from a live camel, into a gut, and then broiled it in the fire, or boiled it, and ate it[1] this food they called *Moswadd*, from *Aswad* which signifies *black*, the same nearly resembling our black puddings in name as well as composition.[2] The eating of meat offered to idols I take to be commonly practised by all idolaters, being looked on as a sort of communion in their worship, and for that reason esteemed by Christians, if not absolutely unlawful, yet as what may be the occasion of great scandal[3] but the Arabs were particularly superstitious in this matter, killing what they ate on stones erected on purpose around the Caaba, or near their own houses, and calling, at the same time, on the name of some idol.[4] Swine's flesh, indeed, the old Arabs seem not to have eaten; and their prophet, in

[1] Ebn al Athir, al Zamakh and al Beid in Kor. c 5. Al Mostatraf, &c Vide Poc Spec p 327, &c., and D'Herbel, Bibl. Orient Art. Acdah [2] Vide Potter, Antiq of Greece, vol. i. p 334 [3] Ezek xxi 21 [4] Vide Poc. Spec. p 329, &c. [5] Cap 2, p. 16, c 5, p. 73, c. 6; and c. 16. [6] Lev xi 4. [7] See Kor c 3, p. 37 and 42, and c 6. [8] Kor. c 5, p 74, and in the other passages last quoted. [9] Vide Maimon in Halachoth Melachim c. 8, § i., &c [1] Nothr al dorr, al Firauz, al Zamakh., and al Beid. [2] Poc. Spec. p 320 [3] Compare Acts xv. 29 with 1 Cor viii 4, &c. [4] See the fifth chapter of the Kor. p. 73, and the notes there

prohibiting the same, appears to have only confirmed the common aversion of the nation. Foreign writers tell us that the Arabs wholly abstained from swine's flesh,[5] thinking it unlawful to feed thereon,[6] and that very few, if any, of those animals are found in their country, because it produces not proper food for them;[7] which has made one writer imagine that if a hog were carried thither, it would immediately die.[8]

In the prohibition of usury[9] I presume Mohammed also followed the Jews, who are strictly forbidden by their law to exercise it among one another, though they are so infamously guilty of it in their dealing with those of a different religion but I do not find the prophet of the Arabs has made any distinction in this matter.

Several superstitious customs relating to cattle, which seem to have been peculiar to the pagan Arabs, were also abolished by Mohammed. The Korân[10] mentions four names by them given to certain camels or sheep, which for some particular reasons were left at free liberty, and were not made use of as other cattle of the same kind. These names are Bahîra, Sâiba, Wasîla, and Hâmi · of each whereof in their order.

As to the first, it is said that when a she-camel, or a sheep, had borne young ten times, they used to slit her ear, and turn her loose to feed at full liberty; and when she died, her flesh was eaten by the men only, the women being forbidden to eat thereof, and such a camel or sheep, from the slitting of her ear, they called Bahîra. Or the Bahîra was a she-camel, which was turned loose to feed, and whose fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by men and women promiscuously; but if it proved a female, had its ear slit, and was dismissed to free pasture, none being permitted to make use of its flesh or milk, or to ride on it; though the women were allowed to eat the flesh of it when it died or it was the female young of the Sâiba, which was used in the same manner as its dam, or else an ewe, which had yeaned five times.[1] These, however, are not all the opinions concerning the Bahîra for some suppose that name was given to a she-camel, which, after having brought forth young five times, if the last was a male, had her ear slit, as a mark thereof, and was let go loose to feed, none driving her from pasture or water, nor using her for carriage,[2] and others tell us, that when a camel had newly brought forth, they used to slit the ear of her young one, saying, "O GOD, if it live, it shall be for our use, but if it die, it shall be deemed rightly slain," and when it died, they ate it.[3]

Sâiba signifies a she-camel turned loose to go where she will. And this was done on various accounts: as when she had brought forth females ten times together; or in satisfaction of a vow; or when a man had recovered from sickness, or returned safe from a journey, or his camel had escaped some signal danger either in battle or otherwise. A camel so turned loose was declared to be Sâiba, and, as a mark of it, one of the *vertebræ* or bones was taken out of her back, after which none might drive her from pasture or water, or ride on her.[4] Some say that the Sâiba, when she had ten times together brought forth females, was suffered to go at liberty, none being allowed to ride on her, and

[5] Solin de Arab c. 33. [6] Hieronym in Jovin l. 2, c. 6. [7] Idem, ibid. [8] Solinus, ubi supra. [9] Kor. c 2, p o. [10] Cap 5, p. 86 [1] Al Firauzabâdi. [2] Al Zamakh., al Beidâwi, al Mostatraf [3] n al Athir [4] Al Firauzab al Zamakh.

that her milk was not to be drank by any but her young one, or a guest, till she died, and then her flesh was e.ten by men as well as women, and her last female young one had her ear slit, and was called Bahîra, and turned loose as her dam had been.[5]

This appellation, however, was not so strictly proper to female camels, but that it was given to the male when his young one had begotten another young one:[6] nay, a servant set at liberty and dismissed by his master, was also called Sâïba;[7] and some are of opinion that the word denotes an animal which the Arabs used to turn loose in honour of their idols, allowing none to make use of them, thereafter, except women only.[1]

Wasîla is, by one author,[2] explained to signify a she-camel which had brought forth ten times, or an ewe which had yeaned seven times, and every time twins, and if the seventh time she brought forth a male and a female, they said, "Wosilat akhâha," *i.e.*, "She is joined," or, "was brought forth with her brother," after which none might drink the dam's milk, except men only, and she was used as the Sâïba. Or Wasîla was particularly meant of sheep, as when an ewe brought forth a female, they took it to themselves, but when she brought forth a male, they consecrated it to their gods, but if both a male and a female, they said, "She is joined to her brother," and did not sacrifice that male to their gods, or Wasîla was an ewe which brought forth first a male, and then a female, on which account, or because she followed her brother, the male was not killed, but if she brought forth a male only, they said, "Let this be an offering to our gods."[3] Another[4] writes, that it an ewe brought forth twins seven times together, and the eighth time a male, they sacrificed that male to their gods, but if the eighth time she brought both a male and a female, they used to say, "She is joined to her brother," and for the female's sake they spared the male, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drunk by women. A third writer tells us, that Wasîla was an ewe, which having yeaned seven times, if that which she brought forth the seventh time was a male, they sacrificed it, but if a female, it was suffered to go loose, and was made use of by women only; and if the seventh time she brought forth both a male and a female, they held them both to be sacred, so that men only were allowed to make any use of them, or to drink the milk of the female: and a fourth[5] describes it to be an ewe which brought forth ten females at five births one after another, *i.e.*, every time twins, and whatever she brought forth afterwards was allowed to men, and not to women, &c.

Hâmi was a male camel used for a stallion, which, if the females had conceived ten times by him, was afterwards freed from labour, and let go loose, none driving him from pasture or from water, nor was any allowed to receive the least benefit from him, not even to shear his hair.[6]

These things were observed by the old Arabs in honour of their false gods,[1] and as part of the worship which they paid them, and were ascribed to the divine institution; but are all condemned in the Korân, and declared to be impious superstitions.[2]

[5] Al Jawhari, Ebn al Athir. [6] Al Firauz. [7] Idem, al Jawhari, &c. [1] Nothr al dorr and Nodhm al dorr. [2] Al Firauz. [3] Idem, al Zamakh. [4] Al Jawhari. [5] Al Motarrezi. [6] Al Firauz, al Jawhari. [1] Jallal in Kor. [2] Kor. c. 5, p. 66 and c. 6. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 330—334.

The law of Mohammed also put a stop to the inhuman custom which had been long practised by the Pagan Arabs, of burying their daughters alive, lest they should be reduced to poverty by providing for them, or else to avoid the displeasure and the disgrace which would follow, if they should happen to be made captives, or to become scandalous by their behaviour;[3] the birth of a daughter being, for these reasons, reckoned a great misfortune,[4] and the death of one as a great happiness.[5] The manner of their doing this is differently related. some say that when an Arab had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up, he sent her, clothed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camels or sheep in the desert; but if he designed to put her to death, he let her live till she became six years old, and then said to her mother, "Perfume her, and adorn her, that I may carry her to her mothers;" which being done, the father led her to a well or pit dug for that purpose, and having bid her to look down into it, pushed her in headlong, as he stood behind her, and then filling up the pit, levelled it with the rest of the ground, but others say, that when a woman was ready to fall in labour, they dug a pit, on the brink whereof she was to be delivered, and if the child happened to be a daughter, they threw it into the pit, but if a son, they saved it alive[6] This custom, though not observed by all the Arabs in general, was yet very common among several of their tribes, and particularly those of Koreish and Kendah, the former using to bury their daughters alive in Mount Abu Dalama, near Mecca.[7] In the time of ignorance, while they used this method to get rid of their daughters, Sásaá, grandfather to the celebrated poet al Farazdak, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel, and hereto al Farazdak alluded when, vaunting himself before one of the Khalîfs of the family of Omeyya, he said, "I am the son of the giver of life to the dead," for which expression being censured, he excused himself by alleging the following words of the Korân,[8] "He who saveth a soul alive, shall be as if he had saved the lives of all mankind"[1] The Arabs, in thus murdering of their children, were far from being singular, the practice of exposing infants and putting them to death being so common among the ancients, that it is remarked as a thing very extraordinary in the Egyptians, that they brought up *all* their children,[2] and by the laws of Lycurgus[3] no child was allowed to be brought up without the approbation of public officers At this day, it is said, in China, the poorer sort of people frequently put their children, the females especially, to death with impunity.[4]

This wicked practice is condemned by the Korân in several passages,[5] one of which, as some commentators[6] judge, may also condemn

[3] Al Beidâwi, al Zamakh, al Mostatraf [4] See Kor c 16 [5] Al Meidâni [6] Al Zamakh. [7] Al Mostatraf [8] Cap 5, p 77 [1] Al Mostatraf Vide Ebn Khalekân, in Vita al Farazdak, and Poc Spec p 334 [2] Strabo, l. 17 Vide Diodor Sic. l. 1, c. 80. [3] Vide Plutarch, in Lycurgo [4] Vide Pufendorf, de Jure Nat et Gent l. 6, c. 7, § 6 The Grecians also treated daughters especially in this manner—whence that saying of Posidippus,

Ὑιὸν τρέφει τις κἂν πένης ὢν τύχῃ,
Θυγατέρα δὲ ἐκτίθησι κἂν ᾖ πλούσιος,—*i e.*,

"A man, tho poor, will not expose his son,
But if he's rich, will scarce preserve his daughter"—

See Potter's Antiq of Greece, vol ii p 333 [5] Cap. 6, p 101, 103; c. 16, and c. 17 See also chap 81 [6] Al Zamakh, al Beid

another custom of the Arabians, altogether as wicked, and as common among other nations of old, viz., the sacrificing of their children to their idols; as was frequently done, in particular, in satisfaction of a vow they used to make, that if they had a certain number of sons born, they would offer one of them in sacrifice.

Several other superstitious customs were likewise abrogated by Mohammed, but the same being of less moment, and not particularly mentioned in the Korân, or having been occasionally taken notice of elsewhere, I shall say nothing of them in this place.

SECTION VI.

OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE KORAN IN CIVIL AFFAIRS.

THE Mohammedan civil law is founded on the precepts and determinations of the Korân, as the civil laws of the Jews were on those of the Pentateuch; yet being variously interpreted, according to the different decisions of their civilians, and especially of their four great doctors, Abu Hanifa, Malec, al Shâfei, and Ebn Hanbal,[7] to treat thereof fully and distinctly in the manner the curiosity and usefulness of the subject deserves, would require a large volume, wherefore the most that can be expected here, is a summary view of the principal institutions, without minutely entering into a detail of particulars. We shall begin with those relating to marriage and divorce.

That polygamy, for the moral lawfulness of which the Mohammedan doctors advance several arguments,[1] is allowed by the Korân, every one knows, though few are acquainted with the limitations with which it is allowed. Several learned men have fallen into the vulgar mistake that Mahommed granted to his followers an unbounded plurality; some pretending that a man may have as many wives,[2] and others as many concubines,[3] as he can maintain whereas, according to the express words of the Korân,[4] no man can have more than four, whether wives or concubines;[5] and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice (which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people),[6] that he marry one only, or, if he cannot be contented with one, that he take up with his she-slaves, not exceeding, however, the limited number;[7] and this

[7] See Sect. VIII. [1] See before, Sect. II., p. 31. [2] Nic. Cusanus, in Cribrat. Alcor. l. 2, c. 19. Olearius, in Itinerar. P. Greg. Tholosanus, in Synt. Juris, l. 9, c. 2, § 22. Septemcastrensis (de Morib. Turc. p. 24) says the Mohammedans may have twelve lawful wives, and no more. Ricaut falsely asserts the restraint of the number of their wives to be no precept of their religion, but a rule superinduced on a politic consideration. Pres. State of the Ottoman Empire, bk. iii. c. 21. [3] Marracc. in Prodr. ad Refut. Alcor. part iv. p. 52 and 71. Prideaux, Life of Mah. p. 114. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. i. p. 166. Du Ryer, Sommaire de la Rel. des Turcs, mis à la tête de sa version de l'Alcor. Ricaut, ubi supra. Pufendorf, de Jure Nat. et Gent. l. 6, c. 1, § 18. [4] Cap. 4, p. 53. [5] Vide Gagnier, in Notis ad Abulfedæ Vit. Moh. p. 150. Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 243, &c., and Selden, Ux. Hebr. l. 1, c. 9. [6] Vide Reland, ubi sup. p. 244. [7] Kor. c. 4, p. 53.

is certainly the utmost Mohammed allowed his followers: nor can we urge, as an argument against so plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, especially men of quality and fortune, indulge themselves in criminal excesses;[8] nor yet the example of the prophet himself, who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be observed hereafter. In making the above-mentioned limitation, Mohammed was directed by the decision of the Jewish doctors, who, by way of counsel, limit the number of wives to four,[9] though their law confines them not to any certain number.[10]

Divorce is also well known to be allowed by the Mohammedan law, as it was by the Mosaic, with this difference only, that, according to the latter, a man could not take again a woman whom he had divorced, and who had been married or betrothed to another;[1] whereas Mohammed, to prevent his followers from divorcing their wives on every light occasion, or out of an inconstant humour, ordained that, if a man divorced his wife the third time (for he might divorce her twice without being obliged to part with her, if he repented of what he had done), it should not be lawful for him to take her again until she had been first married and bedded by another, and divorced by such second husband.[2] And this precaution has had so good an effect that the Mohammedans are seldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce, notwithstanding the liberty given them, it being reckoned a great disgrace so to do; and there are but few, besides those who have little or no sense of honour, that will take a wife again on the condition enjoined.[3] It must be observed that, though a man is allowed by the Mohammedan, as by the Jewish law,[4] to repudiate his wife even on the slightest disgust, yet the women are not allowed to separate themselves from their husbands, unless it be for ill-usage, want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or some cause of equal import, but then she generally loses her dowry,[5] which she does not if divorced by her husband, unless she has been guilty of impudicity or notorious disobedience.[6]

When a woman is divorced she is obliged, by the direction of the Korân, to wait till she hath had her courses thrice, or, if there be a doubt whether she be subject to them or not, by reason of her age, three months, before she marry another; after which time expired, in case she be found not with child, she is at full liberty to dispose of herself as she pleases; but if she prove with child, she must wait till she be delivered; and during her whole term of waiting she may continue in the husband's house, and is to be maintained at his expense, it being forbidden to turn the woman out before the expiration of the term, unless she be guilty of dishonesty.[7] Where a man divorces a woman

[8] Sir J Maundeville (who, excepting a few silly stories he tells from hearsay, deserves more credit than some travellers of better reputation), speaking of the Alcoran, observes, among several other truths, that Mahomet therein commanded a man should have two wives, or three, or four; though the Mahometans then took nine wives, and lemans as many as they might sustain Maundev Travels, p 164 [9] Maimon. in Halachoth Ishoth. c. 14. [10] Idem, ibid. Vide Selden, Uxor Hebr l 1, c 9

[1] Deut, xxiv 3—4. Jerem iii 1 Vide Selden, ubi sup l 1, c 11 [2] Kor c 2, p 24. [3] Vide Selden, ubi sup l 3, c 21, and Ricaut's State of the Ottom Empire, bk ii c. 21, [4] Deut xxiv 1 Leo Modena, Hist de gli Riti Hebr part i c 6. Vide Selden, ubi sup. [5] Vide Busbeq Ep 3, p 184, Smith, de Morib ac Instit Turcar Ep 2, p 52, and Chardin Voy de Perse, t 1, p 169. [6] Kor c 4 p. 55 [7] Kor c 2 p 24, and c 65.

before consummation, she is not obliged to wait any particular time,[8] nor is he obliged to give her more than one-half of her dower.[9] If the divorced woman have a young child, she is to suckle it till it be two years old; the father, in the meantime, maintaining her in all respects; a widow is also obliged to do the same, and to wait four months and ten days before she marry again.[1]

These rules are also copied from those of the Jews, according to whom a divorced woman, or a widow, cannot marry another man, till ninety days be past, after the divorce or death of the husband [2] and she who gives suck is to be maintained for two years, to be computed from the birth of the child; within which time she must not marry, unless the child die, or her milk be dried up [3]

Whoredom, in single women as well as married, was, in the beginning of Mohammedism, very severely punished, such being ordered to be shut up in prison till they died: but afterwards it was ordained by the Sonna, that an adulteress should be stoned,[4] and an unmarried woman guilty of fornication scourged with a hundred stripes, and banished for a year.[5] A she-slave, if convicted of adultery, is to suffer but half the punishment of a free woman,[6] viz. fifty stripes, and banishment for six months; but is not to be put to death. To convict a woman of adultery, so as to make it capital, four witnesses are expressly required,[7] and those, as the commentators say, ought to be men: and if a man falsely accuse a woman of reputation of whoredom of any kind, and is not able to support the charge by that number of witnesses, he is to receive fourscore stripes, and his testimony is to be held invalid for the future [8] Fornication, in either sex, is by the sentence of the Korân to be punished with a hundred stripes [9]

If a man accuse his wife of infidelity, and is not able to prove it by sufficient evidence, and will swear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate GOD's vengeance on him if it be false, she is to be looked on as convicted, unless she will take the like oaths, and make the like imprecation, in testimony of her innocency, which if she do, she is free from punishment, though the marriage ought to be dissolved.[10]

In most of the last-mentioned particulars the decisions of the Korân also agree with those of the Jews By the law of Moses, adultery, whether in a married woman or a virgin betrothed, was punished with death; and the man who debauched them was to suffer the same punishment.[1] The penalty of simple fornication was scourging, the

[8] Ibid. c. 33. [9] Ibid c. 2, p. 25 [1] Ibid c. 2, p. 25, and c. 65 [2] Mishna, tit. Yabimoth, c. 4 Gemar Babyl ad eund. tit Maimon in Halach Girushin, Shylhan Aruch, part iii. [3] Mishna, and Gemara, and Maimon ubi supra Gem Bab'yl ad tit Cetuboth, c 5, and Jos. Karo in Shylhan Aruch, c 50, § 2 Vide Selden Ux Hebr l 2, c. 11, and l 3, c. 10, in fin. [4] And the adulterer also, according to a passage once extant in the Korân, and still in force, as some suppose. See the notes to Kor c. 3, p. 34, and the Prel. Disc p. 52. [5] Kor. c. 4, p. 55. See the notes there [6] Ibid p. 57 [7] Ibid p. 55 [8] Ibid. c. 24 [9] Ibid. This law relates not to married people, as Selden supposes; Ux Heb. l. 3, c. 12 [10] Ibid. p. 288 See the notes there

[1] Levit xx 10, Deut. xxii 22 The kind of death to be inflicted on adulterers, in common cases being not expressed, the Talmudists generally suppose it to be strangling, which they think is designed wherever the phrase "shall be put to death" or "shall die the death," is used, as they imagine stoning is by the expression, "his blood shall be upon him;" and hence it has been concluded by some that the woman taken in adultery mentioned in the Gospel (John viii) was a betrothed maiden, because such a one and her accomplice were plainly ordered to be stoned (Deut. xxii 23, 24). But the ancients seem to have been of a different opinion.

general punishment in cases where none is particularly appointed: and a betrothed bondmaid, if convicted of adultery, underwent the same punishment, being exempted from death, because she was not free.[2] By the same law no person was to be put to death on the oath of one witness [3] and a man who slandered his wife was also to be chastised, that is scourged, and fined one hundred shekels of silver.[4] The method of trying a woman suspected of adultery where evidence was wanting, by forcing her to drink the bitter water of jealousy,[5] though disused by the Jews long before the time of Mohammed,[6] yet, by reason of the oath of cursing with which the woman was charged, and to which she was obliged to say "Amen," bears great resemblance to the expedient devised by that prophet on the like occasion.

The institutions of Mohammed relating to the pollution of women during their courses,[7] the taking of slaves to wife,[8] and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees,[9] have likewise no small affinity with the institutions of Moses;[10] and the parallel might be carried farther in several other particulars.

As to the prohibited degrees, it may be observed, that the pagan Arabs abstained from marrying their mothers, daughters, and aunts both on the father's side and on the mother's, and held it a most scandalous thing to marry two sisters, or for a man to take his father's wife,[11] which last was, notwithstanding, too frequently practised,[12] and is expressly forbidden in the Korân.[13]

Before I leave the subject of marriages, it may be proper to take notice of some peculiar privileges in relation thereto, which were granted by GOD to Mohammed, as he gave out, exclusive of all other Moslems One of them was, that he might lawfully marry as many wives and have as many concubines as he pleased, without being confined to any particular number,[1] and this he pretended to have been the privilege of the prophets before him Another was, that he might alter the turns of his wives, and take such of them to his bed as he thought fit, without being tied to that order and equality which others are obliged to observe[2] A third privilege was, that no man might marry any of his wives,[3] either such as he should divorce during his lifetime, or such as he should leave widows at his death: which last particular exactly agrees with what the Jewish doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes, it being judged by them to be a thing very indecent, and for that reason unlawful, for another to marry either the divorced wife or the widow of a king,[4] and Mohammed, it seems, thought an equal respect, at least, due to the prophetic as to the regal dignity, and therefore ordered that his relicts should pass the remainder of their lives in perpetual widowhood.

and to have understood stoning to be the punishment of adulterers in general Vide Selden, Ux Hebr l 3, c. 11 and 12

[2] Levit xix 20. [3] Deut xix 15, xvii. 6, and Numb xxxv 30 [4] Deut xxii 13—19 [5] Numb v 11, &c [6] Vide Selden, ubi sup l 3, c 15, and Leon Modena, de' Riti Hebraici, parte iv c 6 [7] Kor c 2, p 23 [8] Ibid c. 4, p 53 and 57, &c. [9] Ibid p 56 [10] See Levit xv 24, xviii 19, and xx 18, Exod xxi. 8—11, Deut xxi 10—14; Levit. xviii. and xx. [11] Abulfed Hist Gen al Shahrestani, apud Poc Spec p 321 and 338 [12] Vide Poc. ibid p 337, &c [13] Cap 4, p 56 [1] Kor c 33. See also c. 66, and the notes there. [2] Kor c 33 See the notes there [3] Ibid [4] Mishna, tit Sanhedr, c. 2, and Gemar in eund. tit. Maimon Halachoth Melachim, c. 2. Vide Selden, Ux. Hebr. l. 1, c. 10 Prid Life of Mah p 117

The laws of the Korân concerning inheritances are also in several respects conformable to those of the Jews, though principally designed to abolish certain practices of the pagan Arabs, who used to treat widows and orphan children with great injustice, frequently denying them any share in the inheritance of their fathers or their husbands, on pretence that the same ought to be distributed among those only who were able to bear arms, and disposing of the widows, even against their consent, as part of their husbands' possessions.[5] To prevent such injuries for the future, Mohammed ordered that women should be respected, and orphans have no wrong done them; and in particular that women should not be taken against their wills, as by right of inheritance, but should themselves be entitled to a distributive part of what their parents, husbands, and near relations should leave behind them, in a certain proportion.[6]

The general rule to be observed in the distribution of the deceased's estate is, that a male shall have twice as much as a female;[1] but to this rule there are some few exceptions; a man's parents, for example, and also his brothers and sisters, where they are entitled not to the whole, but a small part of the inheritance, being to have equal shares with one another in the distribution thereof, without making any difference on account of sex.[2] The particular proportions, in several cases, distinctly and sufficiently declare the intention of Mohammed; whose decisions expressed in the Korân[3] seem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children first, and then his nearest relations.

If a man dispose of any part of his estate by will, two witnesses, at the least, are required to render the same valid; and such witnesses ought to be of his own tribe, and of the Mohammedan religion, if such can be had.[4] Though there be no express law to the contrary, yet the Mohammedan doctors reckon it very wrong for a man to give away any part of his substance from his family, unless it be in legacies for pious uses; and even in that case a man ought not to give all he has in charity, but only a reasonable part in proportion to his substance. On the other hand, though a man make no will, and bequeath nothing for charitable uses, yet the heirs are directed, on the distribution of the estate, if the value will permit, to bestow something on the poor, especially such as are of kin to the deceased, and to the orphans.[5]

The first law, however, laid down by Mohammed touching inheritances, was not very equitable, for he declared that those who had fled with him from Mecca, and those who had received and assisted him at Medina, should be deemed the nearest of kin, and consequently heirs to one another, preferably to and in exclusion of their relations by blood; nay, though a man were a true believer, yet if he had not fled his country for the sake of religion and joined the prophet, he was to be looked on as a stranger;[6] but this law continued not long in force being quickly abrogated.[7]

It must be observed that among the Mohammedans the children of their concubines or slaves are esteemed as equally legitimate with those

[5] See c. 4. p. 53, 54, and 50, and the notes there. Vide etiam Poc. Spec. p. 337. [6] Kor. c. 4. ubi supra. [1] Ibid. p. 54 and 72. Vide Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. 2. p. 293. [2] Kor. ibid. p. 54. [3] Ibid. and p. 72. [4] Kor. c. 5. p. 86. [5] Kor. c. 4. p. 54. [6] Cap. 8. [7] Ibid. and c. 33.

of their legal and ingenuous wives; none being accounted bastards, except such only as are born of common women, and whose fathers are unknown.

As to private contracts between man and man, the conscientious performance of them is frequently recommended in the Korân[1] For the preventing of disputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witnesses,[2] and in case such contracts are not immediately executed, the same ought to be reduced into writing in the presence of two witnesses[3] at least, who ought to be Moslems and of the male sex; but if two men cannot be conveniently had, then one man and two women may suffice The same method is also directed to be taken for the security of debts to be paid at a future day; and where a writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken.[4] Hence, if people trust one another without writing, witnesses, or pledge, the party on whom the demand is made is always acquitted if he denies the charge on oath, and swears that he owes the plaintiff nothing, unless the contrary be proved by very convincing circumstances[5]

Wilful murder, though forbidden by the Korân under the severest penalties to be inflicted in the next life,[6] is yet, by the same book, allowed to be compounded for, on payment of a fine to the family of the deceased, and freeing a Moslem from captivity; but it is in the election of the next of kin, or the revenger of blood, as he is called in the Pentateuch, either to accept of such satisfaction, or to refuse it; for he may, if he pleases, insist on having the murderer delivered into his hands, to be put to death in such manner as he shall think fit[7] In this particular Mohammed has gone against the express letter of the Mosaic law, which declares that no satisfaction shall be taken for the life of a murderer;[8] and he seems, in so doing, to have had respect to the customs of the Arabs in his time, who, being of a vindictive temper, used to revenge murder in too unmerciful a manner,[9] whole tribes frequently engaging in bloody wars on such occasions, the natural consequence of their independency, and having no common judge or superior.

If the Mohammedan laws seem light in case of murder, they may perhaps be deemed too rigorous in case of manslaughter, or the killing of a man undesignedly, which must be redeemed by fine (unless the next of kin shall think fit to remit it out of charity), and the freeing of a captive but if a man be not able to do this, he is to fast two months together, by way of penance[1] The fine for a man's blood is set in the Sonna at a hundred camels,[2] and is to be distributed among the relations of the deceased, according to the laws of inheritances, but it must be observed that, though the person slain be a Moslem, yet if he be of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy with those to whom the slayer belongs, he is not then bound to pay any fine at all, the redeeming a captive being, in such case, declared a sufficient penalty.[3] I

[1] Cap 5, p 73, c 17, c 2, p 31, &c. [2] Cap 2, p 31 [3] The same seems to have been required by the Jewish law, even in cases where life was not concerned. See Deut xix 15, Matth. xviii 16, John viii 17, 2 Cor xiii 1 [4] Kor c 2, p 30, 31 [5] Vide Chardin, Voy de Perse, t 2, p 2, 4 &c, and the notes to Kor. c. 5, p 86 [6] Kor c 4, p 64. [7] Cap 2, p. 18, 19; c 17 Vide Chardin ubi sup p 299, &c. [8] Numb xxxv. 31 [9] This is particularly forbidden in the Korân c 17 [1] Kor c 4, p 64. [2] See the notes to c. 37 [3] Kor c. 4, p 64.

imagine that Mohammed, by these regulations, laid so heavy a punishment on involuntary manslaughter, not only to make people beware incurring the same, but also to humour, in some degree, the revengeful temper of his countrymen, which might be with difficulty, if at all, prevailed on to accept a lighter satisfaction. Among the Jews, who seem to have been no less addicted to revenge than their neighbours, the manslayer who had escaped to a city of refuge was obliged to keep himself within that city, and to abide there till the death of the person who was high priest at the time the fact was committed, that his absence and time might cool the passion and mitigate the resentment of the friends of the deceased; but if he quitted his asylum before that time, the revenger of blood, if he found him, might kill him without guilt;[4] nor could any satisfaction be made for the slayer to return home before the prescribed time.[5]

Theft is ordered to be punished by cutting off the offending part, the hand,[6] which, at first sight, seems just enough, but the law of Justinian, forbidding a thief to be maimed,[7] is more reasonable; because, stealing being generally the effect of indigence, to cut off that limb would be to deprive him of the means of getting his livelihood in an honest manner.[8] The Sonna forbids the inflicting of this punishment, unless the thing stolen be of a certain value. I have mentioned in another place the further penalties which those incur who continue to steal, and of those who rob or assault people on the road.[9]

As to injuries done to men in their persons, the law of retaliation, which was ordained by the law of Moses,[10] is also approved by the Korân;[1] but this law, which seems to have been allowed by Mohammed to his Arabians for the same reasons as it was to the Jews, viz., to prevent particular revenges, to which both nations were extremely addicted,[2] being neither strictly just nor practicable in many cases, is seldom put in execution, the punishment being generally turned into a mulct or fine, which is paid to the party injured.[3] Or rather Mohammed designed the words of the Korân relating thereto should be understood in the same manner as those of the Pentateuch most probably ought to be; that is, not of an actual retaliation, according to the strict literal meaning, but of a retribution proportionable to the injury; for a criminal had not his eyes put out, nor was a man mutilated, according to the law of Moses, which, besides, condemned those who had wounded any person, where death did not ensue, to pay a fine only,[4] the expression "eye for eye and tooth for tooth" being only a proverbial manner of speaking, the sense whereof amounts to this, that every one shall be punished by the judges according to the heinousness of the fact.[5]

In injuries and crimes of an inferior nature, where no particular punishment is provided by the Korân, and where a pecuniary compensation will not do, the Mohammedans, according to the practice of the

[4] See Numb xxxv 26 27, 28 [5] Ibid v 32. [6] Kor c. 5, p 78 [7] Novell 134, c. 13. [8] Vide Pufendorf, de Jure Nat et Gent l 8, c. 3, § 26 [9] See the notes to c. 5, p 78. [10] Exod xxi 24, &c, Levit xxiv 20, Deut. xix 21 [1] Cap. 5, p 79 [2] Vide Grotium, de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. 1, c. 2, § 8 [3] Vide Chardin, t. 2, p 290. The *talio*, likewise established among the old Romans by the laws of the twelve tables, was not to be inflicted, unless the delinquent could not agree with the person injured Vide A. Gell Noct Attic. l 20, c. 1, and Festum, in voce Talio [4] See Exod xxi. 18, 19, and 22. [5] Barbeyrac, in Grot. ubi supra. Vide Cleric. in Exod. xxi. 24, and Deut. xix. 21.

Jews in the like case,[6] have recourse to stripes or drubbing, the most common chastisement used in the east at this day, as well as formerly; the cudgel, which for its virtue and efficacy in keeping their people in good order, and within the bounds of duty, they say came down from heaven, being the instrument wherewith the judge's sentence is generally executed.[7]

Notwithstanding the Korân is by the Mohammedans in general regarded as the fundamental part of their civil law, and the decisions of the Sonna among the Turks, and of the Imâms among those of the Persian sect, with the explications of their several doctors, are usually followed in judicial determinations, yet the secular tribunals do not think themselves bound to observe the same in all cases, but frequently give judgment against those decisions, which are not always consonant to equity and reason; and therefore distinction is to be made between the written civil law, as administered in the ecclesiastical courts, and the law of nature or common law (if I may so call it) which takes place in the secular courts, and has the executive power on its side.[1]

Under the head of civil laws may be comprehended the injunction of warring against infidels, which is repeated in several passages of the Korân,[2] and declared to be of high merit in the sight of GOD, those who are slain fighting in defence of the faith being reckoned martyrs, and promised immediate admission into paradise.[3] Hence this duty is greatly magnified by the Mohammedan divines, who call the sword the key of heaven and hell, and persuade their people that the least drop of blood spilt in the way of GOD, as it is called, is most acceptable unto him, and that the defending the territories of the Moslems for one night is more meritorious than a fast of two months.[4] on the other hand, desertion, or refusing to serve in these holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability, is accounted a most heinous crime, being frequently declaimed against in the Korân.[5] Such a doctrine, which Mohammed ventured not to teach till his circumstances enabled him to put it in practice,[6] it must be allowed, was well calculated for his purpose, and stood him and his successors in great stead for what dangers and difficulties may not be despised and overcome by the courage and constancy which these sentiments necessarily inspire? Nor have the Jews and Christians, how much soever they detest such principles in others, been ignorant of the force of enthusiastic heroism, or omitted to spirit up their respective partisans by the like arguments and promises. "Let him who has listed himself in defence of the law," says Maimonides,[7] "rely on him who is the hope of Israel, and the saviour thereof in the time of trouble;[8] and let him know that he fights for the profession of the divine unity: wherefore let him put his life in his hand,[9] and think neither of wife nor children, but banish the memory of them from his heart, having his mind wholly fixed on the war. For if he should begin to waver in his thoughts, he would not only confound himself, but sin against the law;

[6] See Deut. xxv. 2, 3. [7] Vide Grelot, Voy. de Constant. p. 220, and Chardin, ubi supra, p. 302. [1] Vide Chardin, ubi supra, p. 290, &c. [2] Cap. 22; c. 2, p. 20; c. 4, p. 62, &c.; c. 8; c. 9; c. 47 and c. 61, &c. [3] Cap. 2, p. 17; c. 3, p. 47; c. 47; c. 61. [4] Reland. de Jure Milit. Moham. p. 5. &c. [5] Vide c. 9; c. 3, p. 47, &c. [6] See before, p. 37. [7] Halach. Melachim, c. 7. [8] Jerem. xiv. 8. [9] Job xiii. 14.

nay, the blood of the whole people hangeth on his neck, for if they are discomfited, and he has not fought stoutly with all his might, it is equally the same as if he had shed the blood of them all, according to that saying, let him return, lest his brethren's heart fail as his own."[1] To the same purpose doth the Kabala accommodate that other passage, "Cursed be he who doth the work of the LORD negligently, and cursed be he who keepeth back his sword from blood."[2] On the contrary, he who behaveth bravely in battle to the utmost of his endeavour, without trembling, with intent to glorify GOD'S name, he ought to expect the victory with confidence, and to apprehend no danger or misfortune but may be assured that he will have a house built him in Israel, appropriated to him and his children for ever, as it is said, GOD shall certainly make my lord a sure house, because he hath fought the battles of the LORD and his life shall be bound up in the bundle of life with the LORD his GOD.[3] More passages of this kind might be produced from the Jewish writers and the Christians come not far behind them. "We are desirous of knowing," says one[4] writing to the Franks engaged in the holy war "the charity of you all, for that every one (which we speak not because we wish it) who shall faithfully lose his life in this warfare shall be by no means denied the kingdom of heaven." And another gives the following exhortation "Laying aside all fear and dread endeavour to act effectually against the enemies of the holy faith and the adversaries of all religions for the Almighty knoweth if any of you die that he dieth for the truth of the faith and the salvation of his country and the defence of Christians and therefore he shall obtain of him a celestial reward." The Jews, indeed had a divine commission, extensive and explicit enough, to attack subdue, and destroy the enemies of their religion, and Mohammed pretended to have received one in favour of himself and his Moslems, in terms equally plain and full and therefore it is no wonder that they should act consistently with their avowed principles but that Christians should teach and practise a doctrine so opposite to the temper and whole tenour of the Gospel, seems very strange and yet the latter have carried matters further, and shown a more violent spirit of intolerance than either of the former

The laws of war, according to the Mohammedans have been already so exactly set down by the learned Reland[6] that I need say very little of them I shall, therefore, only observe some conformity between their military laws and those of the Jews

While Mohammedism was in its infancy, the opposers thereof taken in battle were doomed to death, without mercy but this was judged too severe to be put in practice when that religion came to be sufficiently established and past the danger of being subverted by its enemies.[7] The same sentence was pronounced not only against the seven Canaanitish nations,[8] whose possessions were given to the Israelites, and without whose destruction, in a manner, they could not have settled themselves in the country designed them, but against the

[1] Deut. xx. 8 [2] Jerem. xlviii. 10. [3] 1 Sam. xxv. 28, 29. [4] Nicolaus in Jure Canon. c. omnium 23, quaest. 5. [5] Leo IV ibid. quaest. 8. [6] In his treatise De Jure Militari Mohammedanor. in the third vol. of his Dissertationes Miscellaneae. [7] See Kor. c. 47 and the notes there, and c. 4, p. 68, c. 8, p. 77. [8] Deut. xx. 16, 18.

Amalekites[3] and Midianites,[4] who had done their utmost to cut them off in their passage thither When the Mohammedans declare war against people of a different faith, they give them their choice of three offers, viz, either to embrace Mohammedism, in which case they become not only secure in their persons, families, and fortunes, but entitled to all the privileges of other Moslems, or to submit and pay tribute,[5] by doing which they are allowed to profess their own religion, provided it be not gross idolatry or against the moral law, or else to decide the quarrel by the sword, in which last case, if the Moslems prevail, the women and children which are made captives become absolute slaves, and the men taken in the battle may either be slain, unless they turn Mohammedans, or otherwise disposed of at the pleasure of the prince.[6] Herewith agree the laws of war given to the Jews, which relate to the nations not devoted to destruction [7] and Joshua is said to have sent even to the inhabitants of Canaan, before he entered the land, three schedules in one of which was written, "Let him fly, who will," in the second "Let him surrender, who will," and in the third, "Let him fight who will [8] though none of those nations made peace with the Israelites (except only the Gibeonites who obtained terms of security by stratagem after they had refused those offered by Joshua), "it being of the LORD to harden their hearts, that he might destroy them utterly"[9]

On the first considerable success of Mohammed in war the dispute which happened among his followers in relation to the dividing of the spoil rendered it necessary for him to make some regulation therein, he therefore pretended to have received the divine commission to distribute the spoil among his soldiers at his own discretion,[1] reserving thereout, in the first place one fifth part[2] for the uses after mentioned, and, in consequence hereof he took himself to be authorized on extraordinary occasions to distribute it as he thought fit, without observing an equality Thus he did for example, with the spoil of the tribe of Hawazen taken at the battle of Honein which he bestowed by way of presents on the Meccans only passing by those of Medina, and highly distinguishing the principal Korashites that he might ingratiate himself with them after he had become master of their city[3] He was also allowed in the expedition against those of al Nadir to take the whole booty to himself and to dispose thereof as he pleased, because no horses or camels were made use of in that expedition,[4] but the whole army went on foot, and this became thenceforward a law[5] the reason of which seems to be, that the spoil taken by a party consisting of infantry

[3] Ibid c xxv 17—19 [4] Numb xxxi 17 [5] See c. 9 and the notes there [6] See the notes to c 47 [7] Deut xx 10—15 [8] Talmud Hierosol apud Maimonid Halach. Melachim c 6 § 5 R Bechai ex lib Siphre Vide Selden de Jure Nat. et Gent. Sec. Hebr l 6 c 13 and 14 and Schickardi Jus Regium Hebr c. 5 Th or 16.

[9] Josh x 20. The Jews however say that the Girgashites believing they could not escape the destruction with which they were threatened by GOD if they persisted to defend themselves fled into Africa in great numbers. (Vide Talm Hieros. ubi sup) And this is assigned as the reason why the Girgashites are not mentioned among the other Canaanitish nations who assembled to fight against Joshua (Josh. ix 1) and who were doomed to utter extirpation (Deut xx. 17) But it is observable that the Girgashites are not omitted by the Septuagint in either of those texts and that their name appears in the latter of them in the Samaritan Pentateuch they are also joined with the other Canaanites as having fought against Israel in Josh. xxiv 11 [1] Kor c 8. [2] Ibid. [3] Abulfed in Vit Moh. p 118 &c. Vide Kor c. 9. and the notes there. [4] Kor. c. 59. see the notes there. [5] Vide Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 92

only, should be considered as the more immediate gift of GOD,[6] and therefore properly left to the disposition of his apostle. According to the Jews, the spoil ought to be divided into two equal parts one to be shared among the captors, and the other to be taken by the prince,[7] and by him employed for his own support and the use of the public Moses, it is true, divided one-half of the plunder of the Midianites among those who went to battle, and the other half among all the congregation [8] but this, they say, being a peculiar case, and done by the express order of GOD himself,[9] must not be looked on as a precedent It should seem, however, from the words of Joshua to the two tribes and a half, when he sent them home into Gilead after the conquest and division of the land of Canaan, that they were to divide the spoil of their enemies with their brethren, after their return [10] and the half which was in succeeding times taken by the king was in all probability taken by him as head of the community, and representing the whole body It is remarkable that the dispute among Mohammed's men about sharing the booty at Bedr,[1] arose on the same occasion as did that among David's soldiers in relation to the spoils recovered from the Amalekites [2] those who had been in the action insisting that they who tarried by the stuff should have no part of the spoil and that the same decision was given in both cases, which became a law for the future, to wit, that they should part alike

The fifth part directed by the Korân to be taken out of the spoil before it be divided among the captors, is declared to belong to GOD and to the apostle and his kindred and the orphans and the poor, and the traveller [3] which words are variously understood Al Shâfei was of opinion that the whole ought to be divided into five parts, the first, which he called GOD's part to go to the treasury, and be employed in building and repairing fortresses bridges and other public works and in paying salaries to magistrates civil officers professors of learning, ministers of public worship &c the second part to be distributed among the kindred of Mohammed that is, the descendants of his grandfather Hâshem and of his great uncle al Motalleb [3] as well the rich as the poor the children as the adult the women as the men observing only to give a female but half the share of a male the third part to go to the orphans the fourth part to the poor who have not wherewithal to maintain themselves the year round, and are not able to get their livelihood and the fifth part to travellers, who are in want on the road, notwithstanding they may be rich men in their own country According to Malec Ebn Ans the whole is at the disposition of the Imâm or prince who may distribute the same at his own discretion, where he sees most need [5] Abu'l Aliya went according to the letter of the Korân, and declared his opinion to be that the whole should be divided into six parts and that GOD's part should be applied to the service of the Caaba while others supposed GOD's part and the apostle's to be one and the same [4] Abu Hanîfa thought that the share of Mohammed and his kindred sank at that prophet's death, since which the whole

[6] Vide Kor c. 59 ubi supra. [7] Gemar Babyl ad tit. Sanhedr c 2 Vide Selden de Jure Nat. et Gent Sec. Hebr lib. 6 c. 16. [8] Numb xxxi. 27 [9] Vide Maim Halach Melach c 4. [10] Josh xxii 8 [11] See Kor c. 8 and the n[illegible] s[illegible] e [illegible] 1 Sam xxx. 2—25 [2] Kor c 8. [3] Note al Shâfei h[illegible] [illegible] has latter [4] Al Beid. Vide Reland de Jure M[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 42 &c. [4] Id en [6] I[illegible]

ought to be divided among the orphans, the poor, and the traveller.[7] Some insist that the kindred of Mohammed entitled to a share of the spoils are the posterity of Hâshem only, but those who think the descendants of his brother al Motalleb have also a right to a distributive part, allege a tradition in their favour purporting that Mohammed himself divided the share belonging to his relations among both families, and when Othmân Ebn Assân and Jobeir Ebn Matâm (who were descended from Abdshams and Nawfal the other brothers of Hâshem) told him, that though they disputed not the preference of the Hâshemites, they could not help taking it ill to see such difference made between the family of al Motalleb and themselves, who were related to him in an equal degree, and yet had no part in the distribution, the prophet replied that the descendants of al Motalleb had forsaken him neither in the time of ignorance, nor since the revelation of Islâm; and joined his fingers together in token of the strict union between them and the Hâshemites[8] Some exclude none of the tribe of Koreish from receiving a part in the division of the spoil, and make no distinction between the poor and the rich, though, according to the more reasonable opinion, such of them as are poor only are intended by the text of the Korân, as is agreed in the case of the stranger. and others go so far as to assert that the whole fifth commanded to be reserved belongs to them only, and that the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, are to be understood of such as are of that tribe[9] It must be observed that immovable possessions, as lands, &c, taken in war, are subject to the same laws as the movable; excepting only that the fifth part of the former is not actually divided, but the income and profits thereof, or of the price thereof, if sold, are applied to public and pious uses, and distributed once a year, and that the prince may either take the fifth part of the land itself, or the fifth part of the income and produce of the whole, as he shall make his election.

SECTION VII.

OF THE MONTHS COMMANDED BY THE KORAN TO BE KEPT SACRED, AND OF THE SETTING APART OF FRIDAY FOR THE ESPECIAL SERVICE OF GOD.

IT was a custom among the ancient Arabs to observe four months in the year as sacred, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and took off the heads from their spears, ceasing from incursions and other hostilities During those months whoever was in fear of his enemy lived in full security; so that if a man met the murderer of his

[7] Idem. [8] Idem [9] Idem

father or his brother, he durst not offer him any violence:' A great argument," says a learned writer, "of a humane disposition in that nation; who being by reason of the independent governments of their several tribes, and for the preservation of their just rights, exposed to frequent quarrels with one another, had yet learned to cool their inflamed breasts with moderation, and restrain the rage of war by stated times of truce."[2]

This institution obtained among all the Arabian tribes, except only those of Tay and Khathâam, and some of the descendants of Al Hareth Ebn Caab (who distinguished no time or place as sacred),[3] and was so religiously observed, that there are but few instances in history (four, say some, six, say others),[4] of its having been transgressed; the wars which were carried on without regard thereto being therefore termed impious. One of those instances was in the war between the tribes of Koreish and Kais Ailân, wherein Mohammed himself served under his uncles, being then fourteen,[5] or, as others say, twenty[6] years old.

The months which the Arabs held sacred were al Moharram, Rajeb, Dhu'lkaada, and Dhu'lhajja; the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth in the year.[7] Dhu'lhajja being the month wherein they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, not only that month, but also the preceding and the following, were for that reason kept inviolable, that every one might safely and without interruption pass and repass to and from the festival.[8] Rajeb is said to have been more strictly observed than any of the other three,[9] probably because in that month the pagan Arabs used to fast;[10] Ramadan, which was afterwards set apart by Mohammed for that purpose, being in the time of ignorance dedicated to drinking in excess.[11] By reason of the profound peace and security enjoyed in this month, one part of the provisions brought by the caravans of purveyors annually set out by the Koreish for the supply of Mecca,[12] was distributed among the people, the other part being, for the like reason, distributed at the pilgrimage.[1]

The observance of the aforesaid months seemed so reasonable to Mohammed, that it met with his approbation, and the same is accordingly confirmed and enforced by several passages of the Korân,[2] which forbid war to be waged during those months against such as acknowledge them to be sacred, but grant, at the same time, full permission to attack those who make no such distinction, in the sacred months as well as in the profane.[3]

One practice, however, of the pagan Arabs, in relation to these sacred

[1] Al Kazwini, apud Golium in notis ad Alfrag. p. 4, &c. Al Shahrestani, apud Poc. Spec. p. 311. Al Jawhari, al Firauzab. [2] Golius, ubi supra, p. 5. [3] Al Shahrestani, ubi supra. See before, p. 75. [4] Al Mogholtai. [5] Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 11. [6] Al Kodâi, al Firauz. apud Poc. Spec. p. 174. Al Mogholtai mentions both opinions. [7] Mr. Bayle (Dict. Hist. et Crit. Art. la Mecque, Rem. F.) accuses Dr. Prideaux of an inconsistency for saying in one place (Life of Mahomet, p. 64) that these sacred months were the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth, and intimating in another place (ibid. p. 89) that three of them were contiguous. But this must be mere absence of mind in Mr. Bayle; for are not the eleventh, the twelfth, and the first months contiguous? The two learned professors, Golius and Reland, have also made a small slip in speaking of these sacred months, which, they tell us, are the two first and the two last in the year. Vide Golii Lex. Arab. col. 601, and Reland. de Jure Milit. Mohammedanor. p. 5. [8] Vide Gol. in Alfrag. p. 9. [9] Vide ibid. p. 6. [10] Al Makrizi, apud Poc. ubi supra. [11] Idem, and Auctor Neshk al Azhâr, ibid. [12] See Kor. c. 106. [1] Al Edrisi apud Poc. Specim. p. 127. [2] Cap. 9, c. 2, p. 20; c. 5, p. 73; c. 5, p. 85, &c. [3] Cap. 9; c. 2, p. 20.

months, Mohammed thought proper to reform: for some of them, weary of sitting quiet for three months together, and eager to make their accustomed incursions for plunder, used, by way of expedient, whenever it suited their inclinations or conveniency, to put off the observing of al Moharram to the following month Safar,[4] thereby avoiding to keep the former, which they supposed it lawful for them to profane, provided they sanctified another month in lieu of it, and gave public notice thereof at the preceding pilgrimage. This transferring the observation of a sacred month to a profane month, is what is truly meant by the Arabic word *al Nasi*, and is absolutely condemned, and declared to be an impious innovation, in a passage of the Korân[5] which Dr. Prideaux,[6] misled by Golius,[7] imagines to relate to the prolonging of the year, by adding an intercalary month thereto. It is true, the Arabs, who imitated the Jews in their manner of computing by lunar years, had also learned their method of reducing them to solar years, by intercalating a month sometimes in the third, and sometimes in the second year,[8] by which means they fixed the pilgrimage of Mecca (contrary to the original institution) to a certain season of the year, viz., to autumn, as most convenient for the pilgrims, by reason of the temperateness of the weather, and the plenty of provisions;[9] and it is also true that Mohammed forbade such intercalation by a passage in the same chapter of the Korân; but then it is not the passage above mentioned, which prohibits a different thing, but one a little before it, wherein the number of months in the year, according to the ordinance of GOD, is declared to be twelve,[10] whereas, if the intercalation of a month were allowed, every third or second year would consist of thirteen, contrary to GOD'S appointment.

The setting apart of one day in the week for the more peculiar attendance on GOD'S worship, so strictly required by the Jewish and Christian religions, appeared to Mohammed to be so proper an institution, that he could not but imitate the professors thereof in that particular; though, for the sake of distinction, he might think himself obliged to order his followers to observe a different day from either. Several reasons are given why the sixth day of the week was pitched on for this purpose,[1] but Mohammed seems to have preferred that day chiefly because it was the day on which the people used to be assembled long before his time,[2] though such assemblies were had, perhaps, rather on a civil than a religious account. However it be, the Mohammedan writers bestow very extraordinary encomiums on this day, calling it the prince of days, and the most excellent day on which the sun rises;[3] pretending also that it will be the day whereon the last judgment will be solemnized,[4] and they esteem it a peculiar honour to Islâm, that GOD has been pleased to appoint this day to be the feast-day of the Moslems, and granted them the advantage of having first observed it.[5]

Though the Mohammedans do not think themselves bound to keep their day of public worship so holy as the Jews and Christians are cer-

[4] See the notes to c. 9, ubi sup. [5] Cap. 9, ibid. [6] Life of Mah. p. 66. [7] In Alfrag. p. 12. [8] See Prid. Preface to the first vol. of his Connect. p. vi., &c. [9] Vide Gol. ubi supra. [10] Kor. c. 9. See also c. 2, p. 20. [1] See c. 63, and the notes there. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Ebn al Athir et al Ghazâli, apud Poc. Spec. p. 317. [4] Vide Ibid. [5] Al Ghazâli, ibid.

tainly obliged to keep theirs, there being a permission, as is generally supposed, in the Korân,[6] allowing them to return to their employments or diversion after divine service is over; yet the more devout disapprove the applying of any part of that day to worldly affairs, and require it to be wholly dedicated to the business of the life to come.[7]

Since I have mentioned the Mohammedan weekly feast, I beg leave just to take notice of their two Beirâms,[8] or principal annual feasts. The first of them is called, in Arabic, Id al fetr, *i.e.*, *The feast of breaking the fast*, and begins the first of Shawâl, immediately succeeding the fast of Ramadân; and the other is called Id al korbân, or Id al adhâ, *i.e.*, *The feast of the sacrifice*, and begins on the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of Mecca.[9] The former of these feasts is properly the lesser Beirâm, and the latter, the greater Beirâm;[1] but the vulgar, and most authors who have written of the Mohammedan affairs,[2] exchange the epithets, and call that which follows Ramadân the greater Beirâm, because it is observed in an extraordinary manner, and kept for three days together at Constantinople and in other parts of Turkey, and in Persia for five or six days, by the common people, at least, with great demonstrations of public joy, to make themselves amends, as it were, for the mortification of the preceding month;[3] whereas, the feast of sacrifices, though it be also kept for three days, and the first of them be the most solemn day of the pilgrimage, the principal act of devotion among the Mohammedans is taken much less notice of by the generality of people, who are not struck therewith, because the ceremonies with which the same is observed are performed at Mecca, the only scene of that solemnity.

SECTION VIII.

OF THE PRINCIPAL SECTS AMONG THE MOHAMMEDANS; AND OF THOSE WHO HAVE PRETENDED TO PROPHECY AMONG THE ARABS, IN OR SINCE THE TIME OF MOHAMMED.

BEFORE we take a view of the sects of the Mohammedans, it will be necessary to say something of the two sciences by which all disputed questions among them are determined, viz., their Scholastic and Practical Divinity.

Their scholastic divinity is a mongrel science, consisting of logical, metaphysical, theological, and philosophical disquisitions, and built on

[6] Cap. 63, ubi supra. [7] Al Ghazâli, ubi sup. p. 318. [8] The word Beirâm is Turkish, and properly signifies a feast-day or holiday. [9] See c. [illegible] and before, Sect. IV. p. 94. [1] Vide Reland de Relig. Moh. p. 109, and D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Beirâm. [2] Hyde, in notis ad Bobov. p. 16, Chardin, Voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. [illegible], Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire [illegible] [3] [illegible]

principles and methods of reasoning very different from what are used by those who pass among the Mohammedans themselves for the sounder divines or more able philosophers, and, therefore, in the partition of the sciences this is generally left out, as unworthy a place among them.[2] The learned Maimonides[3] has laboured to expose the principles and systems of the scholastic divines, as frequently repugnant to the nature of the world and the order of the creation, and intolerably absurd.

This art of handling religious disputes was not known in the infancy of Mohammedism, but was brought in when sects sprang up, and articles of religion began to be called in question, and was at first made use of to defend the truth of those articles against innovators;[1] and while it keeps within those bounds is allowed to be a commendable study, being necessary for the defence of the faith: but when it proceeds farther, out of an itch of disputation, it is judged worthy of censure.

This is the opinion of al Ghazâli,[2] who observes a medium between those who have too high a value for this science, and those who absolutely reject it. Among the latter was al Shâfei, who declared that, in his judgment, if any man employed his time that way, he deserved to be fixed to a stake, and carried about through all the Arab tribes, with the following proclamation to be made before him. "This is the reward of him who, leaving the Korân and the Sonna, applied himself to the study of scholastic divinity"[3] Al Ghazâli, on the other hand, thinks that as it was introduced by the invasion of heresies, it is necessary to be retained in order to quell them: but then in the person who studies this science he requires three things, diligence, acuteness of judgment, and probity of manners; and is by no means for suffering the same to be publicly explained[4] This science, therefore, among the Mohammedans, is the art of controversy, by which they discuss points of faith concerning the essence and attributes of GOD, and the conditions of all possible things, either in respect to their creation, or final restoration, according to the rules of the religion of Islam.[5]

The other science is practical divinity or jurisprudence, and is the knowledge of the decisions of the law which regard practice, gathered from distinct proofs

Al Ghazâli declares that he had much the same opinion of this science as of the former, its original being owing to the corruption of religion and morality, and therefore judged both sciences to be necessary, not in themselves, but by accident only, to curb the irregular imaginations and passions of mankind (as guards become necessary in the highways by reason of robbers), the end of the first being the suppressing of heresies, and of the other the decision of legal controversies, for the quiet and peaceable living of mankind in this world, and for the preserving the rule by which the magistrate may prevent one man from injuring another, by declaring what is lawful and what is unlawful, by determining the satisfaction to be given, or punishment to be

[1] Poc Spec p 196 [2] Apud Ebn Sina, in Libello de Divisione Scientiar, et Nasiro'ddin al Tûsi, in Præfat ad Ethic [3] More Nevoch l 1, c. 71 and 73. [1] Al Ghazâli, apud Poc, ubi supra [2] Ibid [3] Vide Poc ibid p 198 [4] Al Ghazâli, ibid. [5] Ebn al Kossa apud eund. ibid p 198

inflicted, and by regulating other outward actions; and not only so, but to decide of religion itself, and its conditions, so far as relates to the profession made by the mouth, it not being the business of the civilian to inquire into the heart:[1] the depravity of men's manners, however, has made this knowledge of the laws so very requisite, that it is usually called the Science, by way of excellence, nor is any man reckoned learned who has not applied himself thereto.[2]

The points of faith, subject to the examination and discussion of the scholastic divines, are reduced to four general heads, which they call the four bases, or great fundamental articles.[3]

The first basis relates to the attributes of GOD, and his unity consistent therewith. Under this head are comprehended the questions concerning the eternal attributes, which are asserted by some, and denied by others; and also the explication of the essential attributes, and attributes of action; what is proper for GOD to do, and what may be affirmed of him, and what it is impossible for him to do. These things are controverted between the Ashárians, the Kerâmians, the Mojassemians or Corporalists, and the Mótazalites.[4]

The second basis regards predestination, and the justice thereof which comprises the questions concerning GOD'S purpose and decree, man's compulsion or necessity to act, and his co-operation in producing actions, by which he may gain to himself good or evil, and also those which concern GOD'S willing good and evil, and what things are subject to his power, and what to his knowledge; some maintaining the affirmative, and others the negative. These points are disputed among the Kadarians, the Najarians, the Jabarians, the Ashárians, and the Kerâmians.[5]

The third basis concerns the promises and threats, the precise acceptation of names used in divinity, and the divine decisions, and comprehends questions relating to faith, repentance, promises, threats, forbearance, infidelity, and error. The controversies under this head are on foot between the Morgians, the Waidians, the Mótazalites, the Ashárians, and the Keramians.[1]

The fourth basis regards history and reason, that is, the just weight they ought to have in matters belonging to faith and religion; and also the mission of prophets, and the office of Imâm, or chief pontiff. Under this head are comprised all casuistical questions relating to the moral beauty or turpitude of actions; inquiring whether things are allowed or forbidden by reason of their own nature, or by the positive law; and also questions concerning the preference of actions, the favour or grace of GOD, the innocence which ought to attend the prophetical office, and the conditions requisite in the office of Imâm, some asserting it depends on right of succession, others on the consent of the faithful; and also the method of transferring it with the former, and of confirming it with the latter. These matters are the subjects of dispute between the Shiites, the Mótazalites, the Kerâmians, and the Ashárians.[2]

The different sects of Mohammedans may be distinguished into two

[1] Al Gharáli. Vide ibid. p. 198—204. [2] Vide ibid. p. 274. [3] Vide Abulfarag. Hist. Dynast. p. 166. [4] Al Shahrestani, apud Pocock, ubi sup. p. 204, &c. [5] Idem, ibid. p. 205. [1] Idem, ibid. p. 206. [2] Idem, ibid.

sorts; those generally esteemed orthodox, and those which are esteemed heretical.

The former, by a general name, are called Sonnites or Traditionists; because they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a sort of supplement to the Korân, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, and in name, as well as design, answering to the Mishna of the Jews.[3]

The Sonnites are subdivided into four chief sects, which, notwithstanding some differences as to legal conclusions in their interpretation of the Korân, and matters of practice, are generally acknowledged to be orthodox in radicals, or matters of faith, and capable of salvation, and have each of them their several stations or oratories in the temple of Mecca.[4] The founders of these sects are looked upon as the great masters of jurisprudence, and are said to have been men of great devotion and self-denial, well versed in the knowledge of those things which belong to the next life and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of GOD. This is al Ghazâli's encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour that their names should be used by those who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themselves only to attain their skill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice.[1]

The first of the four orthodox sects is that of the Hanefites, so named from their founder, Abu Hanîfa al Nómân Ebn Thâbet, who was born at Cufa, in the 80th year of the Hejra, and died in the 150th, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time.[2] He ended his life in prison at Baghdâd, where he had been confined because he refused to be made Kâdi or judge;[3] on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill-treatment, to undertake the charge, "choosing rather to be punished by them than by GOD," says Al Ghazâli; who adds, that when he excused himself from accepting the office by alleging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, "If I speak the truth, I am unfit; but if I tell a lie, a liar is not fit to be a judge." It is said that he read the Korân in the prison where he died, no less than 7,000 times.[4]

The Hanefites are called by an Arabian writer[5] the followers of reason, and those of the three other sects, followers of tradition; the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their decisions, and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of Mohammed.

The sect of Abu Hanîfa heretofore obtained chiefly in Irâk,[6] but now generally prevails among the Turks and Tartars: his doctrine was brought into great credit by Abu Yûsof, chief justice under the Khalifs al Hâdi and Harûn al Rashîd.[7]

[3] Vide Poc Spec p 298 Prid. Life of Mahomet, p 51, &c. Reland de Rel. Moh. p 68, &c Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moh. p. 368, 369. [4] See before, p 90. [1] Vide Poc Spec p 293. [2] Ebn Khalecân.

[3] This was the true cause of his imprisonment and death, and not his refusing to subscribe to the opinion of absolute predestination, as D'Herbelot writes (Bibl. Orient p 21), misled by the dubious acceptation of the word "kadâ," which signifies not only GOD's decree in particular, but also the giving sentence as a judge in general; nor could Abu Hanifa have been reckoned orthodox had he denied one of the principal articles of faith. [4] Poc. Spec. p. 297 298 [5] Al Shahrestani. ibid. [6] Idem. [7] Vide D'Herbel Bibl Orient. p 21 and 22.

The second orthodox sect is that of Mâlec Ebn Ans, who was born at Medina, in the year of the Hejra 90, 93, 94,[8] or 95,[9] and died there in 177,[10] 178,[11] or 179[12] (for so much do authors differ). This doctor is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of Mohammed.[13] In his last illness, a friend going to visit him found him in tears, and asking him the reason of it, he answered, "How should I not weep? and who has more reason to weep than I? Would to GOD that for every question decided by me according to my own opinion, I had received so many stripes! then would my accounts be easier. Would to GOD I had never given any decision of my own!"[1] Al Ghazâli thinks it a sufficient proof of Malec's directing his knowledge to the glory of GOD, that being once asked his opinion as to forty-eight questions, his answer to thirty-two of them was, that he did not know; it being no easy matter for one who has any other view than God's glory to make so frank a confession of his ignorance.[2]

The doctrine of Malec is chiefly followed in Barbary and other parts of Africa.

The author of the third orthodox sect was Mohammed Ebn Edrîs al Shâfei, born either at Gaza or Ascalon, in Palestine, in the year of the Hejra 150, the same day (as some will have it) that Abu Hanîfa died, and was carried to Mecca at two years of age, and there educated.[3] He died in 204,[4] in Egypt, whither he went about five years before.[5] This doctor is celebrated for his excellency in all parts of learning, and was much esteemed by Ebn Hanbal his contemporary, who used to say that "he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body." Ebn Hanbal, however, had so ill an opinion of al Shâfei at first, that he forbad his scholars to go near him, but some time after one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after al Shâfei, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbad them to follow him, and did it himself? to which Ebn Hanbal replied, "Hold thy peace; if thou but attend his mule thou wilt profit thereby."[6]

Al Shâfei is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method,[7] one wittily saying, that the relators of the traditions of Mohammed were asleep till al Shâfeî came and waked them.[8] He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been already observed.[9] Al Ghazâli tells us that al Shâfei used to divide the night into three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep. It is also related of him that he never so much as once swore by GOD, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falsehood; and that being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and when the reason of his silence was demanded, he answered, "I am considering first whether it be better to speak or to hold my tongue." The following saying is also recorded of him, viz., "Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time, is a liar."[1] The followers of this doctor are from him called Shâfeites, and were formerly spread into Mâwara'lnahr and other parts eastward, but are now chiefly of Arabia and Persia.

[8] Abulfeda. [9] Ebn Khalecân. [10] Idem. [11] Abulfeda. [12] Elmacinus, p. 114. [13] Ebn Khalec. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 294. [1] Idem, apud eund. ibid. [2] Al Ghazâli, ibid. [3] Ebn Khalecân. [4] Yet Abulfeda says he lived fifty-eight years. [5] Ebn Khalecân. [6] Idem. [7] Idem. [8] Al Zâfarâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 296. [9] See before, p. 118. [1] Vide Poc. Spec. 294—297.

Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the founder of the fourth sect, was born in the year of the Hejra 164; but as to the place of his birth there are two traditions: some say he was born at Merû in Khorasân, of which city his parents were, and that his mother brought him from thence to Baghdâd at her breast; while others assure us that she was with child of him when she came to Baghdâd, and that he was born there.[2] Ebn Hanbal in process of time attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge, being so well versed in the traditions of Mohammed, in particular, that it is said he could repeat no less than a million of them[3] He was very intimate with al Shâfei, from whom he received most of his traditionary knowledge, being his constant attendant till his departure for Egypt.[4] Refusing to acknowledge the Korân to be created,[5] he was, by order of the Khalîf al Mótasem, severely scourged and imprisoned[6] Ebn Hanbal died at Baghdâd, in the year 241, and was followed to his grave by eight hundred thousand men, and sixty thousand women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, if not miraculous, that on the day of his death no less than twenty thousand Christians, Jews, and Magians, embraced the Mohammedan faith[7] This sect increased so fast, and became so powerful and bold, that in the year 323, in the Khalîfat of al Râdi, they raised a great commotion in Baghdâd, entering people's houses, and spilling their wine, if they found any, and beating the singing-women they met with, and breaking their instruments, and a severe edict was published against them, before they could be reduced to their duty[8] but the Hanbalites at present are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of Arabia.

The heretical sects among the Mohammedans are those which hold heterodox opinions in fundamentals or matters of faith

The first controversies relating to fundamentals began when most of the companions of Mohammed were dead[9] for in their days was no dispute, unless about things of small moment, if we except only the dissensions concerning the Imams, or rightful successors of their prophet, which were stirred up and fomented by interest and ambition; the Arabs' continual employment in the wars, during that time, allowing them little or no leisure to enter into nice inquiries and subtle distinctions but no sooner was the ardour of conquest a little abated than they began to examine the Korân more nearly, whereupon differences in opinion became unavoidable, and at length so greatly multiplied, that the number of their sects, according to the common opinion, are seventy-three. For the Mohammedans seem ambitious that their religion should exceed others even in this respect, saying, that the Magians are divided into seventy sects, the Jews into seventy-one, the Christians into seventy-two, and the Moslems into seventy-three, as Mohammed had foretold,[1] of which sects they reckon one to be always orthodox, and entitled to salvation[2]

The first heresy was that of the Khârejites, who revolted from Ali in the thirty-seventh year of the Hejra; and not long after, Mábad a.

[2] Ebn Khalecân [3] Idem [4] Idem. [5] See before, Sect III p 5?, &c [6] Ebn Khalecân, Abulfarag, Hist Dyn, p 252, &c. [7] Ebn Khalecân [8] Abulfar ubi sup. p 301, &c. [9] Al Shahrestani, apud Poc Spec p ??? Auctor Sharh al Mawâkef, apud eund p ??? [1] Vide Poc ibid [2] Al Shahrestani, apud eund p ???

Johni, Ghailân of Damascus, and Jonas al Aswâri broached heterodox opinions concerning predestination, and the ascribing of good and evil unto GOD; whose opinions were followed by Wâsel Ebn Atâ.[3] This latter was the scholar of Hasan of Basra, in whose school a question being proposed, whether he who had committed a grievous sin was to be deemed an infidel or not, the Khârejites (who used to come and dispute there) maintaining the affirmative, and the orthodox the negative, Wâsel, without waiting his master's decision, withdrew abruptly, and began to publish among his fellow-scholars a new opinion of his own, to wit, that such a sinner was in a middle state; and he was thereupon expelled the school, he and his followers being thenceforth called Mótazalites, or Separatists.[4]

The several sects which have arisen since this time are variously compounded and decompounded of the opinions of four chief sects, the Mótazalites, the Sefâtians, the Khârejites, and the Shiites.[5]

I The Motazalites were the followers of the before-mentioned Wâsel Ebn Atâ. As to their chief and general tenets, 1. They entirely rejected all eternal attributes of GOD, to avoid the distinction of persons made by the Christians; saying that eternity is the proper or formal attribute of his essence; that GOD knows by his essence, and not by his knowledge,[1] and the same they affirmed of his other attributes[2] (though all the Mótazalites do not understand these words in one sense); and hence this sect were also named Moattalites, from their divesting GOD of his attributes[3] and they went so far as to say, that to affirm these attributes is the same thing as to make more eternals than one, and that the unity of GOD is inconsistent with such an opinion,[4] and this was the true doctrine of Wâsel their master, who declared that whoever asserted an eternal attribute, asserted there were two GODS[5] This point of speculation concerning the divine attributes was not ripe at first, but was at length brought to maturity by Wâsel's followers, after they had read the books of the philosophers[6] 2 They believed the word of GOD to have been created *in subjecto* (as the schoolmen term it), and to consist of letters and sound, copies thereof being written in books to express or imitate the original They also went farther, and affirmed that whatever is created *in subjecto* is also an accident, and liable to perish.[7] 3 They denied absolute predestination, holding that GOD was not the author of evil, but of good only, and that man was a free agent[8] which being properly the opinion of the Kadarians, we defer what may be farther said thereof till we come to speak of that sect. On account of this tenet and the first, the Móta-

[3] Idem, and Auctor Sharh al Mawâkef, ubi sup [4] Idem, ibid p 211 212, and Ebn Khalecân, in Vita Waseli

[5] Al Shahrestani, who also reduces them to four chief sects, puts the Kadarians in the place of the Mótazalites Abulfaragius (Hist Dyn p 166) reckons six principal sects, adding the Jabarians and the Morgians, and the author of Sharh al Mawâkef eight, viz., the Mótazalites, the Shiites, the Khârejites, the Morgians, the Najarians, the Jabarians, the Moshabbehites, and the sect which he calls al Nâjia, because that alone will be saved, being according to him the sect of the Asharians. Vide Poc. Spec p. 209

[1] Maimonides teaches the same, not as the doctrine of the Mótazalites, but his own. Vide More Nev. l 1, c 57. [2] Al Shahrestani, apud Poc. Spec p 214. Abulfarag, p 167 [3] Vide Poc. Spec 224 [4] Sharh al Mawâkef, and al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 216. Maimonides (in Proleg ad Pirke Aboth § 8) asserts the same thing. [5] Vide Poc. ibid [6] Al Shahrest ibid p 215. [7] Abulfarag, and al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 217 See before Sect III p. 57 Vide Poc. Spec. p 240.

zalites look on themselves as the defenders of the unity and justice of GOD.[9] 4. They held that if a professor of the true religion be guilty of a grievous sin, and die without repentance, he will be eternally damned, though his punishment will be lighter than that of the infidels.[10] 5. They denied all vision of GOD in paradise by the corporeal eye, and rejected all comparisons or similitudes applied to GOD.[11]

This sect are said to have been the first inventors of scholastic divinity,[12] and are subdivided into several inferior sects, amounting, as some reckon, to twenty, which mutually brand one another with infidelity [13] the most remarkable of them are.—

1. The Hodeilians, or followers of Hamdân Abu Hodeil, a Mótazalite doctor, who differed something from the common form of expression used by this sect, saying that GOD knew by his knowledge, but that his knowledge was his essence; and so of the other attributes: which opinion he took from the philosophers, who affirm the essence of GOD to be simple and without multiplicity, and that his attributes are not posterior or accessory to his essence, or subsisting therein, but are his essence itself: and this the more orthodox take to be next kin to making distinctions in the deity, which is the thing they so much abhor in the Christians[1] As to the Korân's being created, he made some distinction, holding the word of GOD to be partly not *in subjecto* (and therefore uncreated), as when he spake the word *Kûn*, *i.e.*, *Fiat*, at the creation, and partly *in subjecto*, as the precepts, prohibitions, &c.[2] Marracci[3] mentions an opinion of Abu Hodeil's concerning predestination, from an Arab writer,[4] which being by him expressed in a manner not very intelligible, I choose to omit.

2. The Jobbâians, or followers of Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Abd al Wahhâb, surnamed al Jobbâi, whose meaning when he made use of the common expression of the Mótazalites, that "GOD knows by his essence," &c., was, that GOD'S being knowing is not an attribute, the same with knowledge, nor such a state as rendered his being knowing necessary[5] He held GOD's word to be created *in subjecto*, as in the preserved table, for example, the memory of Gabriel, Mohammed, &c[6] This sect, if Marracci has given the true sense of his author, denied that GOD could be seen in paradise without the assistance of corporeal eyes; and held that man produced his acts by a power superadded to health of body and soundness of limbs, that he who was guilty of a mortal sin was neither a believer nor an infidel, but a transgressor (which was the original opinion of Wâsel), and if he died in his sins, would be doomed to hell for eternity; and that GOD conceals nothing of whatever he knows from his servants.[7]

3. The Hashemians, who were so named from their master Abu Hâshem Abd al Salâm, the son of Abu Ali al Jobbâi, and whose tenets nearly agreed with those of the preceding sect.[8] Abu Hâshem took the Mótazalite form of expression, that "GOD knows by his essence," in a different sense from others, supposing it to mean that GOD hath or

[9] Al Shahrest and Sharh al Mawâkef, apud Poc, ubi sup p 214. [10] Marracc Prodr ad ref Alcor part iii p 74 [11] Idem, ibid [12] Vide Poc. Spec. p 213, and D'Herbel. Art. Motazeliah [13] Auctor al Mawâkef, apud Poc. ibid. [1] Al Shahrestani, apud Poc p 215, 216, 217 [2] Idem, apud eund p 217, &c [3] In Prodr part iii p 74. [4] Al Shahrest [5] Idem, apud Poc Spec p 215. [6] Idem, and Auctor al Mawâkef, ibid p 218 [7] Marracci ubi sup p 75 ex al Shahrest [8] Vide [illegible]

is endued with a disposition, which is a known property, or quality, posterior or accessory to his existence.[1] His followers were so much afraid of making GOD the author of evil that they would not allow him to be said to create an infidel; because, according to their way of arguing, an infidel is a compound of infidelity and man, and GOD is not the creator of infidelity.[2] Abu Hâshem, and his father Abu Ali al Jobbâi, were both celebrated for their skill in scholastic divinity.[3]

4. The Nodhâmians, or followers of Ibrahim al Nodhâm, who having read books of philosophy, set up a new sect, and imagining he could not sufficiently remove GOD from being the author of evil, without divesting him of his power in respect thereto, taught that no power ought to be ascribed to GOD concerning evil and rebellious actions: but this he affirmed against the opinion of his own disciples, who allowed that GOD could do evil, but did not, because of its turpitude.[4] Of his opinion as to the Korân's being created we have spoken elsewhere.[5]

5. The Hâyetians, so named from Ahmed Ebn Hâyet, who had been of the sect of the Nodhâmians, but broached some new notions on reading the philosophers. His peculiar opinions were—1. That Christ was the eternal Word incarnate, and took a true and real body, and will judge all creatures in the life to come.[6] He also farther asserted that there are two GODS or Creators—the one eternal, viz., the most high GOD, and the other not eternal, viz., Christ[7]—which opinion, though Dr. Pocock urges the same as an argument that he did not rightly understand the Christian mysteries,[8] is not much different from that of the Arians and Socinians. 2. That there is a successive transmigration of the soul from one body into another, and that the last body will enjoy the reward or suffer the punishment due to each soul.[9] And, 3. That GOD will be seen at the resurrection, not with the bodily eyes, but those of the understanding.[10]

6. The Jâhedhians, or followers of Amru Ebn Bahr, surnamed al Jâhedh, a great doctor of the Mótazalites, and very much admired for the elegance of his composures;[11] who differed from his brethren in that he imagined the damned would not be eternally tormented in hell, but would be changed into the nature of fire, and that the fire would of itself attract them, without any necessity of their going into it.[1] He also taught that if a man believed GOD to be his Lord, and Mohammed the apostle of GOD, he became one of the faithful, and was obliged to nothing farther.[2] His peculiar opinion as to the Korân has been taken notice of before.[3]

7. The Mozdârians, who embraced the opinions of Isa Ebn Sobeih al Mozdâr, and those very absurd ones: for, besides his notions relating to the Korân,[4] he went so directly counter to the opinion of those who abridged GOD of the power to do evil, that he affirmed it possible for GOD to be a liar and unjust.[5] He also pronounced him to

[1] Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 215. [2] Idem, ibid. p. 242. [3] Ebn Khalecân, in Vitis Eorum. [4] Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 241, 242. Vide Marracc. Prod. part iii. p. 74. [5] See before, Sect. III. p. 53. [6] Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 218. Abulfarag, p. 167. [7] Al Shahrest. al Mawâkef, et Ebn Kossâ, apud Poc. ubi sub. p. 219. [8] Vide Poc. ibid. [9] Marracc. et al Shahrest. ubi sup. [10] Marracc. ibid. p. 75. [11] Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Giahedh. [1] Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 260. [2] Marracc. ubi sup. [3] Sect. III. p. 53. [4] Vide ibid. and p. 52. [5] Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 242.

be an infidel who thrust himself into the supreme government;[6] nay, he went so far as to assert men to be infidels while they said "There is no GOD but GOD," and even condemned all the rest of mankind as guilty of infidelity; upon which Ibrahim Ebn al Sendi asked him whether paradise, whose breadth equals that of heaven and earth, was created only for him and two or three more who thought as he did? to which it is said he could return no answer.[7]

8. The Basharians, who maintained the tenets of Bashar Ebn Mótamer, the master of al Mozdar,[8] and a principal man among the Mótazalites. He differed in some things from the general opinion of that sect, carrying man's free agency to a great excess, making it even independent. and yet he thought God might doom an infant to eternal punishment, but granted he would be unjust in so doing. He taught that God is not always obliged to do that which is best, for, if he pleased, he could make all men true believers. These sectaries also held that if a man repent of a mortal sin, and afterwards return to it, he will be liable to suffer the punishment due to the former transgression.[9]

9. The Thamamians, who follow Thamâma Ebn Bashar, a chief Mótazalite Their peculiar opinions were—1 That sinners should remain in hell for ever. 2 That free actions have no producing author. 3. That at the resurrection all infidels, idolaters, atheists, Jews, Christians, Magians, and heretics shall be reduced to dust.[10]

10. The Kadarians, which is really a more ancient name than that of Mótazalites, Mábad al Johni and his adherents being so called, who disputed the doctrine of predestination before Wásel quitted his master [1] for which reason some use the denomination of Kadarians as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the Mótazalites under it.[2] This sect deny absolute predestination, saying that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to GOD, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions, which GOD has granted him power either to do or to let alone [3] And hence it is said they are called Kadarians, because they deny al Kadr, or GOD's absolute decree; though others, thinking it not so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it come from Kadr, or Kodrat, *i.e.*, power, because they assert man's power to act freely [4] Those, however, who give the name of Kadarians to the Mótazalites are their enemies, for they disclaim it, and give it to their antagonists the Jabarians, who likewise refuse it as an infamous appellation,[5] because Mohammed is said to have declared the Kadarians to be the Magians of his followers.[6] But what the opinion of these Kadarians in Mohammed's time was, is very uncertain · the Mótazalites say the name belongs to those who assert predestination, and make GOD the author of good and evil,[7] viz., the Jabarians; but all the other Mohammedan sects agree to fix it on the Mótazalites, who, they say, are like the Magians in establishing two principles, light, or GOD, the author of good; and darkness, or the devil, the author of evil: but this cannot absolutely be said of the Mótazalites,

[6] Marracc. ubi sup p. 75. [7] Al Shahrest ubi sup p 220. [8] Poc. Spec. p 221 [9] Marracc ubi sup. [10] Idem, ibid [1] Al Shahrest [2] Al Firauzab. Vide Poc Spec. p. 231, 232, and 214. [3] Al Shahrest. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 235 and 240, &c. [4] Vide Poc. ibid. p. 238. [5] Al Motarrezi, al Shahrest. Vide ibid. p 232. [6] Idem &c. ibid [7] Idem, ibid

for they (at least the generality of them) ascribe men's good deeds to GOD, but their evil deeds to themselves, meaning thereby that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is master of his actions, and for this reason it is that the other Mohammedans call them Magians, because they assert another author of actions besides GOD.[8] And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to say what Mohammed's own opinion was in this matter, for on the one side the Korân itself is pretty plain for absolute predestination, and many sayings of Mohammed are recorded to that purpose,[9] and one in particular, wherein he introduces Adam and Moses disputing before GOD in this manner "Thou," says Moses, 'art Adam, whom GOD created, and animated with the breath of life, and caused to be worshipped by the angels, and placed in paradise, from whence mankind have been expelled for thy fault' whereto Adam answered, "Thou art Moses, whom GOD chose for his apostle and entrusted with his word, by giving thee the tables of the law, and whom he vouchsafed to admit to discourse with himself how many years dost thou find the law was written before I was created?" Says Moses, "Forty" "And dost thou not find, replied Adam, "these words therein 'And Adam rebelled against his Lord and transgressed?' which Moses confessing, "Dost thou therefore blame me, continued he 'for doing that which GOD wrote of me that I should do forty years before I was created? nay, for what was decreed concerning me fifty thousand years before the creation of heaven and earth In the conclusion of which dispute Mohammed declared that Adam had the better of Moses. On the other side, it is urged in the behalf of the Mótazalites that Mohammed declaring that the Kadarians and Morgians had been cursed by the tongues of seventy prophets and being asked who the Kadarians were, answered, 'Those who assert that GOD predestinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet punishes them for it [1] al Hasan is also said to have declared, that GOD sent Mohammed to the Arabs while they were Kadarians, or Jabarians and laid their sins upon GOD and to confirm the matter, this sentence of the Korân is quoted [2] 'When they commit a filthy action, they say We found our fathers practising the same, and GOD hath commanded us so to do Say Verily GOD commandeth not filthy actions [3]

11 The Sefatians held the opposite opinion to the Mótazalites in respect to the eternal attributes of GOD which they affirmed making no distinction between the essential attributes and those of operation and hence they were named Sefatians or Attributists Their doctrine was that of the first Mohammedans, who were not yet acquainted with these nice distinctions but this sect afterwards introduced another species of declarative attributes or such as were necessarily used in historical narration, as hands face eyes, &c, which they did not offer to explain, but contented themselves with saying they were in the law, and that they called them declarative attributes [4] However at length, by giving various explications and interpretations of these attributes they divided into many different opinions some, by taking the words

[8] Vide Poc. ibid. p 233, &c. [9] Vide ibid p 237 [1] Ebn al Athir al Bokhari, apud Poc. p. 236. [2] Cap 7, p. 107 [3] Al Motarrezi, apud eund. p. 237, 238. [4] Al Shahrest apud Poc. Spec. p. 223.

in the literal sense, fell into the notion of a likeness or similitude between GOD and created beings, to which it is said the Karaites among the Jews, who are for the literal interpretation of Moses's law, had shown them the way [5] others explained them in another manner, saying that no creature was like GOD, but that they neither understood nor thought it necessary to explain the precise signification of the words which seem to affirm the same of both, it being sufficient to believe that GOD hath no companion or similitude. Of this opinion was Malec Ebn Ans, who declared as to the expression of GOD'S sitting on his throne, in particular, that though the meaning is known, yet the manner is unknown, and that it is necessary to believe it, but heresy to make any quest ons about it.[1]

The sects of the Sefatians are

1 The Ashárians, the followers of Abu'l Hasan al Ashári, who was first a Mótazalite, and the scholar of Abu Ali al Jobbâi, but disagreeing from his master in opinion as to GOD'S being bound (as the Mótazalites assert) to do always that which is best or most expedient, left him, and set up a new sect of himself The occasion of this difference was the putting a case concerning three brothers, the first of whom lived in obedience to GOD the second in rebellion against him, and the third died an infant Al Jobbai being asked what he thought would become of them, answered, that the first would be rewarded in paradise, the second punished in hell and the third neither rewarded nor punished "But what, objected al Ashári,' if the third say, O LORD, if thou hadst given me longer life, that I might have entered paradise with my believing brother, it would have been better for me? to which al Jobbâi replied, "That GOD would answer, I knew that if thou hadst lived longer thou wouldst have been a wicked person, and therefore cast into hell Then,' retorted al Ashari 'the second will say, O LORD, why didst thou not take me away while I was an infant, as thou didst my brother, that I might not have deserved to be punished for my sins nor to be cast into hell? To which al Jobbai could return no other answer than that GOD prolonged his life to give him an opportunity of obtaining the highest degree of perfection which was best for him but al Ashari demanding farther, why he did not for the same reason grant the other a longer life, to whom it would have been equally advantageous, al Jobbai was so put to it, that he asked whether the devil possessed him? No says al Ashári, but the master's ass will not pass the bridge, *i e*, he is posed

The opinions of the Ashárians were—1 That they allowed the attributes of GOD to be distinct from his essence, yet so as to forbid any comparison to be made between GOD and his creatures[3] This was also the opinion of Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, and David al Ispahani, and others, who herein followed Malec Ebn Ans and were so cautious of any assimilation of GOD to created beings, that they declared whoever moved his hand while he read these words, "I have created with my hand," or "stretched forth his finger," in repeating this saying of Mohammed, "The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the

[5] Vide Poc. ibid p 224. [1] Vide eund. ibid. [2] Auctor al Mawâkef et al Safadi, apud Poc. ubi sup p 230 &c. Ebn Khalec in Vita al Jobbâi [3] Al Shahrest. apud Poc Spec p. 230

Merciful," ought to have his hand and finger cut off;[1] and the reasons they gave for not explaining any such words were, that it is forbidden in the Korân, and that such explications were necessarily founded on conjecture and opinion, from which no man ought to speak of the attributes of GOD, because the words of the Korân might by that means come to be understood differently from the author's meaning: nay, some have been so superstitiously scrupulous in this matter as not to allow the words hand, face, and the like, when they occur in the Korân, to be rendered into Persian or any other language, but require them to be read in the very original words, and this they call the safe way.[2]
2. As to predestination, they held that GOD hath one eternal will which is applied to whatsoever he willeth, both of his own actions and, those of men, so far as they are created by him, but not as they are acquired or gained by them; that he willeth both their good and their evil, their profit and their hurt, and as he willeth and knoweth, he willeth concerning men that which he knoweth, and hath commanded the pen to write the same in the preserved table: and this is his decree, and eternal immutable counsel and purpose.[3] They also went so far as to say, that it may be agreeable to the way of GOD that man should be commanded what he is not able to perform.[4] But while they allow man some power, they seem to restrain it to such a power as cannot produce anything new; only GOD, say they, so orders his providence that he creates, after, or under, and together with every created or new power, an action which is ready whenever a man wills it, and sets about it: and this action is called Casb, *i.e.*, Acquisition, being in respect to its creation, from GOD, but in respect to its being produced, employed, and acquired, from man.[5] And this being generally esteemed the orthodox opinion, it may not be improper farther to explain the same in the words of some other writers. The elective actions of men, says one, fall under the power of GOD alone; nor is their own power effectual thereto; but GOD causeth to exist in man power and choice; and if there be no impediment, he causeth his action to exist also, subject to his power, and joined with that and his choice, which action, as created, is to be ascribed to GOD, but as produced, employed, or acquired, to man. So that by the acquisition of an action is properly meant a man's joining or connecting the same with his power and will, yet allowing herein no impression or influence on the existence thereof, save only that it is subject to his power.[1] Others, however, who are also on the side of al Ashári, and reputed orthodox, explain the matter in a different manner, and grant the impression or influence of the created power of man on his action, and that this power is what is called Acquisition.[2] But the point will be still clearer if we hear a third author, who rehearses the various opinions, or explications of the opinion of this sect, in the following words, viz.: Abu'l Hasan al Ashári asserts all the actions of men to be subject to the power of GOD, being created by him, and that the power of man hath no influence at all on that which he is empowered to do; but that both the power, and what is subject thereto, fall under the power of GOD.

[1] Idem, apud eund p. 228, &c. [2] Vide Poc. ibid. [3] Al Shahrest. apud eund. p. 245, &c. [4] Idem, ibid. p. 246. [5] Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 245 &c. [1] Auctor Sharh al Mawákef apud eund. p. 247. [2] Al Shahrest. ibid. p. 248

al Kâdi Abu Becr says that the essence or substance of the action is th effect of the power of GOD, but its being either an action of obedience, as prayer, or an action of disobedience, as fornication, are qualities of the action, which proceed from the power of man: Abd'-almalec, known by the title of Imâm al Haramein, Abu'l Hosein of Basra, and other learned men, held that the actions of men are effected by the power which GOD hath created in man, and that GOD causeth to exist in man both power and will, and that this power and will do necessarily produce that which man is empowered to do: and Abu Ishâk al Isfarâyeni taught that that which maketh impression, or hath influence on an action, is a compound of the power of GOD and the power of man.[8] The same author observes that their ancestors, perceiving a manifest difference between those things which are the effects of the election of man and those things which are the necessary effects of inanimate agents, destitute both of knowledge and choice, and being at the same time pressed by the arguments which prove that GOD is the Creator of all things, and consequently of those things which are done by men, to conciliate the matter, chose the middle way, asserting actions to proceed from the power of GOD, and the acquisition of man, GOD'S way of dealing with his servants being, that when man intendeth obedience, GOD createth in him an action of obedience, and when he intendeth disobedience, he createth in him an action of disobedience, so that man seemeth to be the effective producer of his action, though he really be not[1] But this, proceeds the same writer, is again pressed with its difficulties, because the very intention of the mind is the work of GOD, so that no man hath any share in the production of his own actions, for which reason the ancients disapproved of too nice an inquiry into this point, the end of the dispute concerning the same being, for the most part, either the taking away of all precepts positive as well as negative, or else the associating of a companion with GOD, by introducing some other independent agent besides him. Those, therefore, who would speak more accurately, use this form: there is neither compulsion nor free liberty, but the way lies between the two, the power and will in man being both created by GOD, though the merit or guilt be imputed unto man Yet, after all, it is judged the safest way to follow the steps of the primitive Moslems, and, avoiding subtle disputations and too curious inquiries, to leave the knowledge of this matter wholly unto GOD[9] 3 As to mortal sin, the Ashárians

[8] Auctor Sharh al Tawâlea, apud eund ibid p 248, &c [1] Idem, ibid p 249, 250.

[9] Idem, ibid p 250, 251 I trust the reader will not be offended if, as a farther illustration of what has been said on this subject (in producing of which I have purposely kept to the original Mohammedan expressions) I transcribe a passage or two from a postscript subjoined to the epistle I have quoted above (§ 4, p 85), in which the point of free will is treated *ex professo* Therein the Moorish author, having mentioned the two opposite opinions of the Kadarians who allow free will, and the Jabarians, who make man a necessary agent (the former of which opinions, he says, seems to approach nearest to that of the greater part of Christians and of the Jews), declares the true opinion to be that of the Sonnites, who assert that man hath power and will to choose good and evil, and can moreover know he shall be rewarded if he do well, and shall be punished if he do ill; but that he depends, notwithstanding, on GOD'S power, and willeth, if GOD willeth, but not otherwise Then he proceeds briefly to refute the two extreme opinions, and first to prove that of the Kadarians, though it be agreeable to GOD'S justice, inconsistent with his attributes of wisdom and power "Sapientia enim Dei," says he, "comprehendit quicquid fuit et futurum est ab æternitate in finem usque mundi et postea Et ita novit ab æterno omnia opera creaturarum, sive bona, sive mala quæ fuerunt creata cum potentia Dei et ejus libera et determinata voluntate, sicut ab æterno erat. Denique novit eum qui futurus

taught, that if a believer guilty of such sin die without repentance, his sentence is to be left with GOD, whether he pardon him out of mercy, or whether the prophet intercede for him (according to that saying recorded of him, "My intercession shall be employed for those among my people who shall have been guilty of grievous crimes"), or whether he punish him in proportion to his demerit, and afterwards, through his mercy, admit him into paradise; but that it is not to be supposed he will remain for ever in hell with the infidels, seeing it is declared that whoever shall have faith in his heart but of the weight of an ant, shall be delivered from hell fire.[1] And this is generally received for the orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically opposite to that of the Mótazalites.

These were the more rational Sefâtians, but the ignorant part of them, not knowing how otherwise to explain the expressions of the Korân relating to the declarative attributes, fell into most gross and

erat malus, et tamen creavit eum, et similiter bonum, quem etiam creavit: neque negari potest quin, si ipsi libuisset, potuisset omnes creare bonos: placuit tamen Deo creare bonos et malos, cùm Deo soli sit absoluta et libera voluntas, et perfecta electio, et non homini. Ita enim Salomon in suis proverbiis dixit, Vitam et mortem, bonum et malum, divitias et paupertatem, esse et venire à Deo. Christiani etiam dicunt S. Paulum dixisse in suis epistolis, Dicet etiam lutum figulo, quare facis unum vas ad honorem et aliud vas ad contumeliam? Cum igitur miser homo fuerit creatus à voluntate Dei et potentia, nihil aliud potest tribui ipsi quàm ipse sensus cognoscendi et sentiendi an bene vel male faciat. Qui unica causa (id est, sensus cognoscendi) erit ejus gloriæ vel pœnæ causa: per talem enim sensum novit quid boni vel mali adversus Dei præcepta fecerit." The opinion of the Jabarians, on the other hand, he rejects as contrary to man's consciousness of his own power and choice, and inconsistent with GOD's justice, and his having given mankind laws, to the observing or transgressing of which he has annexed rewards and punishments. After this he proceeds to explain the third opinion in the following words: "Tertia opinio Zunis (i.e., Sonnitarum) quæ vera est, affirmat homini potestatem esse, sed limitatem à sua causa, id est, dependentem à Dei potentia et voluntate, et propter illam cognitionem qua deliberat bene vel male facere, esse dignum pœna vel præmio. Manifestum est in æternitate non fuisse aliam potentiam præter Dei nostri omnipotentis, e cujus potentia pendebant omnia possibilia, id est, quæ poterant esse, etiam ab ipso fuerint creata. Sapientia verò Dei novit etiam quæ non sunt futura, et potentia ejus, etsi non creaverit ea, potuit tamen, si ita Deo placuisset. Ita novit sapientia Dei quæ erant impossibilia, id est, quæ non poterant esse; quæ tamen nullo pacto pendent ab ejus potentia: ab ejus enim potentia nulla pendent nisi possibilia. Dicimus enim Dei potentia non pendere creare Deum alium ipsi similem, nec creare aliquid quod moveatur et quiescat simul eodem tempore, cùm hæc sint ex impossibilibus: comprehendit tamen suâ sapientia tale aliquid non pendere à ejus potentiâ. A potentiâ igitur Dei pendet solum quod potest esse, et possibile est esse, quæ semper parata est dare esse possibilibus. Et si hoc penitus cognoscimus, cognoscemus pariter omne quod est, seu futurum est, sive sint opera nostra, sive quidvis aliud, pendere à sola potentia Dei. Et hoc non privatim intelligitur, sed in genere de omni eo quod est et movetur, sive in cœlis sive in terrâ, et nec aliquâ potentia potest impediri Dei potentia, cùm nulla alia potentia absoluta sit, præter Dei; potentia vero nostra non est à se, nisi à Dei potentia: et cùm potentia nostra dicitur esse à causa sua, ideo dicimus potentiam nostram esse sicut nihil comparatam cum potentia Dei: eo enim modo quo stramen movetur à motu maris, ita nostra potentia et voluntas à Dei potentia. Itaque Dei potentia semper est parata etiam ad occidendum aliquem; ut si quis hominem occidat, non dicimus potentiâ hominis id factum, seu æterna potentia Dei: error enim est id tribuere potentiæ hominis. Potentia enim Dei cùm semper sit parata et ante ipsum hominem, ad occidendum, si solâ hominis potentiâ id factum esse diceremus, et moreretur, potentia sanè Dei (quæ ante erat) jam ibi esset frustra: quia post mortem non potest potentia Dei eum iterum occidere; ex quo sequeretur potentiam Dei impediri à potentia hominis, et potentiam hominis anteire et antecellere potentiam Dei; quod est absurdum et impossibile. Igitur Deus est qui operatur æternâ suâ potentia: si verò homini injicitur culpa, sive in tali homicidio, sive in aliis, hoc est quantum ad præcepta et legem. Homini tribuitur solum opus externè, et ejus electio, quæ est a voluntate ejus et potentia, non verò interne.—Hoc est punctum illud indivisibile et secretum, quod à paucissimis capitur, ut sapientissimus Sidi Abo Hamet Elgazeli (i.e., Dominus Abu Hâmed al Ghazâli) affirmat (cujus spiritui Deus concedat gloriam. Amen!) sequentibus verbis: Ita abditum et profundum et abstrusum est intelligere punctum illud Liberi Arbitrii, ut neque characteres ad scribendum neque ullæ rationes ad exprimendum sufficiant: et omnes, quotquot de hoc re locuti sunt, hæserunt confusi in ripa tanti et tam spaciosi maris."

[1] Al Shahrest. apud Poc. Spec. p. 258.

absurd opinions, making GOD corporeal, and like created beings.[z] Such were—

2. The Moshabbehites, or Assimilators; who allowed a resemblance between GOD and his creatures,[a] supposing him to be a figure composed of members or parts, either spiritual or corporeal, and capable of local motion, of ascent and descent, &c.[b] Some of this sect inclined to the opinion of the Holûlians, who believed that the divine nature might be united with the human in the same person; for they granted it possible that GOD might appear in a human form, as Gabriel did: and to confirm their opinion they allege Mohammed's words, that he saw his LORD in a most beautiful form, and Moses talking with GOD face to face.[c] And

3. The Kerâmians, or followers of Mohammed Ebn Kerâm, called also Mojassemians, or Corporalists; who not only admitted a resemblance between GOD and created beings, but declared GOD to be corporeal.[d] The more sober among them, indeed, when they applied the word body to GOD, would be understood to mean, that he is a self-subsisting being, which with them is the definition of body. but yet some of them affirmed him to be finite, and circumscribed, either on all sides, or on some only (as beneath, for example), according to different opinions;[e] and others allowed that he might be felt by the hand, and seen by the eye. Nay, one David al Jawâri went so far as to say, that his deity was a body composed of flesh and blood, and that he had members, as hands, feet, a head, a tongue, eyes, and ears; but that he was a body, however, not like other bodies, neither was he like to any created being: he is also said farther to have affirmed that from the crown of the head to the breast he was hollow, and from the breast downward solid, and that he had black curled hair.[f] These most blasphemous and monstrous notions were the consequence of the literal acceptation of those passages in the Koran which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to GOD, and of the words of Mohammed, when he said, that GOD created man in his own image, and that himself had felt the fingers of GOD, which he laid on his back, to be cold: besides which, this sect are charged with fathering on their prophet a great number of spurious and forged traditions to support their opinion, the greater part whereof they borrowed from the Jews who are accused as naturally prone to assimilate GOD to men, so that they describe him as weeping for Noah's flood till his eyes were sore.[g] And, indeed, though we grant the Jews may have imposed on Mohammed and his followers in many instances, and told them as solemn truths things which themselves believed not or had invented, yet many expressions of this kind are to be found in their writings; as when they introduce GOD roaring like a lion at every watch of the night, and crying, "Alas! that I have laid waste my house, and suffered my temple to be burnt, and sent my children into banishment among the heathen," &c.[h]

4. The Jabarians—who are the direct opponents of the Kadarians—denying free agency in man, and ascribing his actions wholly unto

[z] Vide Poc. ibid. p. 255, &c. Abulfar. p. 167, &c. [a] Al Mawâkef, apud Poc. ibid. [b] Al Shahrest. apud eund. ibid. p. 226. [c] Vide Marracc. Prodr. part iii. p. 76. [d] Al Shahrest. ubi sup. [e] Idem, ibid. p. 225. [f] Idem, ibid. p. 226, 227. [g] Idem, ibid. p. 227, 228. [h] Talm. Berachoth, c. 1. Vide Poc. ubi supra, p. 228.

GOD.[2] They take their denomination from al Jabr, which signifies necessity, or compulsion; because they hold man to be necessarily and inevitably constrained to act as he does, by force of GOD'S eternal and immutable decree.[3] This sect is distinguished into several species; some being more rigid and extreme in their opinion, who are thence called pure Jabarians, and others more moderate, who are therefore called middle Jabarians. The former will not allow men to be said either to act, or to have any power at all, either operative or acquiring; asserting that man can do nothing, but produces all his actions by necessity, having neither power, nor will, nor choice, any more than an inanimate agent: they also declare that rewarding and punishing are also the effects of necessity; and the same they say of the imposing of commands. This was the doctrine of the Jahmians, the followers of Jahm Ebn Safwân, who likewise held that paradise and hell will vanish, or be annihilated, after those who are destined thereto respectively shall have entered them, so that at last there will remain no existing being besides GOD,[4] supposing those words of the Korân which declare that the inhabitants of paradise and of hell shall remain therein for ever, to be hyperbolical only, and intended for corroboration, and not to denote an eternal duration in reality.[5] The moderate Jabarians are those who ascribe some power to man, but such a power as hath no influence on the action: for as to those who grant the power of man to have a certain influence on the action, which influence is called Acquisition, some[6] will not admit them to be called Jabarians; though others reckon those also to be called middle Jabarians, and to contend for the middle opinion between absolute necessity and absolute liberty, who attribute to man acquisition, or concurrence in producing the action, whereby he gaineth commendation or blame (yet without admitting it to have any influence on the action), and, therefore, make the Ashárians a branch of this sect.[7] Having again mentioned the term Acquisition, we may, perhaps, have a clearer idea of what the Mohammedans mean thereby, when told, that it is defined to be an action directed to the obtaining of profit, or the removing of hurt, and for that reason never applied to any action of GOD, who acquireth to himself neither profit nor hurt.[8] Of the middle or moderate Jabarians were the Najârians and the Derârians. The Najârians were the adherents of al Hasan Ebn Mohammed al Najâr, who taught that GOD was he who created the actions of men, both good and bad, and that man acquired them, and also that man's power had an influence on the action, or a certain co-operation, which he called acquisition; and herein he agreed with al Ashári.[9] The Derârians were the disciples of Derâr Ebn Amru, who held also that men's actions are really created by GOD, and that man really acquired them.[1] The Jabarians also say, that GOD is absolute Lord of his creatures, and may deal with them according to his own pleasure, without rendering account to any, and that if he should admit all men, without distinction, into paradise, it would be no impartiality, or if he should cast them all into hell it would

[2] Vide Abulfarag, p. 168. [3] Al Shahrest. al Mawâkef, et Ebn al Kossá, apud Poc. ibid. p. 238, &c. [4] Al Shahrest. al Motarezzi, et Ebn al Kossá, apud eund. p. 239, 243, &c. [5] Idem, ibid. p. 260. [6] Al Shahrest. [7] Ebn al Kossá, et al Mawâkef. [8] Ebn al Kossá apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 240. [9] Al Shahrest., apud eund. p. 245. [1] Idem, ibid.

be no injustice.[4] And in this particular, likewise, they agree with the Ashárians, who assert the same,[5] and say that reward is a favour from GOD, and punishment a piece of justice; obedience being by them considered as a sign only of future reward, and transgression as a sign of future punishment.[6]

5. The Morgians; who are said to be derived from the Jabarians.[1] These teach that the judgment of every true believer, who hath been guilty of a grievous sin, will be deferred till the resurrection; for which reason they pass no sentence on him in this world, either of absolution or condemnation. They also hold that disobedience with faith hurteth not; and that, on the other hand, obedience with infidelity profiteth not.[2] As to the reason of their name the learned differ, because of the different significations of its root, each of which they accommodate to some opinion of the sect. Some think them so called because they postpone works to intention, that is, esteem works to be inferior in degree to intention and profession of the faith,[2] others, because they allow hope, by asserting that disobedience with faith hurteth not, &c.; others take the reason of the name to be, their deferring the sentence of the heinous sinner till the resurrection,[3] and others, their degrading of Ali, or removing him from the first degree to the fourth[4] for the Morgians, in some points relating to the office of Imâm, agree with the Khârejites. This sect is divided into four species three of which, according as they happen to agree in particular dogmas with the Khârejites, the Kadarians, or the Jabarians, are distinguished as Morgians of those sects, and the fourth is that of the pure Morgians, which last species is again subdivided into five others.[5] The opinions of Mokâtel and Bashar, both of a sect of the Morgians called Thaubanians, should not be omitted The former asserted that disobedience hurts not him who professes the unity of GOD, and is endued with faith; and that no true believer shall be cast into hell he also taught that GOD will surely forgive all crimes besides infidelity; and that a disobedient believer will be punished, at the day of resurrection, on the bridge[6] laid over the midst of hell, where the flames of hell fire shall catch hold on him, and torment him in proportion to his disobedience, and that he shall then be admitted into paradise.[7] The latter held that if GOD do cast the believers guilty of grievous sins into hell, yet they will be delivered thence after they shall have been sufficiently punished; but that it is neither possible nor consistent with justice that

[4] Abulfarag, p 168, &c [5] Al Shahrestani ubi sup p 257, &c.
[6] Sharh al Tawâlea, ibid To the same effect writes the Moorish author quoted above, from whom I will venture to transcribe the following passage with which he concludes his Discourse on Freewill "Intellectus ferè lumine naturali novit Deum esse rectum judicem et justum, qui non aliter afficit creaturam quam juste etiam Deum esse absolutum Dominum, et hanc orbis machinam esse ejus, et ab eo creatam, Deum nullis debere rationem reddere, cum quicquid agat, agat jure proprio sibi et ita absolute poterit afficere præmio vel pœna quem vult, cum omnis creatura sit ejus, nec facit cuiquam injuriam, etsi eam tormentis et pœnis æternis afficiat. plus enim boni et commodi accepit creatura quando accepit esse a suo creatore, quàm incommodi et damni quando ab eo damnata est et affecta tormentis et pœnis. Hoc autem intelligitur si Deus absolute id faceret Quando enim Deus, pietate et misericordia motus, eligit aliquos ut ipsi serviant, Dominus Deus gratiâ suâ id facit ex infinitâ bonitate, et quando aliquos derelinquit, et pœnis et tormentis afficit, ex justitia et rectitudine Et tandem dicimus omnes pœnas esse justas quæ a Deo veniunt, et nostrâ tantùm culpâ, et omnia bona esse à pietate et misericordia ejus infinita." [7] Al Shahrest ubi sup. p 256. [1] Abulfar p. 169 [2] Al Firauz [3] Ebn al Athir, al Motarrezi. [4] Al Shahrest ubi sup p 254, &c [5] Idem ibid. [6] See before, Sect IV p. 71 [7] Al Shahrest ubi sup p 257

they should remain therein for ever; which, as has been observed, was the opinion of al Ashári.

III. The Khârejites are they who depart or revolt from the lawful prince established by public consent; and thence comes their name, which signifies revolters or rebels.[8] The first who were so called were twelve thousand men who revolted from Ali, after they had fought under him at the battle of Seffein, taking offence at his submitting the decision of his right to the Khalîfat, which Moáwiyah disputed with him, to arbitration, though they themselves had first obliged him to it.[1] These were also called Mohakkemites, or Judicianans; because the reason which they gave for their revolt was, that Ali had referred a matter concerning the religion of GOD to the judgment of men, whereas the judgment, in such case, belonged only unto GOD.[2] The heresy of the Khârejites consisted chiefly in two things 1. In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imâm, or prince, though he was not of the tribe of Koreish, nor even a freeman, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications, and also held that if the Imâm turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death or deposed, and that there was no absolute necessity for any Imâm at all in the world 2 In that they charged Ali with sin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men, which ought to have been determined by GOD alone, and went so far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curse him on that account.[3] In the 38th year of the Hejra, which was the year following the revolt, all these Khârejites who persisted in their rebellion, to the number of four thousand, were cut to pieces by Ali, and, as several historians[4] write, even to a man, but others say nine of them escaped, and that two fled into Omân, two into Kermân, two into Sejestân, two into Mesopotamia, and one to Tel Mawrûn, and that these propagated their heresy in those places, the same remaining there to this day[5] The principal sects of the Khârejites, besides the Mohakkemites above mentioned, are six; which, though they greatly differ among themselves in other matters, yet agree in these, viz, that they absolutely reject Othmân and Ali, preferring the doing of this to the greatest obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms; that they account those who are guilty of grievous sins to be infidels, and that they hold it necessary to resist the Imâm when he transgresses the law One sect of them deserves more particular notice, viz.—

The Waidians, so called from al Waid, which signifies the threats denounced by GOD against the wicked These are the antagonists of the Morgians, and assert that he who is guilty of a grievous sin ought to be declared an infidel or apostate, and will be eternally punished in hell, though he were a true believer[6] which opinion of theirs, as has been observed, occasioned the first rise of the Mótazalites. One Jaafar Ebn Mobashshar, of the sect of the Nodhâmians, was yet more severe than the Waidians, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apostate who steals but a grain of corn.[7]

[8] Idem, ibid p 269. [1] See Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol 1 p. 60, &c. [2] Al Shahrest ubi sup. p. 270 [3] Idem, ibid [4] Abulfeda, al Jannâbi, Elmacinus, p 40 [5] Al Shahrestani. See Ockley's Hist of the Saracens, ubi sup p 63 [6] Abulfar p 169 Al Shahrest apud Poc. Spec p 256 [7] Vide Poc. ibid. p. 257

IV. The Shiites are the opponents of the Khârejites: their name properly signifies sectaries or adherents in general, but is peculiarly used to denote those of Ali Ebn Tâleb; who maintain him to be lawful Khalif and Imâm, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. They also teach that the office of Imâm is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, so that they may set up whom they please; but a fundamental affair of religion, and an article which the prophet could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people:[1] nay, some, thence called Imâmians, go so far as to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowledge of the true Imâm.[2] The principal sects of the Shiites are five, which are subdivided into an almost innumerable number; so that some understand Mohammed's prophecy of the seventy odd sects, of the Shiites only. Their general opinions are—1. That the peculiar designation of the Imâm, and the testimonies of the Korân and Mohammed concerning him, are necessary points 2. That the Imâms ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins as well as more grievous 3 That every one ought publicly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, and engagement; and that herein there should be no dissimulation But in this last point some of the Zeidians, a sect so named from Zeid, the son of Ali surnamed Zein al âbedîn, and great-grandson of Ali, dissented from the rest of the Shiites.[4] As to other articles, wherein they agreed not, some of them came pretty near to the notions of the Mótazalites, others to those of the Moshabbehites, and others to those of the Sonnites.[5] Among the latter of these Mohammed al Bâker, another son of Zein al âbedîn's, seems to claim a place for his opinion as to the will of GOD was, that GOD willeth something in us, and something from us, and that what he willeth from us he hath revealed to us; for which reason he thought it preposterous that we should employ our thoughts about those things which GOD willeth in us, and neglect those which he willeth from us. and as to GOD'S decree, he held that the way lay in the middle, and that there was neither compulsion nor free liberty.[1] A tenet of the Khattâbians, or disciples of one Abu'l Khattab, is too peculiar to be omitted These maintained paradise to be no other than the pleasures of this world, and hell fire to be the pains thereof, and that the world will never decay which proposition being first laid down, it is no wonder they went farther, and declared it lawful to indulge themselves in drinking wine and whoring, and to do other things forbidden by the law, and also to omit doing the things commanded by the law.[2]

Many of the Shiites carried their veneration for Ali and his descendants so far, that they transgressed all bounds of reason and decency; though some of them were less extravagant than others. The Gholâites, who had their name from their excessive zeal for their Imâms, were so highly transported therewith, that they raised them above the degree of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them; trans-

[1] Al Shahrest. ibid p 261. Abulfar p 169. [2] Al Shahrest ibid. p 262. [4] Idem, ibid Vide D'Herbel Bibl. Orient. Art Schiah. [5] Vide Poc. ibid. [1] Al Shahrest. ibid p. 263 [2] Idem et Ebn al Kossâ, ibid p 260, &c.

gressing on either hand, by deifying of mortal men, and by making GOD corporeal: for one while they liken one of their Imâms to GOD, and another while they liken GOD to a creature.[3] The sects of these are various, and have various appellations in different countries. Abd'allah Ebn Saba (who had been a Jew, and had asserted the same thing of Joshua the son of Nun) was the ringleader of one of them. This man gave the following salutation to Ali, viz., "Thou art Thou," *i.e.*, Thou art GOD: and hereupon the Gholâites became divided into several species; some maintaining the same thing, or something like it, of Ali, and others of some of one of his descendants; affirming that he was not dead, but would return again in the clouds, and fill the earth with justice.[4] But howmuchsoever they disagreed in other things, they unanimously held a metempsychosis, and what they call al Holûl, or the descent of GOD on his creatures; meaning thereby that GOD is present in every place, and speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual person;[5] and hence some of them asserted their Imâms to be prophets, and at length gods.[6] The Nosairians and the Ishâkians taught that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies; and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner. They also assert that GOD hath appeared in the form of certain men; and since, after Mohammed, there hath been no man more excellent than Ali, and, after him, his sons have excelled all other men, that GOD hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue, and made use of their hands; for which reason, say they, we attribute divinity to them.[7] And to support these blasphemies, they tell several miraculous things of Ali, as his moving the gates of Khaibar,[1] which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form GOD appeared, with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands; and therefore they say he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth.[2] In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in scripture of CHRIST by applying them to Ali. These extravagant fancies of the Shiites, however, in making their Imâms partakers of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those Imâms in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect, that most of the other Mohammedan sects are tainted with the same madness; there being many found among them, and among the Sûfis especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people.[4] It may not be amiss to hear what al Ghazâli has written on this occasion. "Matters are come to that pass," says he, "that some boast of an union with GOD, and of discoursing familiarly with him, without the interposition of a veil, saying, 'It hath been thus said to us,' and 'We have thus spoken;' affecting to imitate Hosein al Hallâj, who was put to death for some words of this kind uttered by him, he having said (as was proved by credible witnesses), 'I am the Truth,'[5] or Abu Yazîd al Bastâmi, of whom it is related that he often used the expression,

[3] Idem, ibid. [4] Idem, ibid p 264 Vide Marracc. Prodr part iii p. 80, &c. [5] Idem, ibid. p. 265. [6] Vide D Herbel Bibl Or. Art. Hakem Beamrillah. [7] Idem, ibid Abulfar, p. 169 [1] See Prid. Life of Mah p 93. [2] Al Shah. ubi sup. p. 266. [4] Poc. Spec. p. 267 [5] Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art Hallage.

'Sobhâni,' *i.e.*, 'Praise be unto me!'[6] But this way of talking is the cause of great mischief among the common people; insomuch that husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges; nature being tickled with discourses of this kind, which furnish men with an excuse for leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their souls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there anything to hinder the most stupid fellows from forming the like pretensions and catching at such vain expressions: for whenever what they say is denied to be true, they fail not to reply that our unbelief proceeds from learning and logic; affirming learning to be a veil, and logic the work of the mind; whereas what they tell us appears only within, being discovered by the light of truth. But this is that truth the sparks whereof have flown into several countries and occasioned great mischiefs, so that it is more for the advantage of GOD'S true religion to put to death one of those who utter such things than to bestow life on ten others."[1]

Thus far have we treated of the chief sects among the Mohammedans of the first ages, omitting to say anything of the more modern sects, because the same are taken little or no notice of by their own writers, and would be of no use to our present design.[2] It may be proper, however, to mention a word or two of the great schism at this day subsisting between the Sonnites and the Shiites, or partisans of Ali, and maintained on either side with implacable hatred and furious zeal. Though the difference arose at first on a political occasion, it has, notwithstanding, been so well improved by additional circumstances and the spirit of contradiction, that each party detest and anathematize the other as abominable heretics, and farther from the truth than either the Christians or the Jews.[3] The chief points wherein they differ are—1. That the Shiites reject Abu Becr, Omar, and Othmân, the three first Khalifs, as usurpers and intruders, whereas the Sonnites acknowledge and respect them as rightful Imams. 2. The Shiites prefer Ali to Mohammed, or, at least, esteem them both equal, but the Sonnites admit neither Ali nor any of the prophets to be equal to Mohammed. 3. The Sonnites charge the Shiites with corrupting the Korân and neglecting its precepts, and the Shiites retort the same charge on the Sonnites. 4. The Sonnites receive the Sonna, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority, whereas the Shiites reject it as apocryphal and unworthy of credit. And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has long reigned between the Turks, who are Sonnites, and the Persians, who are of the sect of Ali. It seems strange that Spinosa, had he known of no other schism among the Mohammedans, should yet never have heard of one so publicly notorious as this between the Turks and Persians, but it is plain he did not, or he would never have assigned it as the reason of his preferring the order of the Mohammedan church to that of the Roman, that there have arisen no schisms in the former since its birth.[4]

[6] Vide Ibid. Art. Bastham. [1] Al Ghazâli, apud Poc. ubi sup. [2] The reader may meet with some account of them in Ricaut's State of the Ottom. Empire, l. 2, c. 12. [3] Vide ibid. c. 10, and Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. ii. p. 169, 170, &c.

[4] The words of the Spinosa are: "Ordinem Romanæ ecclesiæ—politicum et plurimis lucrosum esse fateor, nec ad decipiendam plebem, et hominum animos coercendum commo-

As success in any project seldom fails to draw in imitators, Mohammed's having raised himself to such a degree of power and reputation by acting the prophet, induced others to imagine they might arrive at the same height by the same means. His most considerable competitors in the prophetic office were Moseilama and al Aswad, whom the Mohammedans usually call the two liars.

The former was of the tribe of Honeifa, who inhabited the province of Yamâma, and a principal man among them. He headed an embassy sent by his tribe to Mohammed in the ninth year of the Hejra, and professed himself a Moslem;[1] but on his return home, considering that he might possibly share with Mohammed in his power, the next year he set up for a prophet also, pretending to be joined with him in the commission to recall mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true GOD;[2] and he published written revelations, in imitation of the Korân, of which Abulfaragius[3] has preserved the following passage, viz. "Now hath GOD been gracious unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the soul, which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels." Moseilama, having formed a considerable party among those of Honeifa, began to think himself upon equal terms with Mohammed, and sent him a letter, offering to go halves with him,[4] in these words: "From Moseilama the apostle of GOD, to Mohammed the apostle of GOD. Now let the earth be half mine, and half thine." But Mohammed, thinking himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer: "From Mohammed the apostle of GOD, to Moseilama the liar. The earth is GOD'S: he giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him."[5] During the few months which Mohammed lived after this revolt, Moseilama rather gained than lost ground, and grew very formidable; but Abu Becr, his successor, in the eleventh year of the Hejra, sent a great army against him, under the command of that consummate general, Khâled Ebn al Walîd, who engaged Moseilama in a bloody battle wherein the false prophet, happening to be slain by Wahsha, the negro slave who had killed Hamza at Ohod, and by the same lance,[6] the Moslems gained an entire victory, ten thousand of the apostates being left dead on the spot, and the rest returning to Mohammedism.[7]

Al Aswad, whose name was Aihala, was of the tribe of Ans, and governed that and the other tribes of Arabs descended from Madhhaj. This man was likewise an apostate from Mohammedism, and set up for himself the very year that Mohammed died.[8] He was surnamed Dhu'lhemâr, or the master of the ass, because he used frequently to say, "The master of the ass is coming unto me,"[9] and pretended to receive his revelations from two angels, named Sohaik and Shoraik.[4] Having a good hand at legerdemain, and a smooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the strange feats which he showed them,

diorum isto crederem, ni ordo Mahumedanæ ecclesiæ esset, qui longe eundem antecellit. Nam à quo tempore hæc superstitio incepit, nulla in eorum ecclesia schismata orta sunt." Opera Posth. p. 613. [1] Abulfed. p. 160. [2] Idem, Elmac. p. 9. [3] Hist. Dynast. p. 164. [4] Abulfed. ubi sup. [5] Al Beidâwi, in Kor. c. 5. [6] Abulfed. ubi sup. [7] Idem, ibid. Abulfarag. p. 173. Elmac. p. 16, &c. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 15, &c. [8] Al Soheili, apud Gagnier in not. ad Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 158. [9] Elmac. p. 9. [3] Abulfed. ubi sup. [4] Al Soheili, ubi sup.

and the eloquence of his discourse :[5] by these means he greatly increased his power, and having made himself master of Najrân, and the territory of al Tâyef,[6] on the death of Badhân, the governor of Yaman for Mohammed, he seized that province also, killing Shahr, the son of Badhân, and taking to wife his widow, whose father, the uncle of Firûz the Deilamite, he had also slain.[7] These news being brought to Mohammed, he sent to his friends, and to those of Hamdân, a party of whom, conspiring with Kais Ebn Abd'al Yaghûth, who bore al Aswad a grudge, and with Firûz, and al Aswad's wife, broke by night into his house, where Firûz surprised him and cut off his head. While he was dispatching he roared like a bull; at which his guards came to the chamber door, but were sent away by his wife, who told them the prophet was only agitated by the divine inspiration. This was done the very night before Mohammed died. The next morning the conspirators caused the following proclamation to be made, viz. · "I bear witness that Mohammed is the apostle of GOD, and that Aihala is a liar;" and letters were immediately sent away to Mohammed, with an account of what had been done · but a messenger from heaven outstripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death, the letters themselves not arriving till Abu Becr was chosen Khalif. It is said that Mohammed, on this occasion, told those who attended him that before the day of judgment thirty more impostors, besides Moseilama and al Aswad, should appear, and every one of them set up for a prophet. The whole time, from the beginning of al Aswad's rebellion to his death, was about four months [8]

In the same eleventh year of the Hejra, but after the death of Mohammed, as seems most probable, Toleiha Ebn Khowailed set up for a prophet, and Sejâj Bint al Mondar[1] for a prophetess.

Toleiha was of the tribe of Asad, which adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of Ghatfân and Tay. Against them likewise was Khâled sent, who engaged and put them to flight, obliging Toleiha, with his shattered troops, to retire into Syria, where he stayed till the death of Abu Becr · then he went to Omar and embraced Mohammedism in his presence, and, having taken the oath of fidelity to him returned to his own country and people[2]

Sejâj, surnamed Omm Sâder, was of the tribe of Tamim, and the wife of Abu Cahdala, a soothsayer of Yamâma She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband for her, she went to Moseilama, and married him, but after she had stayed with him three days, she left him and returned home [3] What became of her afterwards I do not find. Ebn Shohnah has given us part of the conversation which passed at the interview between those two pretenders to inspiration; but the same is a little too immodest to be translated

In succeeding ages several impostors from time to time started up, most of whom quickly came to nothing but some made a considerable figure, and propagated sects which continued long after their decease.

[5] Abulfed ubi sup. [6] Idem, et Elmac. ubi sup Idem, al Jannâbî, ubi sup [8] Idem, ibid. [1] Ebn Shohnah and Elmacinus call her the daughter of al Hareth. [2] Elmac p. 16, al Beidâwi, in Kor. c 4. [3] Ebn Shohnah. Vide Elmac p. 16.

I shall give a brief account of the most remarkable of them, in order of time.

In the reign of al Mohdi, the third Khalîf of the race of al Abbâs, one Hakem Ebn Hâshem[4], originally of Merû, in Khorasân, who had been an under-secretary to Abu Moslem, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into Mawarâlnahr, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the Arab writers al Mokanna, and sometimes al Borkaí, that is, "the veiled," because he used to cover his face with a veil, or a gilded mask, to conceal his deformity, having lost an eye in the wars, and being otherwise of a despicable appearance, though his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as Moses did, viz., lest the splendour of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proselytes at Nakhshab and Kash, deluding the people with several juggling performances, which they swallowed for miracles, and particularly by causing the appearance of a moon to rise out of a well, for many nights together, whence he was also called, in the Persian tongue, Sâzendeh mah, or the moonmaker. This impious impostor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated divine honours to himself, pretending that the deity resided in his person, and the doctrine whereon he built this was the same with that of the Gholâites above mentioned, who affirmed a transmigration or successive manifestation of the divinity through and in certain prophets and holy men, from Adam to these latter days (of which opinion was also Abu Moslem himself);[1] but the particular doctrine of al Mokanna was, that the person in whom the deity had last resided was the aforesaid Abu Moslem, and that the same had, since his death, passed into himself. The faction of al Mokanna, who had made himself master of several fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities above mentioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the Khalif was at length obliged to send an army to reduce him; at the approach whereof al Mokanna retired into one of his strongest fortresses, which he had well provided for a siege, and sent his emissaries abroad to persuade people that he raised the dead to life, and knew future events. But, being straitly besieged by the Khalif's forces, when he found there was no possibility for him to escape, he gave poison, in wine, to his whole family, and all that were with him in the castle, and when they were dead he burnt their bodies, together with their clothes, and all the provisions and cattle; and then, to prevent his own body's being found, he threw himself into the flames, or, as others say, into a tub of *aqua fortis*, or some other preparation, which consumed every part of him, except only his hair: so that when the besiegers entered the place, they found no creature in it, save one of al Mokanna's concubines, who, suspecting his design, had hid herself, and discovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impostor designed among the remaining part of his followers; for he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into the form of a grey-headed man riding on a greyish beast, and that after so many years he would return

[4] Or Ebn Atâ, according to Ebn Shohnah. [1] This explains a doubt of Mr Bayle concerning a passage of Elmacinus, as translated by Erpenius, and corrected by Bespier. Vide Bayle, Dic. Hist. Art. Abumuslimus, vers la fin, et Rem. B.

to them, and give them the earth for their possession: the expectation of which promise kept the sect in being for several ages after[1] under the name of Mobeyyidites, or, as the Persians call them, Sefid jâmehghiân, *i.e.*, the clothed in white, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the Khalîfs of the family of Abbâs, whose banners and habits were black. The historians place the death of al Mokanna in the 162nd or 163rd year of the Hejra.[2]

In the year of the Hejra 201, Bâbec, surnamed al Khorremi, and Khorremdîn, either because he was of a certain district near Ardebîl in Adherbijân, called Khorrem, or because he instituted a merry religion, which is the signification of the word in Persian, began to take on him the title of a prophet I do not find what doctrine he taught; but it is said he professed none of the religions then known in Asia. He gained a great number of devotees in Adherbijân and the Persian Irâk, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the Khalîf al Mámûn, whose troops he often beat, killing several of his generals, and one of them with his own hand; and by these victories he became so formidable that al Mótasem, the successor of al Mámûn, was obliged to employ the forces of the whole empire against him. The general sent to reduce Bâbec was Afshid, who having overthrown him in battle, took his castles one after another with invincible patience, notwithstanding the rebels gave him great annoyance, and at last shut up the impostor in his principal fortress, which being taken, Bâbec found means to escape thence in disguise, with some of his family and principal followers, but taking refuge in the territories of the Greeks, was betrayed in the following manner. Sahel, an Armenian officer, happening to know Bâbec, enticed him, by offers of service and respect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he sat down to eat, Sahel clapped himself down by him, at which Bâbec being surprised, asked him how he dared to take that liberty unasked? "It is true, great king," replied Sahel, "I have committed a fault, for who am I, that I should sit at your majesty's table?" And immediately sending for a smith, he made use of this bitter sarcasm, "Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them" After this Sahel sent him to Afshîd, though he had offered a large sum for his liberty, having first served him in his own kind, by causing his mother, sister, and wife to be ravished before his face, for so Bâbec used to treat his prisoners Afshîd, having the arch-rebel in his power, conducted him to al Mótasem, by whose order he was put to an ignominious and cruel death This man had maintained his ground against the power of the Khalîfs for twenty years, and had cruelly put to death above two hundred and fifty thousand people, it being his custom never to spare man, woman, or child, either of the Mohammedans or their allies[3] The sectaries of Bâbec which remained after his death seem to have been entirely dispersed, there being little or no mention made of them by historians

[1] They were a sect in the days of Abulfaragius, who lived about five hundred years after this extraordinary event and may, for aught I know, be so still [2] Ex Abulfarag, Hist Dyn p 226 Lobb al Tawarikh Ebn Shohnah al Tabari and Khondamir Vide D'Herbel Bibl Orient Art Hakem Ben Hashem [3] Ex Abulfarag p 252, &c Elmacin p 141, &c and Khondamir Vide D'Herbel Art Bâbec

About the year 235, one Mahmûd Ebn Faraj pretended to be Moses resuscitated, and played his part so well that several people believed on him, and attended him when he was brought before the Khalif al Motawakkel. That prince, having been an ear-witness of his extravagant discourses, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death; which was accordingly executed; and his disciples were imprisoned till they came to their right minds[*]

The Karmatians, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the Mohammedans, began first to raise disturbances in the year of the Hejra 278, and the latter end of the reign of al Motamed. Their origin is not well known; but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call Karmata, came from Khûzistân to the villages near Cûfa, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that GOD had enjoined him to pray fifty times a day, pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain Imâm of the family of Mohammed: and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest, and to propagate his doctrines. But the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and having put him into prison, swore that he should die; which being overheard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown; and the accident being publicly known, raised great admiration, his adherents giving it out that GOD had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him that it was not in the power of any to do him hurt, notwithstanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into Syria, and was not heard of any more. His sect, however, continued and increased, pretending that their master had manifested himself to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer used by the Moslems, and introduced a new kind of fast, and that he had also allowed them to drink wine, and dispensed with several things commanded in the Korân. They also turned the precepts of that book into allegory, teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their Imâm, and fasting that of silence, or concealing their dogmas from strangers. they also believed fornication to be the sin of infidelity, and the guilt thereof to be incurred by those who revealed the mysteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are said to have produced a book, wherein was written (among other things), "In the name of the most merciful GOD. Al Faraj Ebn Othmân of the town of Nasrâna, saith that Christ appeared unto him in a human form and said, 'Thou art the invitation: thou art the demonstration thou art the camel thou art the beast thou art John the son of Zacharias. thou art the Holy Ghost'"[†] From the year above mentioned the

[*] Ebn Shohnah Vide D'Herbel p 537 [†] Apud Abulfed. p. 2[illegible]

Karmatians, under several leaders, gave almost continual disturbance to the Khalîfs and their Mohammedan subjects for several years; committing great disorders and outrages in Chaldea, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and at length establishing a considerable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of Abu Dhâher, famous for his taking of Mecca, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined soon after his time and came to nothing.[2]

To the Karmatians the Ismaelians of Asia were very near of kin, if they were not a branch of them For these, who were also called al Molâhedah, or the Impious, and by the writers of the history of the holy wars, Assassins, agreed with the former in many respects; such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the Mohammedan, their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for assassinations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprise, their pretended attachment to a certain Imâm of the house of Ali, &c. These Ismaelians in the year 483 possessed themselves of al Jebâl, in the Persian Irâk, under the conduct of Hasan Sabah; and that prince and his descendants enjoyed the same for a hundred and seventy-one years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by Holagu the Tartar.[1]

The Bâtenites, which name is also given to the Ismaelians by some authors, and likewise to the Karmatians,[2] were a sect which professed the same abominable principles, and were dispersed over several parts of the east.[3] The word signifies Esoterics, or people of inward or hidden light or knowledge.

Abu'l Teyyeb Ahmed, surnamed al Motanabbi, of the tribe of Jófa, is too famous on another account not to claim a place here. He was one of the most excellent poets among the Arabians, there being none besides Abu Temâm who can dispute the prize with him His poetical inspiration was so warm and exalted that he either mistook it or thought he could persuade others to believe it to be prophetical, and therefore gave himself out to be a prophet indeed, and thence acquired his surname, by which he is generally known. His accomplishments were too great not to have some success, for several tribes of the Arabs of the deserts, particularly that of Kelâb, acknowledged him to be what he pretended But Lûlû, governor in those parts for Akhshîd king of Egypt and Syria, soon put a stop to the further progress of this new sect by imprisoning their prophet and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity; which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himself solely to his poetry, by means whereof he got very considerable riches, being in high esteem at the courts of several princes Al Motanabbi lost his life, together with his son, on the bank of the Tigris, in defending the money which had been given him by Adado'ddawla, soltân of Persia, against some Arabian robbers who demanded it of him, with which money he was returning to Cûfa, his native city. This accident happened in the year 354[4]

[2] Ex Abulfar ibid Elmacino, p 174, &c Ebn Shohnah, Khondamir Vide D'Herbel. Art. Carmath [1] Vide Abulfar p 505, &c. D Herbel. p. 104, 437, 505, 620, and 784 [2] Vide Elmacin p 174 and 286 D'Herb p 194 [3] Vide Abulfar p 361, 374, 380, 483 [4] Praef in opera Motanabbis MS Vide D'Herbel p 648 &c.

The last pretender to prophecy I shall now take notice of is one who appeared in the city of Amasia, in Natolia, in the year 638, and by his wonderful feats seduced a great multitude of people there. He was by nation a Turkmân, and called himself Bâba, and had a disciple named Isaac, whom he sent about to invite those of his own nation to join him. Isaac accordingly, coming to the territory of Someisat, published his commission, and prevailed on many to embrace his master's sect, especially among the Turkmâns; so that at last he had six thousand horse at his heels, besides foot. With these Baba and his disciple made open war on all who would not cry out with them, "There is no GOD but GOD, Bâba is the apostle of GOD." and they put great numbers of Mohammedans, as well as Christians, to the sword in those parts; till at length both Mohammedans and Christians, joining together, gave them battle, and having entirely routed them, put them all to the sword, except their two chiefs, who being taken alive, had their heads struck off by the executioner.[1]

I could mention several other impostors of the same kind, which have arisen among the Mohammedans since their prophet's time, and very near enough to complete the number foretold by him: but I apprehend the reader is by this time tired as well as myself, and shall therefore here conclude this discourse, which may be thought already too long for an introduction.

[1] Abulfar, p 479 Ebn Shohnah, D'Herb. Art Bâba.

AL KORAN.

CHAPTER I.

ENTITLED, THE PREFACE, OR INTRODUCTION;[a] REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRAISE be to GOD, the LORD of all creatures;[b] the most merciful, the king of the day of judgment Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray [c]

[a] In Arabic *al Fâtihat* This chapter is a prayer, and held in great veneration by the Mohammedans, who give it several other honourable titles, as the chapter of *prayer*, of *praise*, of *thanksgiving*, of *treasure*, &c. They esteem it as the quintessence of the whole Korân, and often repeat it in their devotions both public and private, as the Christians do the Lord's Prayer [1]

[b] The original words are, *Rabbi 'lâlamina*, which literally signify *Lord of the worlds*; but *âlamina* in this and other places of the Korân properly mean the three species of rational creatures, men, genii, and angels Father Marracci has endeavoured to prove from this passage that Mohammed believed a plurality of worlds, which he calls the error of the Manichees, &c. [2] but this imputation the learned Reland has shown to be entirely groundless [3]

[c] This last sentence contains a petition, that GOD would lead the supplicants into the true religion, by which is meant the Mohammedan, in the Korân often called *the right way*; in this place more particularly defined to be *the way of those to whom* GOD *hath been gracious*, that is, of the prophets and faithful who preceded Mohammed under which appellations are also comprehended the Jews and Christians, such as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their respective institutions; *not the way of the modern* Jews whose signal calamities are marks of the just *anger* of GOD against them for their obstinacy and disobedience, *nor of the* Christians *of this age*, who have departed from the true doctrine of Jesus, and are bewildered in a labyrinth of *error* [4]

This is the common exposition of the passage though al Zamakhshari, and some others, by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers, and then the sense will run thus *The way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, against whom thou art not incensed, and who have not erred* Which translation the original will very well bear

[1] Vide Bobovium de Precib Mohammed p 4, et seq. [2] In Prodromo ad Refut. Alcorani part iv p. 76, et in notis ad Alc. c. 1 [3] De Religion. Mohammed p. [illegible] [4] Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi, &c.

CHAPTER II.

ENTITLED, THE COW;[d] REVEALED PARTLY AT MECCA, AND PARTLY AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

A. L. M.[e] There is no doubt in this book; *it is* a direction to the pious, who believe in the mysteries[f] *of faith*, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and distribute *alms* out of what we have bestowed on them; and who believe in that *revelation*, which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down *unto the prophets* before thee,[g] and have firm assurance in the life to come.[h] these are directed by their LORD, and they shall prosper. As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admonish them, or do not admonish them; they will not believe. GOD hath sealed up their hearts and their hearing; a dimness covereth their sight, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. There are some who say, We believe in GOD and the last day, but are not *really* believers; they seek to deceive GOD, and those who do believe, but they deceive themselves only, and are not sensible thereof. There is an infirmity in their hearts, and GOD hath increased that infirmity,[i] and they shall suffer a most painful punishment because they have disbelieved When one saith unto them, Act not corruptly[k] in the earth, they reply, Verily, we are men of integrity[l] Are not they themselves corrupt doers? but they are not sensible thereof. And when one saith unto them, Believe ye as others[m] believe, they answer, Shall we believe as fools believe? Are not they themselves fools? but they know it not When they meet those who believe, they say, We do believe: but when they retire privately to their devils,[n] they say, We

[d] This title was occasioned by the story of the *red heifer*, mentioned p 9.

[e] As to the meaning of these letters, see the Preliminary Discourse, Sect III

[f] The Arabic word is *gheib*, which properly signifies a thing that is *absent, at a great distance*, or *invisible*, such as the resurrection paradise, and hell And this is agreeable to the language of scripture, which defines faith to be *the evidence of things not seen* [1]

[g] The Mohammedans believe that GOD gave written revelations not only to Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, but to several other prophets,[2] though they acknowledge none of those which preceded the Korân to be now extant, except the Pentateuch of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Gospel of Jesus, which yet they say were even before Mohammed's time altered and corrupted by the Jews and Christians, and therefore will not allow our present copies to be genuine

[h] The original word *al âkherhat* properly signifies *the latter part* of anything, and by way of excellence *the next life, the latter* or *future state* after death, and is opposed to *al-donya this world*, and *al-oula*, the *former* or *present life* The Hebrew word *ahharith*, from the same root, is used by Moses in this sense, and is translated *latter end* [3]

[i] Mohammed here, and elsewhere frequently, imitates the truly inspired writers, in making GOD by operation on the minds of reprobates to prevent their conversion. This fatality or predestination, as believed by the Mohammedans, hath been sufficiently treated of in the Preliminary Discourse

[k] Literally *corrupt not in the earth*, by which some expositors understand the sowing of false doctrine, and corrupting people's principles.

[l] According to the explication in the preceding note, this word must be translated *reformers*, who promote true piety by their doctrine and example

[m] The first companions and followers of Mohammed [4]

[n] The prophet, making use of the liberty zealots of all religions have, by prescription, of

[1] Heb xi. 1. See also Rom xxiv 25; 2 Cor. iv 18 and v 7 [2] Vide Reland. de Relig. Moham p 34 and Dissert. de Samaritanis p 34, &c. [3] Numb xxiv 20; Deut. viii. 16 [4] Jallalo'ddin.

really *hold* with you, and only mock *at those people:* GOD shall mock at them, and continue them in their impiety; they shall wander in confusion. These are *the men* who have purchased error at the price of *true* direction: but their traffic hath not been gainful, neither have they been *rightly* directed. They are like unto one who kindleth a fire,[o] and when it hath enlightened all around him,[p] GOD taketh away their light[q] and leaveth them in darkness, they shall not see, *they are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore will they not repent. Or like a stormy cloud from heaven, fraught with darkness, thunder, and lightning,[r] they put their fingers in their ears, because of the noise of the thunder, for fear of death; GOD encompasseth the infidels the lightning wanteth but little of taking away their sight, so often as it enlighteneth them, they walk therein, but when darkness cometh on them, they stand still; and if GOD so pleased, He would certainly deprive them of their hearing and their sight, for GOD is almighty. O men *of Mecca!* serve your LORD who hath created you, and those who have been before you: peradventure ye will fear *him;* who hath spread the earth as a bed for you, and the heaven as a covering, and hath caused water to descend from heaven, and thereby produced fruits for your sustenance. Set not up therefore any equals unto GOD, against your own knowledge. If ye be in doubt concerning that *revelation* which we have sent down unto our servant, produce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witnesses, besides GOD,[s] if ye say truth. But if ye do *it* not, nor shall *ever be able to* do *it*, justly fear the fire whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for the unbelievers. But bear good tidings unto those who believe, and do good works, that they shall have gardens watered by rivers; so often as they eat of the fruit thereof for sustenance, they *shall* say, This is what we have formerly eaten of; and they shall be supplied with *several sorts of fruit* having a mutual resemblance to one another.[t] There shall they enjoy wives subject to no impurity, and there shall they continue for ever. Moreover GOD will not be ashamed to propound in a

giving ill language, bestows this name on the Jewish rabbins and Christian priests, though he seems chiefly to mean the former, against whom he had by much the greater spleen

[o] In this passage, Mohammed compares those who believed not on him, to a man who wants to kindle a fire, but as soon as it burns up, and the flames give a light, shuts his eyes, lest he should see As if he had said You, O Arabians, have long desired a prophet of your own nation, and now I am sent unto you, and have plainly proved my mission by the excellence of my doctrine and revelation, you resist conviction, and refuse to believe in me, therefore shall GOD leave you in your ignorance

[p] The sense seems to be here imperfect, and may be completed by adding the words, He *turns from it, shuts his eyes*, or the like

[q] That is of the unbelievers, to whom the word *their* being in the plural seems to refer, though it is not unusual for Mohammed, in affectation of the prophetic style, suddenly to change the number against all rules of grammar

[r] Here he compares the unbelieving Arabs to people caught in a violent storm To perceive the beauty of this comparison, it must be observed, that the Mohammedan doctors say, this tempest is a type or image of the Korân itself the thunder signifying the threats therein contained; the lightning, the promises, and the darkness, the mysteries. The terror of the threats makes them stop their ears, unwilling to hear truths so disagreeable; when the promises are read to them, they attend with pleasure; but when anything mysterious or difficult of belief occurs, they stand stock still, and will not submit to be directed.

[s] *i e*, Your false gods and idols.

[t] Some commentators[1] approve of this sense, supposing the fruits of paradise, though of various tastes, are alike in colour and outward appearance: but others[2] think the meaning to be, that the inhabitants of that place will find there fruits of the same or the like kinds as they used to eat while on earth.

[1] Jallalo ddin. [2] Al Zamakhshari.

parable a gnat, or even a more despicable thing:[u] for they who believe will know it to be the truth from their LORD, but the unbelievers will say, What meaneth GOD by this parable? he will thereby mislead many, and will direct many thereby: but he will not mislead *any* thereby, except the transgressors, who make void the covenant of GOD after the establishing thereof, and cut in sunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth; they shall perish. How *is it that* ye believe not in GOD? Since ye were dead and he gave you life,[x] he will hereafter cause you to die, and will again restore you to life; then shall ye return unto him. It is he who hath created for you whatsoever is on earth, and then set his mind to *the creation of* heaven, and formed it into seven heavens; he knoweth all things. When thy LORD said unto the angels, I am going to place a substitute on earth,[y] they said, Wilt thou place there one who will do evil therein, and shed blood? but we celebrate thy praise, and sanctify thee GOD answered, Verily I know that which ye know not, and he taught Adam the names of all things, and then proposed them to the angels, and said, Declare unto me the names of these things if ye say truth. They answered, Praise be unto thee, we have no knowledge but what thou teachest us, for thou art knowing and wise GOD said, O Adam, tell them their names And when he had told them their names, GOD said, Did I not tell you that I know the secrets of heaven and earth, and know that which ye discover and that which ye conceal?[z] And when we said unto the angels, Worship[a] Adam, they

[u] This was revealed to take off an objection made to the Koran by the infidels, for condescending to speak of such insignificant insects as the spider, the pismire, the bee, &c.[3]

[x] *i e*, Ye were dead while in the loins of your fathers, till he gave you life in your mothers wombs, and after death ye shall be again raised at the resurrection[4]

[y] Concerning the creation of Adam, here intimated, the Mohammedans have several peculiar traditions. They say the angels, Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil, were sent by GOD, one after another, to fetch for that purpose seven handfuls of earth from different depths, and of different colours (whence some account for the various complexion of mankind[5]), but the earth being apprehensive of the consequence, and desiring them to represent her fear to GOD that the creature he designed to form would rebel against him, and draw down his curse upon her, they returned without performing GOD's command, whereupon he sent Azrail on the same errand, who executed his commission without remorse, for which reason GOD appointed that angel to separate the souls from the bodies, being therefore called *the angel of death* The earth he had taken was carried into Arabia, to a place between Mecca and Tayef, where, being first kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards fashioned by GOD himself into a human form, and left to dry[6] for the space of forty days, or, as others say as many years, the angels in the meantime often visiting it, and Eblis (then one of the angels who are nearest to GOD's presence, afterwards the devil) among the rest, but he, not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung and knowing GOD designed that creature to be his superior, took a secret resolution never to acknowledge him as such. After this, GOD animated the figure of clay and endued it with an intelligent soul, and when he had placed him in paradise, formed Eve out of his left side[7]

[z] This story Mohammed borrowed from the Jewish traditions, which say that the angels having spoken of man with some contempt when GOD consulted them about his creation, GOD made answer that the man was wiser than they, and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and asked them their names, which they not being able to tell, he put the same question to the man, who named them one after another, and being asked his own name and GOD's name, he answered very justly, and gave GOD the name of JEHOVAH.[1] The angels adoring of Adam is also mentioned in the Talmud[2]

[a] The original word signifies properly to *prostrate one's self* till the forehead touches the ground, which is the humblest posture of adoration, and strictly due to GOD only; but it is sometimes, as in this place, used to express that civil worship or homage, which may be paid to creatures.[3]

[3] Yahya. [4] Jallalo'ddin. [5] Al Termedi, from a tradition of Abu Musa al Ashari [6] Kor c 55. [7] Khondamir Jallalo'ddin Comment in Korân, &c Vide D'Herbelo, Biblioth Orient p 55. [1] Vide Rivin. Serpent seduct. p. 56. [2] R. Moses Haddarshan in Bereshit rabbah. [3] Jallalo'ddin

all worshipped *him*, except Eblis, *who* refused, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the *number of* unbelievers.[b] And we said, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden,[c] and eat *of the fruit* thereof plentifully wherever ye will; but approach not this tree,[d] lest ye become of *the number of* the transgressors. But Satan caused them to forfeit *paradise*,[e] and turned them out of *the state of happiness* wherein they had been; whereupon we said, Get ye down,[f] the one of you an enemy unto the other, and there shall be a dwelling-place for you on earth, and a provision for a season. And Adam learned words *of prayer* from his LORD, and GOD turned unto him, for he is easy to be reconciled and merciful. We said, Get ye all down from hence; hereafter shall there come unto you a direction from me,[g] and whoever shall follow my direction, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved; but they who shall be unbelievers, and accuse our signs[h] of falsehood, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, therein shall they remain for ever. O children of Israel,[i] remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you; and perform *your* covenant with me,

[b] This occasion of the devil's fall has some affinity with an opinion which has been pretty much entertained among Christians,[4] viz., that the angels being informed of GOD's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify human nature by CHRIST's assuming it, some of them, thinking their glory to be eclipsed thereby, envied man's happiness, and so revolted.

[c] Mohammed, as appears by what presently follows, does not place this garden or paradise on earth, but in the seventh heaven.[5]

[d] Concerning this tree or the forbidden fruit, the Mohammedans, as well as the Christians, have various opinions. Some say it was an ear of wheat; some will have it to have been a fig-tree, and others a vine.[6] The story of the Fall is told, with some further circumstances, in the beginning of the seventh chapter.

[e] They have a tradition that the devil offering to get into paradise to tempt Adam, was not admitted by the guard, whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might speak to Adam and his wife, but they all refused him except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him. They add that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears.[7]

[f] The Mohammedans say that when they were cast down from paradise, Adam fell on the isle of Ceylon or Serendib, and Eve near Joddah (the port of Mecca) in Arabia, and that after a separation of 200 years, Adam was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named Arafat, and that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon, where they continued to propagate their species.[8]

It may not be improper here to mention another tradition concerning the gigantic stature of our first parents. Their prophet, they say, affirmed Adam to have been as tall as a high palm tree;[9] but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be such, on the top of a mountain in the isle of Ceylon, thence named Pico de Adam, and by the Arab writers Rahûn, being somewhat above two spans long[10] (though others say it is 70 cubits long, and that when Adam set one foot here, he had the other in the sea);[11] and too little, if Eve were of so enormous a size, as is said, when her head lay on one hill near Mecca, her knees rested on two others in the plain, about two musket-shots asunder.[12]

[g] GOD here promises Adam that his will should be revealed to him and his posterity, which promise the Mohammedans believe was fulfilled at several times by the ministry of several prophets, from Adam himself, who was the first, to Mohammed, who was the last. The number of books revealed unto Adam they say was ten.[1]

[h] This word has various significations in the Korân, sometimes, as in this passage, it signifies *divine revelation*, or *scripture* in general, sometimes the *verses* of the Korân in particular, and at other times *visible miracles*. But the sense is easily distinguished by the context.

[i] The Jews are here called upon to receive the Korân, as verifying and confirming the Pentateuch, particularly with respect to the unity of God and the mission of Mohammed.[2] And they are exhorted not to conceal the passages of their law which bear witness to those truths, nor to corrupt them by publishing false copies of the Pentateuch, for which the writers were but poorly paid.[3]

[4] Irenæus, Lact. Greg. Nyssen. &c. [5] Vide Marracc. in Alc. p. 24. [6] Vide ibid. p. 22. [7] Vide ibid. [8] D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. p. 55. [9] Yahya. [10] Moncony's Voyage, part 1. p. 372, &c. See Knox's Account of Ceylon. [11] Anciennes Relations des Indes, &c. p. 3. [12] Moncony's, ubi sup. [1] Vide Hottinger Hist. Orient. p. 11. Reland. de Relig. Mohammed, p. 21. [2] Yahya. [3] Jallalo'ddin.

and I will perform *my* covenant with you; and revere me: and believe in the *revelation* which I have sent down, confirming that which is with you, and be not the first who believe not therein, neither exchange my signs for a small price; and fear me. Clothe not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth against your own knowledge; observe the stated times of prayer, and pay your legal alms, and bow down yourselves with those who bow down. Will ye command men to do justice, and forget your own souls? yet ye read the book *of the law*: do ye not therefore understand? Ask help with perseverance and prayer; this indeed is grievous, unless to the humble, who *seriously* think they shall meet their LORD, and that to him they shall return. O children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you above all nations: dread the day *wherein one* soul shall not make satisfaction for *another* soul, neither shall any intercession be accepted from them, nor shall any compensation be received, neither shall they be helped. *Remember* when we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh, who grievously oppressed you, they slew your male children, and let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD. And when we divided the sea for you and delivered you, and drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on.[k] And when we treated with Moses forty nights; then ye took the calf[l] *for your God*, and did evil, yet afterwards we forgave you, that peradventure ye might give thanks. And when we gave Moses the book *of the law*, and the distinction *between good and evil*, that peradventure ye might be directed. And when Moses said unto his people, O my people, verily ye have injured your own souls, by your taking the calf *for your God*, therefore be turned unto your Creator, and slay those among you *who have been guilty of that crime*;[m] this will be better for you in the sight of your Creator: and *thereupon* he turned unto you, for he is easy to be reconciled, and merciful. And when ye said, O Moses, we will not believe thee, until we see GOD manifestly; therefore a punishment came upon you, while ye looked on; then we raised you to life after ye had been dead, that peradventure ye might give thanks.[n] And

[k] See the story of Moses and Pharaoh more particularly related, chapter vii. and xx. &c.

[l] The person who cast this calf, the Mohammedans say, was (not Aaron but) al Sâmeri, one of the principal men among the children of Israel, some of whose descendants it is pretended still inhabit an island of that name in the Arabian Gulf.[4] It was made of the rings[5] and bracelets of gold, silver, and other materials, which the Israelites had borrowed of the Egyptians; for Aaron, who commanded in his brother's absence, having ordered al Sâmeri to collect those ornaments from the people, who carried on a wicked commerce with them, and to keep them together till the return of Moses; al Sâmeri, understanding the founder's art, put them altogether into a furnace to melt them down into one mass, which came out in the form of a calf.[1] The Israelites, accustomed to the Egyptian idolatry, paying a religious worship to this image, al Sâmeri went farther, and took some dust from the footsteps of the horse of the angel Gabriel, who marched at the head of the people, and threw it into the mouth of the calf, which immediately began to low, and became animated,[2] for such was the virtue of that dust.[3] One writer says that all the Israelites adored this calf, except only 12,000.[4]

[m] In this particular, the narration agrees with that of Moses, who ordered the Levites to slay *every man his brother*;[5] but the scripture says, *there fell of the people that day about* 3,000 (the Vulgate says 23,000) *men*,[6] whereas the commentators of the Korân make the number of the slain to amount to 70,000, and add, that GOD sent a dark cloud which hindered them from seeing one another, lest the sight should move those who executed the sentence to compassion.[7]

[n] The persons here meant are said to have been seventy men, who were made choice of by

[4] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 45. [5] Kor. c. 7. [1] See Exod. xxxii. 24. [2] Kor. c. 7. [3] Jallalo'ddin. Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 650. [4] Abulfeda. [5] Exod. xxxii. 26, 27. [6] Ibid. 28. [7] allalo'ddin, &c.

we caused clouds to overshadow you, and manna and quails[o] to descend upon you, *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food: and they injured not us, but injured their own souls. And when we said, Enter into this city,[p] and eat *of the provisions* thereof plentifully as ye will; and enter the gate worshipping, and say, Forgiveness![q] we will pardon you your sins, and give increase unto the well-doers. But the ungodly changed the expression into another,[r] different from what had been spoken unto them; and we sent down upon the ungodly indignation from heaven,[s] because they had transgressed. And when Moses asked drink for his people, we said, Strike the rock[t] with thy rod; and there gushed thereout twelve fountains[u] *according to the number of the tribes*, and all men knew their *respective* drinking-place. Eat and drink of the bounty of GOD, and commit not evil in the earth, acting unjustly. And when ye said, O Moses, we will by no means be satisfied with one *kind of* food; pray unto thy LORD therefore for us, that he would produce for us of that which the earth bringeth forth, herbs, and cucumbers, and garlic, and lentils, and onions;[x] Moses answered,

Moses, and heard the voice of GOD talking with him But not being satisfied with that, they demanded to see GOD; whereupon they were all struck dead by lightning, and on Moses's intercession restored to life [8]

[o] The eastern writers say these quails were of a peculiar kind, to be found nowhere but in Yaman, from whence they were brought by a south wind in great numbers to the Israelites' camp in the desert [9] The Arabs call these birds *Salwâ* which is plainly the same with the Hebrew *Salwim*, and say they have no bones, but are eaten whole [10]

[p] Some commentators suppose it to be Jericho, others Jerusalem.

[q] The Arabic word is *Hittaton*, which some take to signify that profession of the unity of GOD so frequently used by the Mohammedans, *La ilâha illa 'llaho, There is no god but* GOD

[r] According to Jallalo'ddin, instead of *Hittaton*, they cried *Habbat fi shairat - i e, a grain in an ear of barley*; and in ridicule of the divine command to enter the city in an humble posture, they indecently cr[illegible] in upon their breech.

[s] A pestilence which carrie[illegible] near 70,000 of them [11]

[t] The commentators say this was a stone which Moses brought from Mount Sinai, and the same that fled away with his garments which he laid upon it one day while he washed, they add that Moses ran after the stone naked, till he found himself, ere he was aware, in the midst of the people, who, on this accident, were convinced of the falsehood of a report which had been raised of their prophet, that he was bursten, or, as others write, an hermaphrodite.[1]

They describe it to be a square piece of white marble, shaped like a man's head, wherein they differ not much from the accounts of European travellers, who say this rock stands among several lesser ones, about 100 paces from Mount Horeb, and appears to have been loosened from the neighbouring mountains, having no coherence with the others, that it is a huge mass of red granite, almost round on one side, and flat on the other, twelve feet high, and as many thick, but broader than it is high, and about fifty feet in circumference [2]

[u] Marracci thinks this circumstance looks like a Rabbinical fiction, or else that Mohammed confounds the water of the rock at Horeb with the twelve wells at Elim,[3] for he says several who have been on the spot affirm there are but three orifices whence the water issued [4] But it is to be presumed that Mohammed had better means of information in this respect than to fall into such a mistake; for the rock stands within the borders of Arabia, and some of his countrymen must needs have seen it, if he himself did not, as it is most probable he did And in effect he seems to be in the right For one who went into those parts in the end of the fifteenth century tells us expressly that the water issued from twelve places of the rock, according to the number of the tribes of Israel; *egressæ sunt aquæ largissimæ in duodecim locis petræ, juxta numerum duodecim tribuum Israel* [5] A late curious traveller[6] observes that there are twenty-four holes in the stone, which may be easily counted—that is to say, twelve on the flat side, and as many on the opposite round side, every one being a foot deep, and an inch wide, and he adds, that the holes on one side do not communicate with those on the other, which a less accurate spectator not perceiving (for they are placed horizontally, within two feet of the top of the rock), might conclude they pierced quite through the stone, and so reckon them to be but twelve.

[x] See Numb xi 5, &c.

[8] Ismael Ebn Ali. [9] See Psalm lxxviii. 26 [10] Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl Orient. p. 477. [11] Jallalo'ddin. [1] Jallalo'ddin, Yahya [2] Breydenbach, Itinerar Chartâ m p 1. Sicard, dans les Mémoires des Missions, vol vii. p. 14. [3] Exod. xv 27; Numb xxxiii. 9. [4] Marracc. Prodr. part iv. p. 80. [5] Breydenbach, ubi sup. [6] Sicard, ubi sup.

Will ye exchange that which is better, for that which is worse? Get ye down into Egypt, for *there* shall ye find what ye desire: and they were smitten with vileness and misery, and drew on themselves indignation from GOD. This *they suffered*, because they believed not in the signs of GOD, and killed the prophets unjustly; this, because they rebelled and transgressed. Surely those who believe, and those who Judaize, and Christians, and Sabians,[y] whoever believeth in GOD, and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their LORD, *there shall come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. *Call to mind* also when we accepted your covenant, and lifted up the mountain *of Sinai* over you,[z] *saying*, Receive *the law* which we have given you, with a resolution *to keep it*, and remember that which is contained therein, that ye may beware. After this ye again turned back, so that if it had not been for GOD'S indulgence and mercy towards you, ye had certainly been destroyed. Moreover ye know *what befell* those of your nation who transgressed on the sabbath day,[a] We said unto them, Be ye *changed into* apes, driven away *from the society of men*. And we made them an example unto those who were contemporary with them, and unto those who came after them, and a warning to the pious. And when Moses said unto his people, Verily GOD commandeth you to sacrifice a cow,[b] they answered, Dost thou make a jest

[y] From these words, which are repeated in the fifth chapter, several writers[7] have wrongly concluded that the Mohammedans hold it to be the doctrine of their prophet that every man may be saved in his own religion, provided he be sincere and lead a good life. It is true, some of their doctors do agree this to be the purport of the words,[1] but then they say the latitude hereby granted was soon revoked, for that this passage is abrogated by several others in the Korân which expressly declare that none can be saved who is not of the Mohammedan faith, and particularly by those words of the third chapter, *Whoever followeth any other religion than* Islâm (*i e*, the Mohammedan) *it shall not be accepted of him, and at the last day he shall be of those who perish*.[2] However, others are of opinion that this passage is not abrogated, but interpret it differently, taking the meaning of it to be that no man, whether he be a Jew, a Christian, or a Sabian, shall be excluded from salvation, provided he quit his erroneous religion and become a Moslem, which they say is intended by the following words, *Whoever believeth in* GOD *and the last day, and doth that which is right*. And this interpretation is approved by Mr Reland, who thinks the words here import no more than those of the apostle, *In every nation he that feareth* GOD, *and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him*,[3] from which it must not be inferred that the religion of nature, or any other, is sufficient to save, without faith in Christ.[4]

[z] The Mohammedan tradition is, that the Israelites refusing to receive the law of Moses, GOD tore up the mountain by the roots, and shook it over their heads, to terrify them into a compliance.[5]

[a] The story to which this passage refers, is as follows. In the days of David some Israelites dwelt at Ailah, or Elath, *on the Red Sea, where on the night of the sabbath the fish used to* come in great numbers to the shore and stay there all the sabbath, to tempt them, but the night following they returned into the sea again. At length some of the inhabitants, neglecting GOD'S command, catched fish on the sabbath and dressed and ate them, and afterwards cut canals from the sea for the fish to enter, with sluices which they shut on the sabbath, to prevent their return to the sea. The other part of the inhabitants, who strictly observed the sabbath, used both persuasion and force to stop this impiety, but to no purpose, the offenders growing only more and more obstinate, whereupon David cursed the sabbath-breakers, and GOD transformed them into apes. It is said that one going to see a friend of his that was among them, found him in the shape of an ape, moving his eyes about wildly; and asking him whether he was not such a one, the ape made a sign with his head that it was he; whereupon the friend said to him, Did not I advise you to desist? at which the ape wept. They add that these unhappy people remained three days in this condition, and were afterwards destroyed by a wind which swept them all into the sea.[6]

[b] The occasion of this sacrifice is thus related. A certain man at his death left his son, then

[7] Selden, de Jure Nat et Gent sec Hebr. l 6, c. 12. Angel, a St. Joseph Gazophylac. Persic. p 365. Nic. Cusanus in Cribratione Alcorani, l 3, c 2, &c. [1] See Chardin's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 326, 331. [2] Abu'lkasem Hebatallah de abrogante et abrogato. [3] Acta x. 35. [4] Vide Reland de Rel. Moham p 128 &c. [5] Jallalo'ddin. [6] Abulfeda.

of us? Moses said, GOD forbid that I should be *one* of the foolish They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would show us what *cow* it is. Moses answered, He saith, She is neither an old cow, nor a young heifer, but of a middle age between both : do ye therefore that which ye are commanded They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would show us what colour she is of. Moses answered, He saith, She is a red cow,[c] intensely red, her colour rejoiceth the beholders. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would *further* show us what *cow* it is, for *several* cows with us are like one another, and we, if GOD please, will be directed. Moses answered, He saith, She is a cow not broken to plough the earth, or water the field, a sound one, there is no blemish in her. They said, Now hast thou brought the truth. Then they sacrificed her ; yet they wanted little of leaving it undone[d] And when ye slew a man, and contended among yourselves concerning him, GOD brought forth *to light* that which ye concealed. For we said, Strike *the dead body* with part of *the sacrificed cow* [e] so GOD raiseth the dead to life, and showeth you his signs, that peradventure ye may understand. Then were your hearts hardened after this, even as stones, or exceeding *them* in hardness : for from some stones have rivers bursted forth, others have been rent in sunder, and water hath issued from them, and others have fallen down for fear of GOD But GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. Do ye therefore desire that *the Jews* should believe you? yet a part of them heard the word of GOD, and then perverted it, after they had understood it, against their own conscience And when they meet the true believers, they say, We believe : but when they are privately assembled together, they say, Will ye acquaint them with what GOD hath revealed unto you, that they may dispute with you concerning it in the presence of your LORD? Do ye not therefore understand? Do not they know that GOD knoweth that which they conceal as well as that which they publish? But there are illiterate

a child, a cow-calf, which wandered in the desert till he came to age at which time his mother told him the heifer was his, and bid him fetch her and sell her for three pieces of gold When the young man came to the market with his heifer, an angel in the shape of a man accosted him and bid him six pieces of gold for her but he would not take the money till he had asked his mother's consent, which when he had obtained, he returned to the market place, and met the angel, who now offered him twice as much for the heifer, provided he would say nothing of it to his mother, but the young man refusing went and acquainted her with the additional offer The woman perceiving it was an angel bid her son go back and ask him what must be done with the heifer, whereupon the angel told the young man that in a little time the children of Israel would buy that heifer of him at any price And soon after it happened that an Israelite, named Hammiel, was killed by a relation of his, who, to prevent discovery, conveyed the body to a place considerably distant from that where the fact was committed The friends of the slain man accused some other persons of the murder before Moses, but they denying the fact, and there being no evidence to convict them, GOD commanded a cow, of such and such particular marks, to be killed, but there being no other which answered the description except the orphan's heifer, they were obliged to buy her for as much gold as her hide would hold, according to some, for her full weight in gold and as others say, for ten times as much This heifer they sacrificed, and the dead body being, by divine direction, struck with a part of it, revived, and standing up, named the person who had killed him, after which it immediately fell down dead again.[1] The whole story seems to be borrowed from the red heifer, which was ordered by the Jewish law to be burnt, and the ashes kept for purifying those who happened to touch a dead corpse,[2] and from the heifer directed to be slain for the expiation of an uncertain murder See Deut xxi. 1—9.

[c] The epithet in the original is *yellow* ; but this word we do not use in speaking of the colour of cattle.

[d] Because of the exorbitant price which they were obliged to pay for the heifer

[e] *i.e.*, Her tongue, or the end of her tail.[3]

[1] Abulfeda [2] Numb xix [3] Jallalo ddin

men among them, who know not the book *of the law*, but only lying stories, although they think otherwise And woe unto them who transcribe *corruptly* the book *of the law*[f] with their hands, and then say, This is from GOD: that they may sell it for a small price. Therefore woe unto them because of that which their hands have written; and woe unto them for that which they have gained. They say, The fire *of hell* shall not touch us but for a *certain* number of days[g] Answer, Have ye received any promise from GOD *to that purpose?* for GOD will not act contrary to his promise. or do ye speak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Verily whoso doth evil,[h] and is encompassed by his iniquity, they *shall be* the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever. but they who believe and do good works, they shall be the companions of paradise, they shall continue therein for ever. *Remember* also, when we accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, *saying*, Ye shall not worship *any other* except GOD, and *ye shall show* kindness to *your* parents and kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and speak that which is good unto men, and be constant at prayer, and give alms. Afterwards ye turned back, except a few of you, and retired afar off. And when we accepted your covenant, *saying*, Ye shall not shed your *brother's* blood, nor dispossess one another of your habitations. Then ye confirmed *it*, and were witnesses *thereto*. Afterwards ye were they who slew one another,[i] and turned several of your *brethren* out of their houses, mutually assisting each other against them with injustice and enmity, but if they come captives unto you, ye redeem them. yet it is *equally* unlawful for you to dispossess them. Do ye therefore believe in part of the book *of the law*, and reject other part thereof? But whoso among you doth this, shall have no other reward than shame in this life, and on the day of resurrection they shall be sent to a most grievous punishment, for GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. These are they who have purchased this present life, at the price of that which is to come; wherefore their punishment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be helped. We formerly delivered the book *of the law* unto Moses, and caused apostles to succeed him, and gave evident miracles to Jesus the son of Mary, and strengthened him with the holy spirit.[k] Do ye therefore, whenever an apostle

[f] Mohammed again accuses the Jews of corrupting their scripture

[g] That is, says Jallalo'ddin, forty, being the number of days that their forefathers worshipped the golden calf, after which they gave out that their punishment should cease. It is a received opinion among the Jews at present, that no person, be he ever so wicked, or of whatever sect, shall remain in hell above eleven months, or at most a year, except Dathan and Abiram, and atheists, who will be tormented there to all eternity [1]

[h] By *evil* in this place the commentators generally understand polytheism or idolatry, which sin the Mohammedans believe, unless repented of in this life, is unpardonable and will be punished by eternal damnation; but all other sins they hold will at length be forgiven This therefore is that irremissible impiety, in their opinion, which in the New Testament is called *the sin against the Holy Ghost*

[i] This passage was revealed on occasion of some quarrels which arose between the Jews of the tribes of Koreidha, and those of al Aws, al Nadhir, and al Khazraj, and came to that height that they took arms and destroyed one another's habitations, and turned one another out of their houses, but when any were taken captive, they redeemed them When they were asked the reason of their acting in this manner, they answered, That they were commanded by their law to redeem the captives, but that they fought out of shame, lest their chiefs should be despised [2]

[k] We must not imagine Mohammed here means the Holy Ghost in the Christian acceptation

[1] Vide Bartoloccii Biblioth Rabbinic. tom ii. p. 128, et tom. iii p 421 [2] Jallalo'ddin.

cometh unto you with that which your souls desire not, proudly reject *him*, and accuse some of imposture, and slay others? *The Jews* say, Our hearts are uncircumcised: but GOD hath cursed them with their infidelity, therefore few shall believe. And when a book came unto them from GOD, confirming *the scriptures* which were with them, although they had before prayed for assistance against those who believed not,[l] *yet* when that came unto them which they knew *to be from God*, they would not believe therein: therefore the curse of GOD shall be on the infidels. For a vile *price* have they sold their souls, that they should not believe in that which GOD hath sent down;[m] out of envy, because GOD sendeth down his favours to such of his servants as he pleaseth therefore they brought on themselves indignation on indignation; and the unbelievers shall suffer an ignominious punishment. When one saith unto them, Believe in that which GOD hath sent down: they answer, We believe in that which hath been sent down unto us:[n] and they reject what *hath been revealed* since, although it be the truth, confirming that which is with them. Say, Why therefore have ye slain the prophets of GOD in times past, if ye be true believers? Moses formerly came unto you with evident signs, but ye afterwards took the calf *for your god* and did wickedly. And when we accepted your covenant, and lifted the mountain of *Sinai* over you,[o] *saying*, Receive *the law* which we have given you, with a resolution *to perform it*, and hear, they said, We have heard, and have rebelled and they were made to drink down the calf into their hearts[p] for their unbelief Say, A grievous thing hath your faith commanded you, if ye be true believers[q] Say, If the future mansion with GOD be *prepared* peculiarly for you, exclusive of the rest of mankind, wish for death, if ye say truth. but they will never wish for it, because of that which their hands have sent before them;[r] GOD knoweth the wicked doers; and thou shalt surely find them of all men the most covetous of life, even *more* than the idolaters. one of them would desire his life to be prolonged a thousand years, but none shall reprieve himself from punishment, that his life may be prolonged GOD seeth that which they do. Say, Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel[s]

The commentators say this spirit was the angel Gabriel, who sanctified Jesus and constantly attended on him[1]

[l] The Jews in expectation of the coming of Mohammed (according to the tradition of his followers) used this prayer, *O God, help us against the unbelievers by the prophet who is to be sent in the last times*[2]

[m] The Korân

[n] The Pentateuch.

[o] See before p 8.

[p] Moses *took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water (of the brook that descended from the mount), and made the children of* Israel *drink of it*[3]

[q] Mohammed here infers from their forefathers' disobedience in worshipping the calf, at the same time that they pretended to believe in the law of Moses, that the faith of the Jews in his time was as vain and hypocritical, since they rejected him, who was foretold therein, as an impostor[4]

[r] That is, by reason of the wicked forgeries which they have been guilty of in respect to the scriptures. An expression much like that of St Paul, where he says, *that some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment*[5]

[s] The commentators say that the Jews asked what angel it was that brought the divine revelations to Mohammed; and being told that it was Gabriel, they replied that he was their enemy, and the messenger of wrath and punishment; but if it had been Michael, they would

[1] Jallalo'ddin [2] Idem. [3] Exod xxxii 20, Deut ix 21 [4] Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, al Beidâwi. [5] 1 Tim. v 24.

(for he hath caused *the Korân* to descend on thy heart, by the permission of GOD, confirming that which was before *revealed*, a direction, and good tidings to the faithful); whosoever is an enemy to GOD, or his angels, or his apostles, or to Gabriel, or Michael, verily GOD is an enemy to the unbelievers. And now we have sent down unto thee evident signs,[t] and none will disbelieve them but the evil-doers. Whenever they make a covenant, will some of them reject it? yea, the greater part of them do not believe. And when there came unto them an apostle from GOD, confirming that *scripture* which was with them, some of those to whom the scriptures were given, cast the book of GOD behind their backs, as if they knew it not: and they followed *the device* which the devils devised against the kingdom of Solomon;[u] and Solomon was not an unbeliever, but the devils believed not, they taught men sorcery, and that which was sent down to the two angels at *Babel*, Harût and Marût.[v] yet those two taught no man until they had said, Verily we are a temptation, therefore be not an unbeliever. So men learned from those two *a charm* by which they might cause division between a man and his wife; but they hurt none thereby, unless by GOD'S permission, and they learned that which would hurt them, and not profit them, and yet they knew that he who bought that *art* should have no part in the life to come, and woeful *is the price* for which they have sold their souls, if they knew it. But if they had believed and feared *God*, verily the reward *they would have had* from GOD would have been better, if they had known it. O true believers, say not *to our*

have believed on him, because that angel was their friend, and the messenger of peace and plenty And on this occasion, they say, this passage was revealed [1]

That Michael was really the protector or guardian angel of the Jews, we know from scripture,[2] and it seems that Gabriel was, as the Persians call him, *the angel of revelations*, being frequently sent on messages of that kind [3] for which reason it is probable Mohammed pretended he was the angel from whom he received the Korân

[t] *i e*, the revelations of this book

[u] The devils having, by GOD'S permission, tempted Solomon without success, they made use of a trick to blast his character For they wrote several books of magic, and hid them under that prince's throne, and after his death, told the chief men that if they wanted to know by what means Solomon had obtained his absolute power over men, genii, and the winds, they should dig under his throne, which having done, they found the aforesaid books, which contained impious superstitions The better sort refused to learn the evil arts therein delivered, but the common people did, and the priests published this scandalous story of Solomon, which obtained credit among the Jews, till GOD, say the Mohammedans, cleared that king by the mouth of their prophet, declaring that Solomon was no idolater [4]

[v] Some say only that these were two magicians, or angels sent by GOD to teach men magic, and to tempt them [5] But others tell a longer fable; that the angels expressing their surprise at the wickedness of the sons of Adam, after prophets had been sent to them with divine commissions, GOD bid them choose two out of their own number to be sent down to be judges on earth Whereupon they pitched upon Harût and Marût, who executed their office with integrity for some time, till Zohara, or the planet Venus, descended and appeared before them in the shape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint against her husband (though others say she was a real woman) As soon as they saw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to satisfy their desires, but she flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels also returned, but were not admitted However, on the intercession of a certain pious man, they were allowed to choose whether they would be punished in this life, or in the other; whereupon they chose the former, and now suffer punishment accordingly in Babel, where they are to remain till the day of judgment They add that if a man has a fancy to learn magic, he may go to them, and hear their voice, but cannot see them.[1]

This story Mohammed took directly from the Persian Magi, who mention two rebellious angels of the same names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downwards, in the territory of Babel [2] And the Jews have something like this, of the angel Shamhozai, who, having

[1] Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakh Yahya. [2] Dan. xii 1 [3] Ibid. c. viii 16, and ix 21, Luke i. 19, 26. See Hyde de Rel Vet Persar p 263. [4] Yahya. Jallalo'ddin [5] Jallalo'ddin [1] Yahya, &c. [2] Vide Hyde. ubi sup

apostle, Raina; but say, Ondhorna;[x] and hearken: the infidels shall suffer a grievous punishment. It is not the desire of the unbelievers, either among those unto whom the scriptures have been given, or among the idolaters, that any good should be sent down unto you from your LORD: but GOD will appropriate his mercy unto whom he pleaseth; for GOD is exceeding beneficent. Whatever verse we shall abrogate, or cause *thee* to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it. Dost thou not know that GOD is almighty? Dost thou not know that unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth? neither have ye any protector or helper except GOD. Will ye require of your apostle according to that which was formerly required of Moses?[y] but he that hath exchanged faith for infidelity, hath already erred from the straight way. Many of those unto whom the scriptures have been given, desire to render you again unbelievers, after ye have believed; out of envy from their souls, even after the truth is become manifest unto them; but forgive *them*, and avoid *them*, till GOD shall send his command; for GOD is omnipotent. Be constant in prayer, and give alms; and what good ye have sent before for your souls, ye shall find it with GOD; surely GOD seeth that which ye do. They say, Verily none shall enter paradise, except they who are Jews or Christians.[z] this is their wish. Say, Produce your proof *of this*, if ye speak truth. Nay, but he who resigneth himself[a] to GOD, and doth that which is right,[b] he shall have his reward with his LORD, there shall *come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. The Jews say, The Christians are *grounded* on nothing;[c] and the Christians say, The Jews are *grounded* on nothing. yet they *both* read the scriptures. So likewise say they who know not the *scripture*, according to their saying. But GOD shall judge between them on the day of the resurrection, concerning that about which they *now* disagree. Who is more unjust than he who prohibiteth the temples of GOD,[d] that his name should be remembered therein, and who hasteth to destroy them? Those men cannot enter therein, but with fear. they shall have shame in this world, and in the next a grievous punishment. To GOD *belongeth* the east and the west; therefore, withersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the

debauched himself with women, repented, and by way of penance hung himself up between heaven and earth.[3]

[x] Those two Arabic words have both the same signification, viz., *Look on us*, and are a kind of salutation. Mohammed had a great aversion to the first, because the Jews frequently used it in derision, it being a word of reproach in their tongue.[4] They alluded, it seems, to the Hebrew verb רוע *rua*, which signifies to *be bad* or *mischievous*.

[y] Namely, to see GOD manifestly.[5]

[z] This passage was revealed on occasion of a dispute which Mohammed had with the Jews of Medina, and the Christians of Najrán, each of them asserting that those of their religion only should be saved.[6]

[a] Literally, *resigneth his face*, &c.

[b] That is, asserteth the unity of GOD.[7]

[c] The Jews and Christians are here accused of denying the truth of each other's religion, notwithstanding they read the scriptures. Whereas the Pentateuch bears testimony to Jesus, and the Gospel bears testimony to Moses.[1]

[d] Or hindereth men from paying their adorations to GOD in those sacred places. This passage, says Jallalo'ddin, was revealed on news being brought that the Romans had spoiled the temple of Jerusalem; or else when the idolatrous Arabs obstructed Mohammed's visiting the temple of Mecca, in the expedition of al Hodeibiya, which happened in the sixth year of the Hejra.[8]

[3] Bereshit rabbah, in Gen. vi. 2. [4] Jallalo'ddin. [5] See before, p. 7. [6] Jallalo'ddin. [7] Idem. [1] Idem. [8] Vide Abulfeda Vit. Moham. p. 84, &c.

face of GOD; for GOD is omnipresent and omniscient. They say, GOD hath begotten children:[e] GOD forbid! To him *belongeth* whatever is in heaven, and on earth; all is possessed by him, the Creator of heaven and earth; and when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is And they who know not *the scriptures* say, Unless GOD speak unto us, or thou show us a sign, *we will not believe*. So said those before them, according to their saying. their hearts resemble each other. We have already shown manifest signs unto people who firmly believe; we have sent thee in truth, a bearer of good tidings, and a preacher; and thou shalt not be questioned concerning the companions of hell. But the Jews will not be pleased with thee, neither the Christians, until thou follow their religion; say, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction And verily if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou shalt find no patron or protector against GOD. They to whom we have given the book *of the Korân*, and who read it with its true reading, they believe therein; and whoever believeth not therein, they shall perish. O children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you before all nations; and dread the day wherein *one* soul shall not make satisfaction for *another* soul, neither shall any compensation be accepted from them, nor shall any intercession avail, neither shall they be helped. *Remember* when the LORD tried Abraham by *certain* words,[f] which he fulfilled · *God* said, Verily I will constitute thee a model of religion[g] unto mankind; he answered, And also of my posterity; *God* said, My covenant doth not comprehend the ungodly. And when we appointed the *holy* house[h] *of Mecca* to be the place of resort for mankind, and a place of security; and *said*, Take the station of Abraham[i] for a place of prayer; and we covenanted with Abraham and Ismael, that they should cleanse my house for those who should compass *it*, and those who should be devoutly assiduous *there*, and those who should bow down and worship. And when Abraham said, LORD, make this a territory of security, and bounteously bestow fruits on its inhabitants, such of them as believe in GOD and the last day, *God* answered, And whoever believeth not, I will bestow on him little, afterwards I will drive him to the punishment of *hell* fire; an ill journey shall it be! And when Abraham and Ismael raised the foundations of the house, *saying*, LORD, accept *it* from us, for thou art he who heareth and knoweth: LORD, make us also resigned[k] unto thee, and of our

[e] This is spoken not only of the Christians and of the Jews (for they are accused of holding Ozair, or Ezra, to be the Son of GOD), but also the pagan Arabs, who imagined the angels to be the daughters of GOD

[f] GOD tried Abraham chiefly by commanding him to leave his native country, and to offer his son. But the commentators suppose the trial here meant related only to some particular ceremonies, such as circumcision, pilgrimage to the Caaba, several rites of purification, and the like [3]

[g] I have rather expressed the meaning, than truly translated the Arabic word Imâm, which answers to the Latin *Antistes* This title the Mohammedans give to their priests, who begin the prayers in their mosques, and whom all the congregation follow

[h] That is, the Caaba, which is usually called, by way of eminence, *the House*. Of the sanctity of this building, and other particulars relating to it, see the Preliminary Discourse, Sect. IV

[i] A place so called within the inner enclosure of the Caaba, where they pretend to show the print of his foot in a stone [4]

[k] The Arabic word is Moslemûna, in the singular Moslem which the Mohammedans take as a title peculiar to themselves. The Europeans generally write and pronounce it Musulman.

[3] Jallalo'ddin [4] See the Prelim. Disc, Sect IV

posterity a people resigned unto thee, and show us our holy ceremonies, and be turned unto us, for thou art easy to be reconciled, and merciful: LORD, send them likewise an apostle from among them, who may declare thy signs unto them, and teach them the book *of the Korân* and wisdom, and may purify them; for thou art mighty and wise. Who will be averse to the religion of Abraham, but he whose mind is infatuated? Surely we have chosen him in this world, and in that which is to come he shall be one of the righteous. When his LORD said unto him, Resign thyself *unto me;* he answered, I have resigned myself unto the LORD of all creatures And Abraham bequeathed this *religion* to his children, and Jacob *did the same, saying*, My children, verily GOD hath chosen this religion for you, therefore die not, unless ye also be resigned. Were ye present when Jacob was at the point of death? when he said to his sons, Whom will ye worship after me? They answered, We will worship thy GOD, and the GOD of thy fathers, Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, one GOD, and to him will we be resigned That people are now passed away, they have what they have gained,[l] and ye shall have what ye gain; and ye shall not be questioned concerning that which they have done. They say, Become Jews or Christians that ye may be directed. Say, Nay, *we follow* the religion of Abraham the orthodox, who was no idolater. Say, We believe in GOD, and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which hath been sent down unto Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which was delivered unto Moses, and Jesus, and that which was delivered unto the prophets from their LORD: We make no distinction between any of them, and to *God* are we resigned. Now if they believe according to what ye believe, they are surely directed, but if they turn back, they are in schism. GOD shall support thee against them, for he is the hearer, the wise. The baptism of GOD[m] *have we received*, and who is better than GOD to baptize? him do we worship. Say, Will ye dispute with us concerning GOD,[n] who is our LORD, and your LORD? we have our works, and ye have your works, and unto him are we sincerely devoted. Will ye say, Truly Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes were Jews or Christians? Say, Are ye wiser, or GOD? And who is more unjust than he who hideth the testimony which he hath *received* from GOD?[o] But GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. That people are passed away, they have what they have gained, and ye shall have what ye gain, nor shall ye be questioned concerning that which they have done. (II.) The foolish men will say, What hath turned them from their Keblah, towards which they formerly *prayed?*[p] Say, Unto GOD *belongeth* the

[l] Or deserved. The Mohammedan notion, as to the imputation of moral actions to man, which they call *gain*, or *acquisition*, is sufficiently explained in the Preliminary Discourse

[m] By *baptism* is to be understood the religion which GOD instituted in the beginning, because the signs of it appear in the person who professes it, as the signs of water appear in the clothes of him that is baptized[1]

[n] These words were revealed because the Jews insisted that they first received the scriptures, that their Keblah was more ancient, and that no prophets could arise among the Arabs; and therefore if Mohammed was a prophet, he must have been of their nation.[2]

[o] The Jews are again accused of corrupting and suppressing the prophecies in the Pentateuch relating to Mohammed.

[p] At first, Mohammed and his followers observed no particular rite in turning their faces t

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem.

east and the west: he directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. Thus have we placed you, *O Arabians*, an intermediate nation,[q] that ye may be witnesses against *the rest of* mankind, and that the apostle may be a witness against you. We appointed the Keblah towards which thou didst formerly *pray*, only that we might know him who followeth the apostle, from him who turneth back on his heels;[r] though this *change* seem a great matter, unless unto those whom GOD hath directed. But GOD will not render your faith of none effect;[s] for GOD is gracious and merciful unto man. We have seen thee turn about thy face towards heaven *with uncertainty*, but we will cause thee to turn thyself towards a Keblah that will please thee. Turn therefore thy face towards the holy temple *of Mecca*, and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that *place*. They to whom the scripture hath been given, know this to be truth from their LORD. GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. Verily although thou shouldest show unto those to whom the scripture hath been given all kinds of signs, yet they will not follow thy Keblah, neither shalt thou follow their Keblah; nor will one part of them follow the Keblah of the other. And if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, verily thou wilt become *one* of the ungodly. They to whom we have given the scripture know *our apostle*, even as they know their own children; but some of them hide the truth, against their own knowledge. Truth is from thy LORD, therefore thou shalt not doubt. Every sect hath a certain tract *of heaven* to which they turn themselves *in prayer*, but do ye strive to run after good things: wherever ye be, GOD will bring you all back *at the resurrection*, for GOD is almighty. And from what place soever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; for this is truth from thy LORD; neither is GOD regardless of that which ye do. From what place soever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; and wherever ye be, thitherward turn your faces, lest men have matter of dispute against you; but as for those among them who are unjust doers, fear them not, but fear me, that I may accomplish my grace upon you, and that ye may be directed. As we have sent unto you an apostle from among you,[t] to rehearse our signs unto you, and to purify you, and to teach you the book *of the Korân* and wisdom, and to teach you that which ye knew not: therefore remember me, and I will remember you, and give thanks unto me, and be not unbelievers. O *true* believers, beg assistance with patience and prayer, for GOD is with the patient. And say not of those

wards any certain place, or quarter of the world, when they prayed, it being declared to be perfectly indifferent.[3] Afterwards, when the prophet fled to Medina, he directed them to turn towards the temple of Jerusalem (probably to ingratiate himself with the Jews), which continued to be their Keblah for six or seven months; but either finding the Jews too intractable, or despairing otherwise to gain the pagan Arabs, who could not forget their respect to the temple of Mecca, he ordered that prayers for the future should be towards the last. This change was made in the second year of the Hejra,[4] and occasioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconstancy.[5]

[q] This seems to be the sense of the words, though the commentators[6] will have the meaning to be that the Arabians are here declared to be a most *just* and *good* nation.

[r] *i.e.*, Returneth to Judaism.

[s] Or will not suffer it to go without its reward, while ye prayed towards Jerusalem.

[t] That is, of your own nation.

[3] See before, p. 13. [4] Vide Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 54. [5] Jallalo'ddin. [6] Idem, Yahya, &c.

who are slain in fight for the religion of GOD,[u] that *they are* dead; yea, *they are* living:[x] but ye do not understand. We will surely prove you *by afflicting you* in some measure with fear, and hunger, and decrease of wealth, and *loss* of lives, and *scarcity* of fruits: but bear good tidings unto the patient, who when a misfortune befalleth them, say, We are GOD'S, and unto him shall we surely return.[y] Upon them shall be blessings from their LORD and mercy, and they are the rightly directed. Moreover Safa and Merwah are *two* of the monuments of GOD: whoever therefore goeth on pilgrimage to the temple *of Mecca* or visiteth *it*, it shall be no crime in him if he compass them both.[z] And as for him who voluntarily performeth a good work, verily GOD is grateful and knowing. They who conceal any of the evident signs, or the direction which we have sent down, after what we have manifested unto men in the scripture, GOD shall curse them, and they who curse shall curse them.[a] But as for those who repent and amend, and make known *what they concealed*, I will be turned unto them, for I am easy to be reconciled and merciful. Surely they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, upon them shall be the curse of GOD, and of the angels, and of all men; they shall remain under it for ever, their punishment shall not be alleviated, neither shall they be regarded.[b] Your GOD is one GOD, there is no GOD but He, the most merciful. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, and in the ship which saileth in the sea, *laden* with what is profitable for mankind, and in the *rain* water which GOD sendeth from heaven, quickening thereby the dead earth, and replenishing the same with all sorts of cattle, and in the change of winds, and the clouds that are compelled to do service[c] between heaven and earth, are signs to people of understanding: yet some men take idols beside GOD, and love them as with the love *due to* GOD; but the true believers are more

[u] The original words are literally *who are slain in the way of* GOD; by which expression, frequently occurring in the Korân, is always meant war undertaken against unbelievers for the propagation of the Mohammedan faith.

[x] The souls of martyrs (for such they esteem those who die in battle against infidels), says Jallalo'ddin, are in the crops of green birds, which have liberty to fly wherever they please in paradise, and feed on the fruits thereof.

[y] An expression frequently in the mouths of the Mohammedans when under any great affliction, or in any imminent danger.

[z] Safâ and Merwâ are two mountains near Mecca, whereon were anciently two idols, to which the pagan Arabs used to pay a superstitious veneration.[1] Jallalo'ddin says this passage was revealed because the followers of Mohammed made a scruple of going round these mountains as the idolaters did. But the true reason of his allowing this relic of ancient superstition seems to be the difficulty he found in preventing it. Abul Kasem Hebatallah thinks the last words are abrogated by these others, *Who will reject the religion of* Abraham, *except he who hath infatuated his soul?*[2] So that he will have the meaning to be quite contrary to the letter, as if it had been, *it shall be no crime in him if he do not compass them*. However the expositors are all against him,[3] and the ceremony of running between these two hills is still observed at the pilgrimage.[4]

[a] That is, the angels, the believers, and all things in general.[5] But Yahya interprets it of the curses which will be given to the wicked, when they cry out because of the punishment of the sepulchre,[6] by all who hear them, that is, by all creatures except men and genii.

[b] Or, as Jallalo'ddin expounds it, GOD will not wait for their repentance.

[c] The original word signifies properly *that are pressed or compelled to do personal service without hire*; which kind of service is often exacted by the eastern princes of their subjects, and is called by the Greek and Latin writers *Angaria*. The scripture often mentions this sort of compulsion or force.[7]

[1] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. I. [2] See before, p. 15. [3] Vide Marracc. in Alc. p. 69, &c.
[4] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. [5] Jallalo'ddin. [6] See Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV.
[7] Matth. v. 41; xxvii. 32, &c.

fervent in love towards GOD. Oh that they who act unjustly did perceive,[d] when they behold their punishment, that all power belongeth unto GOD, and that he is severe in punishing! When those who have been followed, shall separate themselves from their followers,[e] and shall see the punishment, and the cords *of relation* between them shall be cut in sunder; the followers shall say, If we could return *to life*, we would separate ourselves from them, as they have *now* separated themselves from us. So GOD will show them their works; they shall sigh grievously, and shall not come forth from the fire *of hell*. O men, eat of that which is lawful and good on the earth; and tread not in the steps of the devil, for he is your open enemy. Verily he commandeth you evil and wickedness, and that ye should say that of GOD which ye know not. And when it is said unto them *who believe not*, Follow that which GOD hath sent down; they answer, Nay, but we will follow that which we found our fathers practise. What? though their fathers knew nothing, and were not *rightly* directed? The unbelievers are like unto one who crieth aloud to that which heareth not so much as *his* calling, or the sound of *his* voice. *They are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore they do not understand. O true believers, eat of the good things which we have bestowed on you for food, and return thanks unto GOD, if ye serve him. Verily he hath forbidden you *to eat* that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that on which any other name but GOD'S hath been invocated.[f] But he who is forced by necessity, not lusting, nor returning *to transgress*, it shall be no crime in him *if he eat of those things*, for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who conceal *any part* of the scripture which God hath sent down unto them, and sell it for a small price, they shall swallow into their bellies nothing but fire, GOD shall not speak unto them on the day of resurrection, neither shall he purify them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. These are they who have sold direction for error, and pardon for punishment: but how great will their suffering be in the fire! This *they shall endure*, because GOD sent down the book *of the Korân* with truth, and they who disagree concerning that book, are certainly in a wide mistake. It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces *in prayer* towards the east and the west, but righteousness is of him who believeth in GOD and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets, who giveth money for *God's* sake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and those who ask, and for redemption of captives; who is constant at prayer, and giveth alms; and of those who perform their covenant, when they have covenanted, and who behave themselves patiently in adversity, and hardships, and in time of violence: these are they who are true, and these are they who fear *God*. O true believers, the law of retaliation is ordained you for the slain: the free *shall die* for the

[d] Or it may be translated, *Although the ungodly will perceive*, &c. But some copies instead of *yara*, in the third person, read *tara*, in the second, and then it must be rendered, *Oh if thou didst see when the ungodly behold their punishment*, &c.

[e] That is, when the broachers or heads of new sects shall at the last day forsake or wash their hands of their disciples, as if they were not accomplices in their superstitions.

[f] For this reason, whenever the Mohammedans kill any animal for food, they always say, *Bismi llah*, or *In the name of* GOD; which, if it be neglected, they think it not lawful to eat of it.

free, and the servant for the servant, and a woman for a woman:[g] but he whom his brother shall forgive, may be prosecuted, *and obliged to make satisfaction* according to what is just, and a fine shall be set on him[h] with humanity. This is indulgence from your LORD, and mercy. And he who shall transgress after this, *by killing the murderer*, shall suffer a grievous punishment. And in this law of retaliation ye have life, O ye of understanding, that peradventure ye may fear. It is ordained you, when any of you is at the point of death, if he leave any goods, *that he bequeath* a legacy to his parents, and kindred, according to what shall be reasonable.[i] This is a duty *incumbent* on those who fear GOD. But he who shall change *the legacy*, after he hath heard it *bequeathed by the dying person*, surely the sin thereof shall be on those who change it, for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Howbeit he who apprehendeth from the testator any mistake or injustice, and shall compose *the matter* between them, that shall be no crime in him, for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, a fast is ordained you, as it was ordained unto those before you, that ye may fear *God*. A certain number of days *shall ye fast*: but he among you who shall be sick, or on a journey, *shall fast an equal* number of other days. And those who can[k] *keep it, and do not*, must redeem *their neglect* by maintaining of a poor man.[l] And he who voluntarily dealeth better *with the poor man than he is obliged*, this shall be better for him. But if ye fast it will be better for you, if ye knew it. The month of Ramadân *shall ye fast*, in which the Korân was sent down *from heaven*,[m] a direction unto men, and declarations of direction, and the distinction *between good and evil* Therefore let him among you who shall be present[n] in this month, fast the same *month*; but he who shall be sick, or on a journey, *shall fast* the *like* number of other days. GOD would *make*

[g] This is not to be strictly taken; for according to the Sonna, a man also is to be put to death for the murder of a woman Regard is also to be had to difference in religion, so that a Mohammedan, though a slave, is not to be put to death for an infidel, though a freeman[1] But the civil magistrates do not think themselves always obliged to conform to this last determination of the Sonna

[h] This is the common practice in Mohammedan countries, particularly in Persia,[2] where the relations of the deceased may take their choice, either to have the murderer put into their hands to be put to death, or else to accept of a pecuniary satisfaction

[i] That is, the legacy was not to exceed a third part of the testator's substance, nor to be given where there was no necessity But this injunction is abrogated by the law concerning inheritances.

[k] The expositors differ much about the meaning of this passage, thinking it very improbable that people should be left entirely at liberty either to fast or not, on compounding for it in this manner Jallalo'ddin, therefore, supposes the negative particle *not* to be understood, and that this is allowed only to those who are *not able* to fast, by reason of age or dangerous sickness, but afterwards he says, that in the beginning of Mohammedism it was free for them to choose whether they would fast or maintain a poor man, which liberty was soon after taken away, and this passage abrogated by the following, *Therefore let him who shall be present in this month, fast the same month* Yet this abrogation, he says, does not extend to women with child or that give suck, lest the infant suffer

Al Zamakhshari, having first given an explanation of Ebn Abbâs, who, by a different interpretation of the Arabic word Yotikûnaho, which signifies *can* or *are able* to fast, renders it, *Those who find great difficulty therein*, &c , adds an exposition of his own, by supposing something to be understood, according to which the sense will be, *Those who can fast* and yet have a legal excuse to break it, *must redeem it*, &c.

[l] According to the usual quantity which a man eats in a day and the custom of the country[3]

[m] See the Prelim Disc. Sect. IV

[n] *i e*. At home, and not in a strange country, where the fast cannot be performed, or on a journey

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] Vide Chardin Voyage de Perse. t. II. p. 200 &c. [3] Jallalo'ddin.

this an ease unto you, and would not *make it* a difficulty unto you; that ye may fulfil the number *of days*, and glorify GOD, for that he hath directed you, and that ye may give thanks. When my servants ask thee concerning me, Verily I am near; I will hear the prayer of him that prayeth, when he prayeth unto me: but let them hearken unto me, and believe in me, that they may be rightly directed. It is lawful for you on the night of the fast to go in unto your wives,[o] they are a garment[p] unto you, and ye are a garment unto them. GOD knoweth that ye defraud yourselves *therein*, wherefore he turneth unto you, and forgiveth you. Now therefore go in unto them; and earnestly desire that which GOD ordaineth you, and eat and drink, until ye can plainly distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak: then keep the fast until night, and go not in unto them, but be constantly present in the places of worship. These are the prescribed bounds of GOD, therefore draw not near them *to transgress them*. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto men, that ye may fear *him*. Consume not your wealth among yourselves in vain; nor present it unto judges, that ye may devour part of men's substance unjustly, against your own consciences. They will ask thee concerning the phases of the moon. Answer, They are times appointed unto men, and to *show the season of* the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. It is not righteousness that ye enter *your* houses by the back part thereof,[q] but righteousness is of him who feareth *God*. Therefore enter *your* houses by their doors; and fear GOD, that ye may be happy. And fight for the religion of GOD against those who fight against you, but transgress not *by attacking them first*, for GOD loveth not the transgressors. And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you; for temptation *to idolatry* is more grievous than slaughter: yet fight not against them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but if they attack you, slay them *there*. This shall be the reward of the infidels. But if they desist, GOD is gracious and merciful. Fight therefore against them, until there be no temptation *to idolatry*, and the religion be GOD'S: but if they desist, then let there be no hostility, except against the ungodly. A sacred month for a sacred month,[r] and the holy limits *of Mecca, if they attack you therein, do ye also attack them therein in* retaliation; and whoever transgresseth against you *by so doing*, do ye transgress against him in like manner as he hath transgressed against you, and fear GOD, and know that GOD is with those who fear *him*. Contribute *out of your substance* towards the defence of the religion of GOD, and throw not *yourselves* with your own hands into perdition;[s] and do good, for GOD loveth those who do

[o] In the beginning of Mohammedism, during the fast, they neither lay with their wives, nor ate nor drank after supper. But both are permitted by this passage.[1]

[p] A metaphorical expression, to signify the mutual comfort a man and his wife find in each other.

[q] Some of the Arabs had a superstitious custom after they had been at Mecca (in pilgrimage, as it seems), on their return home, not to enter their house by the old door, but to make a hole through the back part for a passage, which practice is here reprehended.

[r] As to these sacred months, wherein it was unlawful for the ancient Arabs to attack one another, see the Prelim. Disc. Sect. VII.

[s] *i.e.*, Be not accessory to your own destruction, by neglecting your contributions towards the wars against infidels, and thereby suffering them to gather strength.

[1] Jallalo'ddin.

good. Perform the pilgrimage *of Mecca*, and the visitation of GOD; and if ye be besieged, *send* that offering which shall be the easiest; and shave not your heads,[t] until your offering reacheth the place of sacrifice. But whoever among you is sick, or is troubled with any distemper of the head, must redeem *the shaving his head* by fasting, or alms, or some offering.[u] When ye are secure *from enemies*, he who tarrieth in the visitation *of the temple of Mecca*[x] until the pilgrimage, shall *bring* that offering which shall be the easiest. But he who findeth not *anything to offer*, shall fast three days in the pilgrimage, and seven when ye are returned: they shall be ten *days* complete. This *is incumbent* on him whose family shall not be present at the holy temple. And fear GOD, and know that GOD is severe in punishing. The pilgrimage *must be performed in* the known months;[y] whosoever therefore purposeth to go on pilgrimage therein, let him not know a woman, nor transgress, nor quarrel in the pilgrimage. The good which ye do, GOD knoweth it. Make provision *for your journey*; but the best provision is piety: and fear me, O ye of understanding. It shall be no crime in you, if ye seek an increase from your LORD, *by trading during the pilgrimage*. And when ye go in procession[z] from Arafat,[a] remember GOD near the holy monument;[b] and remember him for that he hath directed you, although ye were before this of *the number of* those who go astray. Therefore go in procession from whence the people go in procession, and ask pardon of GOD, for GOD is gracious and merciful. And when ye have finished your holy ceremonies, remember GOD, according as ye remember your fathers, or with a more reverent commemoration. There are some men who say, O LORD, give us *our portion* in this world; but such shall have no portion in the next life: and there are others who say, O LORD, give us good in this world, and also good in the next world, and deliver us from the torment of *hell fire*. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained: GOD is swift in taking an account.[c] Remember GOD the *appointed* number of days;[d] but if any haste *to depart from the valley of Mina* in two days, it shall be no crime in him. And if any tarry longer, it shall be no crime in him, in him who feareth GOD. Therefore fear GOD, and

[t] For this was a sign they had completed their vow, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.[1]

[u] That is, either by fasting three days, or feeding six poor people, or sacrificing a sheep.

[x] This passage is somewhat obscure. Yahya interprets it of him who marries a wife during the visitation, and performs the pilgrimage the year following. But Jallalo'ddin expounds it of him who stays within the sacred enclosure in order to complete the ceremonies which (as it should seem) he had not been able to do within the prescribed time.

[y] *i.e.*, Shawal, Dhu'lkaada, and Dhu'lhajja. See the Preliminary Discourse, Sect. IV.

[z] The original word signifies *to rush forward impetuously*, as the pilgrims do when they proceed from Arafat to Mozdalifa.

[a] A mountain near Mecca, so called because Adam there met and *knew* his wife, after a long separation.[2] Yet others say that Gabriel, after he had instructed Abraham in all the sacred ceremonies, coming to Arafat, there asked him if he *knew* the ceremonies which had been shown him; to which Abraham answering in the affirmative, the mountain had thence its name.[3]

[b] In Arabic, *al Masher al harâm*. It is a mountain in the further part of Mozdalifa, where it is said Mohammed stood praying and praising GOD, till his face became extremely shining.[4] Bobovius calls it Farkh;[5] but the true name seems to be Kazah, the variation being occasioned only by the different pointing of the Arabic letters.

[c] For he will judge all creatures, says Jallalo'ddin, in the space of half a day.

[d] *i.e.*, Three days after slaying the sacrifices.

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] See before, p. 5, note f. [3] Al Hasan. [4] Jallalo'ddin. [5] Bobov. de Peregr. Meccana, p. ?

know that unto him ye shall be gathered. There is a man who causeth thee to marvel[e] by his speech concerning this present life, and calleth GOD to witness that which is in his heart, yet he is most intent in opposing thee; and when he turneth away *from thee*, he hasteth to act corruptly in the earth, and to destroy that which is sown, and springeth up;[f] but GOD loveth not corrupt doing. And if one say unto him, Fear GOD; pride seizeth him, together with wickedness; but hell shall be his reward, and an unhappy couch shall it be. There is also a man who selleth his soul for the sake of those things which are pleasing unto GOD;[g] and GOD is gracious unto *his* servants. O *true* believers, enter into the true religion wholly, and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your open enemy. If ye have slipped after the declarations *of our will* have come unto you, know that GOD is mighty and wise. Do *the infidels* expect less than that God should come down to them overshadowed with clouds, and the angels *also?* but the thing is decreed, and to GOD shall *all* things return. Ask the children of Israel how many evident signs we have showed them; and whoever shall change the grace of GOD, after it shall have come unto him, verily GOD will be severe in punishing *him*. The present life was ordained for those who believe not, and they laugh the faithful to scorn; but they who fear GOD shall be above them, on the day of the resurrection. for GOD is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth without measure. Mankind was of one faith, and God sent prophets bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats, and sent down with them the scripture in truth, that it might judge between men of that concerning which they disagreed: and none disagreed concerning it, except those to whom the same *scriptures* were delivered, after the declarations *of* GOD's *will* had come unto them, out of envy among themselves. And GOD directed those who believed, to that truth concerning which they disagreed, by his will. for GOD directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. Did ye think ye should enter paradise, when as yet no such thing had happened unto you, as *hath happened* unto those who have been before you? They suffered calamity and tribulation, and were afflicted; so that the apostle, and they who believed with him, said, When *will* the help of GOD *come?* Is not the help of GOD nigh? They will ask thee what they shall bestow *in alms:* Answer, The good which ye bestow, *let it be given* to parents, and kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the stranger. Whatsoever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. War is enjoined you *against the Infidels;* but this is hateful unto you: yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing which is worse for you: but GOD knoweth and ye know not. They will ask thee concerning the sacred month, *whether they may* war therein: Answer, To war therein is grievous; but to obstruct the way of GOD, and infidelity towards him, and *to keep*

[e] This person was al Akhnas Ebn Shoraik, a fair-spoken dissembler, who swore that he believed in Mohammed, and pretended to be one of his friends, and to contemn this world. But GOD here reveals to the prophet his hypocrisy and wickedness.[1]

[f] Setting fire to his neighbour's corn, and killing his asses by night.[2]

[g] The person here meant was one Soheib, who being persecuted by the idolaters of Mecca, forsook all he had, and fled to Medina.[3]

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem. [3] Idem.

men from the holy temple, and to drive out his people from thence, is more grievous in the sight of GOD, and the temptation *to idolatry* is more grievous than to kill *in the sacred months* They will not cease to war against you, until they turn you from your religion, if they be able but whoever among you shall turn back from his religion, and die an infidel, their works shall be vain in this world and the next, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever But they who believe, and who fly for the sake of religion, and fight in GOD's cause, they shall hope for the mercy of GOD for GOD is gracious and merciful. They will ask thee concerning wine[h] and lots[i] Answer, In both there is great sin, and *also some* things of use unto men,[k] but their sinfulness is greater than their use They will ask thee also what they shall bestow *in alms* Answer, What ye have to spare Thus GOD showeth *his* signs unto you that peradventure ye might seriously think of this present world, and of the next They will also ask thee concerning orphans Answer, To deal righteously with them is best, and if ye intermeddle with *the management of what belongs to* them, *do them no wrong*, they are your brethren GOD knoweth the corrupt dealer from the righteous and if GOD please, he will surely distress you,[l] for GOD is mighty and wise. Marry not *women who are* idolaters until they believe verily a maid servant who believeth is better than an idolatress, although she please you *more* And give not *women who believe* in marriage to the idolaters, until they believe, for verily a servant who is a true believer, is better than an idolater though he please you *more* They invite unto *hell* fire, but GOD inviteth unto paradise and pardon through his will and declareth his signs unto men that they may remember They will ask thee also concerning the courses of women Answer, They are a pollution therefore separate yourselves from women in their courses, and go not near them until they be cleansed. But when they are cleansed go in unto them as GOD hath commanded you[m] for GOD loveth those who repent, and loveth those who are clean Your wives are your tillage go in therefore unto your tillage in what manner soever ye will[n] and do first some act *that may be profitable* unto your souls,[o] and fear GOD, and know that ye must meet him, and bear good

h Under the name of *wine* all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended[1]

i The original word *al Meiser* properly signifies a particular game performed with arrows, and much in use with the pagan Arabs. But by [illegible] we [illegible] to understand all games whatsoever which are subject to [illegible] ha[illegible]ud as [illegible] [2]

k From these words some [illegible] that only drinking to excess and too frequent gaming are prohibited[3] And the [illegible] [illegible] by these words of the 16th chapter *And of the fruits of palm trees and grapes ye obtain inebriating drink and also good nourishment* [illegible] the more received opinion is that both drinking wine or other strong liquors in any quantity and playing at any game of chance, are absolutely forbidden.[4]

l viz. By his curse which shall certainly bring to nothing what ye shall wrong the orphans of

m But not while they have their courses nor by using preposterous venery[1]

n It has been imagined that these words allow that preposterous lust which the commentators say is forbidden by the preceding but I question whether this can be proved.[2]

o i e Perform some act of devotion or charity

1 See the Prelim. Disc. Sect V 2 See ibid. 3 Vide Jallalo ddin et al Zamakhshari.
4 See the Prelim. Disc. ubi sup 1 Ebn Abbas Jallalo ddin. 2 Jallalo ddin Yahya, al Zamakhshari V e Lucret de Rer Nat. l. 4, v 1258 &c.

tidings unto the faithful. Make not GOD the object of your oaths,[p] that ye will deal justly, and be devout, and make peace among men;[q] for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. GOD will not punish you for an inconsiderate word[r] in your oaths; but he will punish you for that which your hearts have assented unto: GOD is merciful and gracious. They who vow *to abstain* from their wives, are *allowed* to wait four months.[s] but if they go back *from their vow*, verily GOD is gracious and merciful;[t] and if they resolve on a divorce, GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. The *women who are* divorced shall wait concerning themselves until they have their courses thrice,[u] and it shall not be lawful for them to conceal that which GOD hath created in their wombs,[x] if they believe in GOD and the last day; and their husbands will act more justly to bring them back at this *time*, if they desire a reconciliation. The women ought also *to behave towards their husbands* in like manner as *their husbands should behave* towards them, according to what is just: but the men ought to have a superiority over them GOD is mighty and wise. Ye may divorce *your wives* twice, and then either retain *them* with humanity, or dismiss *them* with kindness. But it is not lawful for you to take away anything of what ye have given them, unless both fear that they cannot observe the ordinances of GOD.[y] And if ye fear that they cannot observe the ordinances of GOD, it shall be no crime in either of them on account of that for which *the wife* shall redeem herself.[z] These are the ordinances of GOD; therefore transgress them not, for whoever transgresseth the ordinances of GOD, they are unjust doers But if *the husband* divorce her *a third time*, she shall not be lawful for him again, until she marry another husband. But if he *also* divorce her, it shall be no crime in them, if they return to each other, if they think they can observe the ordinances of GOD; and these are the ordinances of GOD, he declareth them to people of understanding. But when ye divorce women, and they have fulfilled their pre-

[p] So as to swear frequently by him The word translated *object*, properly signifies a butt to shoot at with arrows [3]

[q] Some commentators[4] expound this negatively, *That ye will not deal justly nor be devout*, &c. For such wicked oaths, they say, were customary among the idolatrous inhabitants of Mecca, which gave occasion to the following saying of Mohammed *When you swear to do a thing, and afterwards find it better to do otherwise, do that which is better, and make void your oath*

[r] When a man swears inadvertently, and without design

[s] That is, they may take so much time to consider, and shall not, by a rash oath, be obliged actually to divorce them

[t] *i.e.*, If they be reconciled to their wives within four months or after, they may retain them, and GOD will dispense with their oath

[u] This is to be understood of those only with whom the marriage has been consummated; for as to the others there is no time limited Those who are not quite past childbearing (which a woman is reckoned to be after her courses cease, and she is fifty five lunar years, or about fifty-three solar years old), and those who are too young to have children, are allowed three months only, but they who are with child must wait till they be delivered [5]

[x] That is, they shall tell the real truth, whether they have their courses, or be with child, or not, and shall not, by deceiving their husband, obtain a separation from him before the term be accomplished lest the first husband's child should, by that means, go to the second; or the wife, in case of the first husband's death, should set up her child as his heir, or demand her maintenance during the time she went with such child, and the expenses of her lying-in, under pretence that she waited not her full prescribed time [6]

[y] For if there be a settled aversion on either side their continuing together may have very ill, and perhaps fatal consequences

[z] *i.e.*, If she prevail on her husband to dismiss her, by releasing part of her dowry

[3] Jallalo'ddin [4] Idem Yahya [5] Jallalo'ddin [6] Yahya

scribed time, either retain them with humanity, or dismiss them with kindness; and retain them not by violence, so that ye transgress;[a] for he who doth this, surely injureth his own soul. And make not the signs of GOD a jest: but remember GOD'S favour towards you, and that he hath sent down unto you the book *of the Korân*, and wisdom, admonishing you thereby; and fear GOD, and know that GOD is omniscient. But when ye have divorced *your* wives, and they have fulfilled their prescribed time, hinder them not from marrying their husbands, when they have agreed among themselves according to what is honourable. This is given in admonition unto him among you who believeth in GOD, and the last day. This is most righteous for you, and most pure. GOD knoweth, but ye know not. Mothers *after they are divorced* shall give suck unto their children two full years, to him who desireth the time of giving suck to be completed; and the father shall be obliged to maintain them and clothe them *in the mean time*, according to that which shall be reasonable. No person shall be obliged beyond his ability. A mother shall not be compelled *to what is unreasonable* on account of her child, nor a father on account of his child. And the heir *of the father* shall be obliged to do in like manner. But if they choose to wean *the child before the end of two years*, by common consent and on mutual consideration, it shall be no crime in them. And if ye have a mind to provide a nurse for your children, it shall be no crime in you, in case ye fully pay what ye offer *her*, according to that which is just. And fear GOD, and know that GOD seeth whatever ye do. Such of you as die, and leave wives, *their wives* must wait concerning themselves four months and ten *days*,[b] and when they shall have fulfilled their term, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves,[c] according to what is reasonable. GOD well knoweth that which ye do. And it shall be no crime in you, whether ye make public overtures of marriage unto *such* women, *within the said four months and ten days*, or whether ye conceal *such your designs* in your minds: GOD knoweth that ye will remember them. But make no promise unto them privately, unless ye speak honourable words, and resolve not on the knot of marriage, until the prescribed time be accomplished; and know that GOD knoweth that which is in your minds, therefore beware of him, and know that GOD is gracious and merciful. It shall be no crime in you, if ye divorce your wives, so long as ye have not touched them, nor settled any dowry on them. And provide for them (he who is at his ease must *provide* according to his circumstances, and he who is straitened according to his circumstances) necessaries, according to what shall be reasonable. *This is* a duty *incumbent* on the righteous. But if ye divorce them before ye have touched them, and have already settled a dowry on them, *ye shall give them* half of what ye have settled, unless they release *any part*, or he release *part* in whose hand the knot of marriage is,[d] and if ye release

[a] viz., By obliging them to purchase their liberty with part of their dowry.

[b] That is to say, before they marry again; and this, not only for decency sake, but that it may be known whether they be with child by the deceased or not.

[c] That is, if they leave off their mourning weeds, and look out for new husbands.

[d] *i.e.*, Unless the wife agree to take less than half her dowry, or unless the husband be so generous as to give her more than half, or the whole, which is here approved of as most commendable.

the whole, it will approach nearer unto piety. And forget not liberality among you, for GOD seeth that which ye do. Carefully observe the *appointed* prayers, and the middle prayer,[e] and be assiduous *therein*, with devotion towards GOD. But if ye fear *any danger*, *pray* on foot or on horseback; and when ye are safe, remember GOD, how he hath taught you what as yet ye knew not. And such of you as shall die and leave wives, ought to bequeath their wives a year's maintenance, without putting them out *of their houses*: but if they go out *voluntarily*, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves, according to what shall be reasonable; GOD is mighty and wise. And unto those who are divorced, a reasonable provision *is also due; this is* a duty *incumbent* on those who fear *God*. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, that ye may understand. Hast thou not considered those who left their habitations (and they were thousands) for fear of death?[f] And GOD said unto them, Die; then he restored them to life, for GOD is gracious towards mankind; but the greater part of men do not give thanks. Fight for the religion of GOD, and know that GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Who is he that will lend unto GOD on good usury?[g] verily he will double it unto him manifold; for GOD contracteth and extendeth *his hand* as he pleaseth, and to him shall ye return. Hast thou not considered the assembly of the children of Israel, after *the time of* Moses; when they said unto their prophet *Samuel*, Set a king over us, that we may fight for the religion of GOD? *The prophet* answered, If ye are enjoined to go to war, will ye be near refusing to fight? They answered, And what should ail us that we should not fight for the religion of GOD, seeing we are dispossessed of our habitations, and *deprived* of our children? But when they were enjoined to go to war, they turned back, except a few of them: and GOD knew the ungodly. And their prophet said unto them, Verily GOD hath set Talût[h] king over you they answered, How shall he reign over us, seeing we are more worthy of the kingdom than he, neither is he possessed of great riches? *Samuel* said, Verily GOD hath chosen him before you, and hath caused him to increase in knowledge and stature, for GOD

[e] Yahya interprets this from a tradition of Mohammed, who, being asked which was the *middle prayer*, answered, The evening prayer, which was instituted by the prophet Solomon But Jallalo'ddin allows a greater latitude, and supposes it may be the afternoon prayer, the morning prayer, the noon prayer, or any other

[f] These were some of the children of Israel, who abandoned their dwellings because of a pestilence, or, as others say, to avoid serving in a religious war, but, as they fled, GOD struck them all dead in a certain valley About eight days or more after, when their bodies were corrupted, the prophet Ezekiel, the son of *Buzi*, happening to pass that way, at the sight of their bones wept; whereupon GOD said to him, *Call to them*, O Ezekiel, *and I will restore them to life* And accordingly on the prophet's call they all arose, and lived several years after, but they retained the colour and stench of dead corpses as long as they lived, and the clothes they wore changed as black as pitch, which qualities they transmitted to their posterity.[1] As to the number of these Israelites the commentators are not agreed, they who reckon least say they were 3,000, and they who reckon most, 70,000. This story seems to have been taken from Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dry bones.[2]

Some of the Mohammedan writers will have Ezekiel to have been one of the judges of Israel, and to have succeeded Othoniel the son of Caleb. They also call this prophet *Ebn al ajûz, or the son of the old woman*, because they say his mother obtained him by her prayers in her old age.[3]

[g] viz., By contributing towards the establishment of his true religion.

[h] So the Mohammedans name Saul.

[1] Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, Abulfeda, &c [2] Ezek xxxvii. 1--10. [3] Al Thalabi, Abu Ishak, &c.

giveth his kingdom unto whom he pleaseth; GOD is bounteous and wise. And their prophet said unto them, Verily the sign of his kingdom shall be, that the ark shall come unto you:[i] therein shall be tranquillity from your LORD,[k] and the relics[l] which have been left by the family of Moses, and the family of Aaron; the angels shall bring it. Verily this shall be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And when Talût departed with his soldiers, he said, Verily GOD will prove you by the river: for he who drinketh thereof, shall not be on my side (but he who shall not taste thereof he shall be on my side) except he who drinketh a draught out of his hand. And they drank thereof, except a few of them.[m] And when they had passed *the river*, he and those who believed with him, they said, We have no strength to-day against Jalut[n] and his forces. But they who considered that they should meet GOD *at the resurrection*, said, How often hath a small army discomfited a great army, by the will of GOD? and GOD is with those who patiently persevere. And when they went forth to battle against Jalut and his forces, they said, O LORD, pour on us patience, and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. Therefore they discomfited them by the will of GOD, and David slew Jalut. And GOD gave him the kingdom and wisdom, and taught him his will;[o] and if GOD had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted. but GOD is benificent towards *his* creatures These are the signs of GOD: we rehearse them unto thee with truth, and thou art surely *one* of those who have been sent *by* GOD (III) These are the apostles; we have preferred some of them before others. some of them hath GOD spoken unto, and hath exalted the degree of others of them. And we gave unto Jesus the son of Mary manifest signs, and strengthened him with the holy spirit[p] And if GOD had pleased, they who came after those *apostles* would not have contended among themselves, after manifest signs had been shown unto them. But they fell to variance; therefore some of them believed, and some of them believed not; and if GOD had so pleased, they would not have con-

[i] This ark, says Jallalo'ddin, contained the images of the prophets, and was sent down from heaven to Adam, and at length came to the Israelites, who put great confidence therein, and continually carried it in the front of their army, till it was taken by the Amalekites But on this occasion the angels brought it back, in the sight of all the people, and placed it at the feet of Talût; who was thereupon unanimously acknowledged for their king

This relation seems to have arisen from some imperfect tradition of the taking and sending back the ark by the Philistines [4]

[k] That is, because of the great confidence the Israelites placed in it, having won several battles by its miraculous assistance I imagine, however, that the Arabic word *Sakînat*, which signifies *tranquillity* or *security of mind*, and is so understood by the commentators, may not improbably mean the *divine presence* or *glory*, which used to appear on the ark, and which the Jews express by the same word Shechinah

[l] These were the shoes and rod of Moses, the mitre of Aaron, a pot of manna, and the broken pieces of the two tables of the law [5]

[m] The number of those who drank out of their hands was about 313 [1] It seems that Mohammed has here confounded Saul with Gideon, who by the divine direction took with him against the Midianites such of his army only as lapped water out of their hands, which were 300 men.[8]

[n] Or Goliath.

[o] Or *what he pleased* to teach him. Yahya most rationally understands hereby the divine revelations which David received from GOD; but Jallalo'ddin the art of making coats of ma (which the Mohammedans believe was that prophet's peculiar trade), and the knowledge of the language of birds.

[p] See before p. 10, note [k].

[4] 1 Sam. iv. v. and vi. [5] Jallalo ddin [1] Idem Yahya. [8] Judges vii.

tended among themselves, but GOD doth what he will. O true believers, give *alms* of that which we have bestowed on you, before the day cometh wherein there shall be no merchandizing, nor friendship, nor intercession The infidels are unjust doers. GOD! there is no GOD but he;[q] the living, the self-subsisting: neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him; to him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his good pleasure. He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend anything of his knowledge, but so far as he pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth,[r] and the preservation of both is no burden unto him. He is the high, the mighty. Let there be no violence in religion.[s] Now is right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit whoever therefore shall deny Tagut,[t] and believe in GOD, he shall surely take hold on a strong handle, which shall not be broken; GOD is he who heareth and seeth. GOD is the patron of those who believe; he shall lead them out of darkness into light: but *as to* those who believe not, their patrons are Tagut; they shall lead them from the light into darkness, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever Hast thou not considered him who disputed with Abraham concerning his LORD,[u] because GOD had given him the kingdom? When Abraham said, My LORD is he who giveth life, and killeth: he answered, I give life, and I kill. Abraham said, Verily GOD bringeth the sun from the east, now do thou bring it from the west. Whereupon the infidel was confounded; for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Or *hast thou not considered* how he *behaved* who passed by a city which had been destroyed, even to her foundations?[x] He said, How shall God quicken this *city*, after she hath been dead? And GOD caused him to die for an hundred years, and after-

[q] The following seven lines contain a magnificent description of the divine majesty and providence, but it must not be supposed the translation comes up to the dignity of the original. This passage is justly admired by the Mohammedans, who recite it in their prayers, and some of them wear it about them, engraved on an agate or other precious stone [9]

[r] This throne, in Arabic called Corsi, is by the Mohammedans supposed to be GOD's tribunal, or seat of justice, being placed under that other called al Arsh, which they say is his imperial throne The Corsi allegorically signifies the divine providence, which sustains and governs the heaven and the earth, and is infinitely above human comprehension [4]

[s] This passage was particularly directed to some of Mohammed's first proselytes, who, having sons that had been brought up in idolatry or Judaism, would oblige them to embrace Mohammedism by force [1]

[t] This word properly signifies *an idol*, or whatever is worshipped besides GOD—particularly the two idols of the Meccans, Allât and al Uzza, and also the devil, or any seducer

[u] This was Nimrod, who, as the commentators say, to prove his power of life and death by ocular demonstration, caused two men to be brought before him at the same time, one of whom he slew, and saved the other alive. As to this tyrant's persecution of Abraham, see chapter 21, and the notes thereon

[x] The person here meant was Ozair or Ezra, who riding on an ass by the ruins of Jerusalem, after it had been destroyed by the Chaldeans, doubted in his mind by what means GOD could raise the city and its inhabitants again whereupon GOD caused him to die, and he remained in that condition 100 years; at the end of which GOD restored him to life, and he found a basket of figs and a cruse of wine he had with him not in the least spoiled or corrupted, but his ass was dead, the bones only remaining, and these, while the prophet looked on, were raised and clothed with flesh, becoming an ass again, which being inspired with life, began immediately to bray [2]

This apocryphal story may perhaps have taken its rise from Nehemiah's viewing of the ruins of Jerusalem.[3]

[9] Vide Bobov. de Prec Moham. p 5, et Reland. Dissert. de Gemmis Arab p 235, 239
[4] Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art Corsi [1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, &c.
See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art Ozair [3] Nehem ii. 12, &c

ards raised him to life. *And God* said, How long hast thou tarried *re?* He answered, A day, or part of a day. *God* said, Nay, thou st tarried *here* an hundred years. Now look on thy food and the drink, they are not yet corrupted; and look on thine ass: and this *have we done* that we might make thee a sign unto men. And look on the bones *of thine ass*, how we raise them, and afterwards clothe them with flesh. And when *this* was shown unto him, he said, I know that GOD is able to do all things. And when Abraham said, O LORD, show me how thou wilt raise the dead;[y] *God* said, Dost thou not yet believe? He answered, Yea; but *I ask this* that my heart may rest at ease. *God* said, take therefore four birds, and divide them,[z] then lay a part of them on every mountain; then call them, and they shall come swiftly unto thee: and know that GOD is mighty and wise. The similitude of those who lay out their substance for advancing the religion of GOD, is as a grain *of corn* which produceth seven ears, and in every ear an hundred grains; for GOD giveth twofold unto whom he pleaseth: GOD is bounteous and wise. They who lay out their substance for the religion of GOD, and afterwards follow not what they have *so* laid out by reproaches or mischief,[a] they shall have their reward with their LORD; upon them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. A fair speech, and to forgive, is better than alms followed by mischief. GOD is rich and merciful. O true believers, make not your alms of none effect by reproaching, or mischief, as he who layeth out what he hath to appear unto men *to give alms*, and believeth not in GOD and the last day. The likeness of such a one is as a flint covered with earth, on which a violent rain falleth, and leaveth it hard They cannot prosper in anything which they have gained, for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. And the likeness of those who lay out their substance from a desire to please GOD, and for an establishment for their souls, is as a garden on a hill, on which a violent rain falleth, and it bringeth forth its fruits twofold; and if a violent rain falleth not on it, yet the dew *falleth thereon:* and GOD seeth that which ye do. Doth any of you desire to have a garden of palm-trees and vines,[b] through which rivers flow, wherein he may have all *kinds of* fruits, and that he may attain to old age, and have a weak offspring? then a violent fiery wind shall strike it, so that it shall be burned Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, that ye may consider. O true believers, bestow *alms* of the good things

[y] The occasion of this request of Abraham is said to have been on a doubt proposed to him by the devil, in human form, how it was possible for the several parts of the corpse of a man which lay on the sea-shore, and had been partly devoured by the wild beasts, the birds, and the fish, to be brought together at the resurrection[4]

[z] These birds, according to the commentators, were an eagle (a dove, say others), a peacock, a raven, and a cock, which Abraham cut to pieces, and mingled their flesh and feathers together, or, as some tell us, pounded all in a mortar, and dividing the mass into four parts, laid them on so many mountains, but kept the heads, which he had preserved whole, in his hand. Then he called them each by their name, and immediately one part flew to the other, till they all recovered their first shape, and then came to be joined to their respective heads[1]

This seems to be taken from Abraham's sacrifice of birds mentioned by Moses,[2] with some additional circumstances

[a] *i.e.*, Either by reproaching the person whom they have relieved with what they have done for him, or by exposing his poverty to his prejudice.[3]

[b] This garden is an emblem of alms given out of hypocrisy, or attended with reproaches, which perish, and will be of no service hereafter to the giver.[4]

[4] See D'Herbelot, p 13 [1] Jallalo'ddin. See D Herbelot, ubi supra. [2] Gen. xv
[3] Jallalo'ddin. [4] Idem.

which ye have gained, and of that which we have produced for you out of the earth, and choose not the bad thereof, to give it *in alms*, such as ye would not accept yourselves, otherwise than by connivance:[c] and know that GOD is rich and worthy to be praised. The devil threateneth you with poverty, and commandeth you filthy covetousness; but GOD promiseth you pardon from himself and abundance: GOD is bounteous and wise. He giveth wisdom unto whom he pleaseth; and he unto whom wisdom is given, hath received much good: but none will consider, except the *wise* of heart. And whatever alms ye shall give, or *whatever* vow ye shall vow, verily GOD knoweth it, but the ungodly shall have none to help *them*. If ye make your alms to appear, it is well; but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, this *will be* better for you, and will atone for your sins: and GOD is well informed of that which ye do. The direction of them belongeth not unto thee; but GOD directeth whom he pleaseth. The good that ye shall give *in alms shall redound* unto yourselves; and ye shall not give unless out of desire of *seeing* the face of GOD.[d] And what good thing ye shall give *in alms*, it shall be repaid you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly; unto the poor who are wholly employed in fighting for the religion of GOD, and cannot go to and fro in the earth; whom the ignorant man thinketh rich, because of their modesty: thou shalt know them by this mark, they ask not men with importunity; and what good ye shall give *in alms*, verily GOD knoweth it. They who distribute *alms of* their substance night and day, in private and in public, shall have their reward with the LORD; on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. They who devour usury shall not arise *from the dead*, but as he ariseth whom Satan hath infected by a touch.[e] this *shall happen to them* because they say, Truly selling is but as usury: and yet GOD hath permitted selling and forbidden usury. He therefore who when there cometh unto him an admonition from his LORD, abstaineth *from usury for the future*, shall have what is past *forgiven him*, and his affair belongeth unto GOD. But whoever returneth *to usury*, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, they shall continue therein for ever. GOD shall take his blessing from usury, and shall increase alms. for GOD loveth no infidel, or ungodly person. But they who believe and do that which is right, and observe the stated times of prayer, and pay their legal alms, they shall have their reward with their LORD. there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. O true believers, fear GOD, and remit that which remaineth of usury,[f] if ye *really* believe; but if ye do it not, hearken unto war, *which is declared against you* from GOD and his apostle: yet if ye repent, ye shall have the capital of your money. Deal not unjustly *with others*, and ye shall not be dealt with unjustly. If there be any *debtor* under a difficulty *of paying his debt*, let *his creditor* wait till it be easy *for him to do it*; but if ye remit it as alms, it will be

[c] That is, on having some amends made by the seller of such goods, either by abatement of the price, or giving something else to the buyer to make up the value.

[d] *i e*, For the sake of a reward hereafter, and not for any worldly consideration.[1]

[e] viz., Like *dæmoniacs* or possessed persons, that is, in great horror and distraction of mind and convulsive agitation of body.

[f] Or the interest due before usury was prohibited. For this some of Mohammed's fo low exacted of their debtors, supposing they lawfully might.[2]

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem.

better for you, if ye knew it. And fear the day wherein ye shall return unto GOD; then shall every soul be paid what it hath gained, and they shall not be treated unjustly. O true believers, when ye bind yourselves one to the other in a debt for a certain time, write it down; and let a writer write between you according to justice, and let not the writer refuse writing according to what GOD hath taught him; but let him write, and let him who oweth the debt dictate, and let him fear GOD his LORD, and not diminish ought thereof. But if he who oweth the debt be foolish, or weak, or be not able to dictate himself, let his agent[g] dictate according to equity; and call to witness two witnesses of your *neighbouring* men; but if there be not two men, *let there be* a man and two women of those whom ye shall choose for witnesses: if one of those *women* should mistake, the other of them will cause her to recollect. And the witnesses shall not refuse, whensoever they shall be called. And disdain not to write it down, be it a large *debt*, or be it a small one, until its time *of payment:* this will be more just in the sight of GOD, and more right for bearing witness, and more easy, that ye may not doubt. But if it be a present bargain which ye transact between yourselves, it shall be no crime in you, if ye write it not down. And take witnesses when ye sell one to the other, and let no harm be done to the writer, nor to the witness; *which* if ye do, it will surely be injustice in you: and fear GOD, and GOD will instruct you, for GOD knoweth all things. And if ye be on a journey, and find no writer, *let* pledges *be* taken: but if one of you trust the other, let him who is trusted return what he is trusted with, and fear GOD his LORD. And conceal not the testimony, for he who concealeth it hath surely a wicked heart: GOD knoweth that which ye do. Whatever is in heaven and on earth is GOD'S; and whether ye manifest that which is in your minds, or conceal it, GOD will call you to account for it, and will forgive whom he pleaseth, and will punish whom he pleaseth, for GOD is almighty. The apostle believeth in that which hath been sent down unto him from his LORD, and the faithful *also*. Every one *of them* believeth in GOD, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles: we make no distinction at all between his apostles.[h] And they say, We have heard, and do obey: *we implore* thy mercy, O LORD, for unto thee must we return. GOD will not force any soul beyond its capacity: it shall have *the good* which it gaineth, and it shall suffer *the evil* which it gaineth. O LORD, punish us not, if we forget, or act sinfully: O LORD, lay not on us a burden like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us;[i] neither make us, O LORD, to bear what we have not strength to *bear*, but be favourable unto us, and spare us, and be merciful unto us. Thou art our patron, help us therefore against the unbelieving nations.

[g] Whoever manages his affairs, whether his father, heir, guardian, or interpreter.[1]

[h] But this, say the Mohammedans, the Jews do, who receive Moses but reject Jesus; and the Christians, who receive both those prophets, but reject Mohammed.[2]

[i] That is, on the Jews, who, as the commentators tell us, were ordered to kill a man by way of atonement, to give one-fourth of their substance in alms, and to cut off an unclean ulcerous part,[3] and were forbidden to eat fat, or animals that divided the hoof, and were obliged to observe the sabbath, and other particulars wherein the Mohammedans are at liberty.[4]

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Yahya.

CHAPTER III.

ENTITLED, THE FAMILY OF IMRAN,[k] REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL. M.[l] There is no GOD but GOD, the living, the self-subsisting: He hath sent down unto thee the book *of the Korân* with truth, confirming that which was *revealed* before it, for he had formerly sent down the law and the gospel, a direction unto men; and he had also sent down the distinction *between good and evil.* Verily those who believe not the signs of GOD, shall suffer a grievous punishment; for GOD is mighty, able to revenge. Surely nothing is hidden from GOD, *of that which is* on earth, or in heaven it is he who formeth you in the wombs, as he pleaseth, there is no GOD but he, the mighty, the wise. It is he who hath sent down unto thee the book, wherein are some verses clear to be understood, they are the foundation of the book, and others are parabolical[m] But they whose hearts are perverse will follow that which is parabolical therein, out of love of schism, and a desire of the interpretation thereof, yet none knoweth the interpretation thereof, except GOD But they who are well grounded in knowledge say, We believe therein, the whole is from our LORD; and none will consider except the prudent O LORD, cause not our hearts to swerve *from truth*, after thou hast directed us and give us from thee mercy, for thou art he who giveth O LORD, thou shalt surely gather mankind together, unto a day *of resurrection* there is no doubt of it, for GOD will not be contrary to the promise As for the infidels, their wealth shall not profit them anything, nor their children, against GOD they shall be the fuel of *hell* fire. According to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those who went before them, they charged our signs with a lie, but GOD caught them in their wickedness, and GOD is severe in punishing Say unto those who believe not, Ye shall be overcome, and thrown together into hell, an unhappy couch *shall it be.* Ye have already had a miracle *shown you* in two armies, which attacked each other.[n] one army fought for GOD's true religion, but the other

[k] This name is given in the Korân to the father of the Virgin Mary See below, p 35

[l] For the meaning of these letters the reader is referred to the Preliminary Discourse, Sect. III

[m] This passage is translated according to the exposition of al Zamakhshari and al Beidâwi, which seems to be the truest

The contents of the Korân are here distinguished into such passages as are to be taken in the literal sense and such as require a figurative acceptation The former being plain and obvious to be understood compose the fundamental part or, as the original expresses it, *the mother* of the book and contain the principal doctrines and precepts agreeably to and consistently with which, those passages which are wrapt up in metaphors, and delivered in an ænigmatical allegorical style are always to be interpreted[o]

[n] The sign or miracle here meant, was the victory gained by Mohammed in the second year of the Hejra, over the idolatrous Meccans headed by Abu Sofiân in the valley of Bedr, which is situate near the sea, between Mecca and Medina Mohammed's forces consisted of no more than three hundred and nineteen men but the enemy's army of near a thousand, notwithstanding which odds he put them to flight, having killed seventy of the principal Koreish, and taken as many prisoners with the loss of only fourteen of his own men[1] This was the first victory obtained by the prophet, and though it may seem no very considerable action, yet it

[o] See the Prelim Disc Sect III [1] Elmacin p 5 Hottinger Hist Orient l. 2, c. 4 Abulfeda Vit Moham p 56 &c. Prideaux's Life of Mahom p 72 &c

were infidels; they saw *the faithful* twice as many as themselves in *their* eyesight; for GOD strengtheneth with his help whom he pleaseth. Surely herein was an example unto men of understanding. The love and eager desire of wives, and children, and sums heaped up of gold and silver, and excellent horses, and cattle, and land, is prepared for men: this is the provision of the present life; but unto GOD shall be the most excellent return. Say, Shall I declare unto you better *things* than this? For those who are devout *are prepared* with their LORD, gardens through which rivers flow, therein shall they continue for ever: and *they shall enjoy* wives free from impurity, and the favour of GOD; for GOD regardeth *his* servants, who say, O LORD, we do sincerely believe; forgive us therefore our sins, and deliver us from the pain of *hell* fire: the patient, and the lovers of truth, and the devout, and the almsgivers, and those who ask pardon *early* in the morning. GOD hath borne witness that there is no GOD but he, and the angels, and *those who are* endowed with wisdom, *profess the same;* who executeth righteousness; there is no GOD but he, the mighty, the wise. Verily the *true* religion in the sight of GOD, is Islâm,[o] and they who had received the scriptures dissented not *therefrom*, until after the knowledge *of God's unity* had come unto them, out of envy among themselves; but whosoever believeth not in the signs of GOD, verily GOD will be swift in *bringing him to* account If they dispute with thee, say, I have resigned myself unto GOD, and he who followeth me *doth the same*. and say unto them who have received the scriptures, and to the ignorant,[p] Do ye profess *the religion of* Islâm? Now if they embrace Islâm, they are surely directed; but if they turn their backs, verily unto thee *belongeth* preaching *only*, for GOD regardeth his servants. And unto those who believe not in the signs of GOD, and slay the prophets without a cause, and put those men to death who teach justice, denounce unto them a painful punishment These are they whose works perish in this world, and in that which is to come; and they shall have none to help them Hast thou not observed those unto whom part of the scripture was given?[q] They were called unto the book of GOD, that it might judge between them;[r] then some of them

was of great advantage to him, and the foundation of all his future power and success For which reason it is famous in the Arabian history, and more than once vaunted in the Korân,[2] as an effect of the divine assistance. The miracle, it is said, consisted in three things. 1. Mohammed, by the direction of the angel Gabriel, took a handful of gravel and threw it towards the enemy in the attack, saying *May their faces be confounded*, whereupon they immediately turned their backs and fled But, though the prophet seemingly threw the gravel himself, yet it is told in the Korân,[3] that it was not he, but GOD, who threw it, that is to say, by the ministry of his angel 2 The Mohammedan troops seemed to the infidels to be twice as many in number as themselves, which greatly discouraged them And 3 GOD sent down to their assistance first a thousand, and afterwards three thousand angels, led by Gabriel, mounted on his horse Haizûm, and, according to the Korân,[4] these celestial auxiliaries really did all the execution, though Mohammed's men imagined themselves did it, and fought stoutly at the same time

[o] The proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which signifies the *resigning* or *devoting one's self* entirely to GOD and his service. This they say is the religion which all the prophets were sent to teach, being founded on the unity of GOD[5]

[p] *i e*, The pagan Arabs, who had no knowledge of the scriptures.[1]

[q] That is, the Jews

[r] This passage was revealed on occasion of a dispute Mohammed had with some Jews, which is differently related by the commentators.

[2] See this chapter below, and c. 8 and 32. [3] Cap. 8, not far from the beginning [4] Ibid
[5] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi [1] Idem.

turned their backs, and retired afar off. This *they did* because they said, The fire *of hell* shall by no means touch us, but for a *certain* number of days:[s] and that which they had falsely devised, hath deceived them in their religion. How then *will it be with them*, when we shall gather them together at the day *of judgment*,[t] of which there is no doubt; and every soul shall be paid that which it hath gained, neither shall they be treated unjustly? Say, O GOD, who possessest the kingdom; thou givest the kingdom unto whom thou wilt, and thou takest away the kingdom from whom thou wilt: thou exaltest whom thou wilt, and thou humblest whom thou wilt: in thy hand is good, for thou art almighty. Thou makest the night to succeed the day: thou bringest forth the living out of the dead, and thou bringest forth the dead out of the living;[u] and providest food for whom thou wilt without measure. Let not the faithful take the infidels for their protectors, rather than the faithful: he who doth this shall not be *protected* of GOD at all, unless ye fear any danger from them: but GOD warneth you to beware of himself; for unto GOD must ye return. Say, Whether ye conceal that which is in your breasts, or whether ye declare it, GOD knoweth it: for he knoweth whatever is in heaven, and whatever is on earth: GOD is almighty. On the *last* day every soul shall find the good which it hath wrought, present, and the evil which it hath wrought, it shall wish that between itself and that were a wide distance: but GOD warneth you to beware of himself; for GOD is gracious unto his servants. Say, If ye love GOD, follow me: *then* GOD shall love you, and forgive you your sins; for GOD is gracious and merciful. Say, Obey GOD, and *his* apostle. but if ye go back, verily GOD loveth not the unbelievers. GOD hath surely chosen Adam, and Noah, and the family of Abraham, and the family of Imrân[x] above the

Al Beidâwi says that Mohammed going one day into a Jewish synagogue, Naïm Ebn Amru and al Hareth Ebn Zeid asked him what religion he was of? To which he answering, "Of the religion of Abraham," they replied, "Abraham was a Jew." But on Mohammed's proposing that the Pentateuch might decide the question they would by no means agree to it.

But Jallalo'ddin tells us that two persons of the Jewish religion having committed adultery, their punishment was referred to Mohammed, who gave sentence that they should be stoned, according to the law of Moses. This the Jews refused to submit to, alleging there was no such command in the Pentateuch; but on Mohammed's appealing to the book, the said law was found therein. Whereupon the criminals were stoned, to the great mortification of the Jews.

It is very remarkable that this law of Moses concerning the stoning of adulterers is mentioned in the New Testament[2] (though I know some dispute the authenticity of that whole passage), but is not now to be found, either in the Hebrew or Samaritan Pentateuch, or in the Septuagint; it being only said that such *shall be put to death*.[3] This omission is insisted on by the Mohammedans as one instance of the corruption of the law of Moses by the Jews.

It is also observable that there was a verse once extant in the Korân, commanding adulterers to be stoned; and the commentators say the words only are abrogated, the sense or law still remaining in force.[4]

[s] *i.e.*, Forty; the time their forefathers worshipped the calf.[5] Al Beidâwi adds, that some of them pretended their punishment was to last but seven days, that is, a day for every thousand years which they supposed the world was to endure; and that they imagined they were to be so mildly dealt with, either by reason of the intercession of their fathers the prophets, or because GOD had promised Jacob that his offspring should be punished but slightly.

[t] The Mohammedans have a tradition that the first banner of the infidels that shall be set up, on the day of judgment, will be that of the Jews; and that GOD will first reproach them with their wickedness, over the heads of those who are present, and then order them to hell.[6]

[u] As a man from seed, and a bird from an egg; and *vice versâ*.[1]

[x] Or Amrân, is the name of two several persons, according to the Mohammedan tradition.

[2] John viii. 5. [3] Levit. xx. 10. See Whiston's Essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Test. p. 99, 100. [4] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. III. [5] See before, p. 10, note [6] Al Beidâwi. [1] Jallalo'ddin.

rest of the world; a race *descending* the one from the other: GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. *Remember* when the wife of Imrân[y] said, LORD, verily I have vowed unto thee that which is in my womb, to be dedicated *to thy service*:[a] accept *it* therefore of me; for thou art he who heareth and knoweth. And when she was delivered of it, she said, LORD, verily I have brought forth a female (and GOD well knew what she had brought forth), and a male is not as a female.[a] I have called her Mary; and I commend her to thy protection, and *also* her issue, against Satan driven away with stones.[b] Therefore the LORD accepted her with a gracious acceptance,[c] and caused her to bear an excellent off-

One was the father of Moses and Aaron; and the other was the father of the Virgin Mary;[2] but he is called by some Christian writers Joachim. The commentators suppose the first, or rather both of them, to be meant in this place; however, the person intended in the next passage, it is agreed, was the latter; who besides Mary the mother of Jesus, had also a son named Aaron,[3] and another sister, named Ishá (or Elizabeth), who married Zacharias, and was the mother of John the Baptist; whence that prophet and Jesus are usually called by the Mohammedans, *The two sons of the aunt*, or the cousins german.

From the identity of names it has been generally imagined by Christian writers[4] that the Korân here confounds Mary the mother of Jesus, with Mary or Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron; which intolerable anachronism, if it were certain, is sufficient of itself to destroy the pretended authority of this book. But though Mohammed may be supposed to have been ignorant enough in ancient history and chronology to have committed so gross a blunder, yet I do not see how it can be made out from the words of the Korân. For it does not follow, because two persons have the same name, and have each a father and brother who bear the same names, that they must therefore necessarily be the same person: besides, such a mistake is inconsistent with a number of other places in the Korân, whereby it manifestly appears that Mohammed well knew and asserted that Moses preceded Jesus several ages. And the commentators accordingly fail not to tell us that there had passed about one thousand eight hundred years between Amrân the father of Moses, and Amrân the father of the Virgin Mary: they also make them the sons of different persons; the first, they say, was the son of Yeshar, or Izhar (though he was really his brother),[5] the son of Kâhath, the son of Levi; and the other was the son of Mathân,[6] whose genealogy they trace, but in a very corrupt and imperfect manner, up to David, and thence to Adam.[7]

It must be observed that though the Virgin Mary is called in the Korân[1] the sister of Aaron, yet she is nowhere called the sister of Moses; however, some Mohammedan writers have imagined that the same individual Mary, the sister of Moses, was miraculously preserved alive from his time till that of Jesus Christ, purposely to become the mother of the latter.[2]

y The Imrân here mentioned was the father of the Virgin Mary, and his wife's name was Hannah, or Ann, the daughter of Fakudh. This woman, say the commentators, being aged and barren, on seeing a bird feed her young ones, became very desirous of issue, and begged a child of GOD, promising to consecrate it to his service in the temple; whereupon she had a child, but it proved a daughter.[3]

a The Arabic word is *free*, but here signifies particularly one that is *free* or detached from all worldly desires and occupations, and wholly devoted to GOD's service.[4]

a Because a female could not minister in the temple as a male could.[5]

b This expression alludes to a tradition, that Abraham, when the devil tempted him to disobey GOD in not sacrificing his son, drove the fiend away by throwing stones at him; in memory of which, the Mohammedans, at the pilgrimage of Mecca, throw a certain number of stones at the devil, with certain ceremonies, in the valley of Mina.[6]

It is not improbable that the pretended immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary is intimated in this passage; for according to a tradition of Mohammed, every person that comes into the world is touched at his birth by the devil, and therefore cries out, Mary and her son only excepted; between whom and the evil spirit GOD placed a veil, so that his touch did not reach them.[7] And for this reason, they say, neither of them were guilty of any sin, like the rest of the children of Adam;[8] which peculiar grace they obtained by virtue of this recommendation of them by Hannah to GOD's protection.

c Though the child happened not to be a male, yet her mother presented her to the priests who had the care of the temple, as one dedicated to GOD; and they having received her, she

[2] Al Zamakhshari, al Beidâwi. [3] Kor. c. 19. [4] Vide Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 211. Marracc. in Alc. p. 115, &c. Prideaux, Letter to the Deists, p. 185. [5] Exod. vi. 18. [6] Al Zamakh. al Beidâwi. [7] Vide Reland. ubi sup. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 583. [1] Cap. 19. [2] Vide Guadagnol. Apolog. pro Rel. Christ. contra Ahmed Ebn Zein al Abedin. p. 279. [3] Al Beidâwi, al Thalabi. [4] Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari. [5] Jallalo'ddin. [6] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. [7] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [8] Katada.

spring. And Zacharias took care of *the child;* whenever Zacharias went into the chamber to her, he found provisions with her:[d] *and* he said, O Mary, whence hadst thou this? she answered, This is from GOD: for GOD provideth for whom he pleaseth without measure.[e] There Zacharias called on his LORD, *and* said, LORD, give me from thee a good offspring, for thou art the hearer of prayer. And the angels[f] called to him, while he stood praying in the chamber, *saying,* Verily GOD promiseth thee *a son named* John, who shall bear witness to the Word[g] *which cometh* from GOD; an honourable person, chaste,[h] and one of the righteous prophets. He answered, LORD, how shall I have a son, when old age hath overtaken me,[i] and my wife is barren? *The angel* said, So GOD doth that which he pleaseth. *Zacharias* answered, LORD, give me a sign. *The angel* said, Thy sign shall be, that thou shalt speak unto no man[k] for three days, otherwise than by gesture remember thy LORD often, and praise *him* evening and morning. And when the angels said, O Mary, verily GOD hath chosen thee, and hath purified thee, and hath chosen thee above *all* the women of the world. O Mary, be devout towards thy LORD, and worship, and bow down with those who bow down. This is a secret history: we reveal it unto thee, although thou wast not present with them when they threw in their rods *to cast lots* which of them should have the education of Mary:[l] neither wast thou with them, when they strove among themselves When the angels said, O Mary, verily GOD sendeth thee good tidings, *that thou shalt bear* the Word, *proceeding* from himself; his name shall be CHRIST JESUS the son of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and *one* of those who approach near *to the presence of God;* and

was committed to the care of Zacharias, as will be observed by and bye, and he built her an apartment in the temple, and supplied her with necessaries.[9]

[d] The commentators say that none went into Mary's apartment but Zacharias himself, and that he locked seven doors upon her, yet he found she had always winter fruits in summer, and summer fruits in winter.[10]

[e] There is a story of Fâtema, Mohammed's daughter, that she once brought two loaves and a piece of flesh to her father, who returned them to her, and having called for her again, when she uncovered the dish, it was full of bread and meat; and on Mohammed's asking her whence she had it, she answered in the words of this passage, *This is from* GOD, *for* GOD *provideth for whom he pleaseth without measure.* Whereupon he blessed GOD, who thus favoured her, as he had the most excellent of the daughters of Israel.[1]

[f] Though the word be in the plural, yet the commentators say it was the angel Gabriel only. The same is to be understood where it occurs in the following passages.

[g] That is, Jesus, who, al Beidâwi says, is so called because he was conceived by the word or command of GOD without a father.

[h] The original word signifies one who refrains not only from women, but from all other worldly delights and desires. Al Beidâwi mentions a tradition, that during his childhood some boys invited him to play, but he refused, saying that he was not created to play.

[i] Zacharias was then ninety-nine years old, and his wife eighty-nine.[2]

[k] Though he could not speak to anybody else, yet his tongue was at liberty to praise GOD as he is directed to do by the following words.

[l] When Mary was first brought to the temple, the priests, because she was the daughter of one of their chiefs, disputed among themselves who should have the education of her. Zacharias insisted that he ought to be preferred, because he had married her aunt; but the others not consenting that it should be so, they agreed to decide the matter by casting of lots; whereupon twenty-seven of them went to the river Jordan and threw in their rods (or arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used for the same purpose) on which they had written some passages of the law, but they all sunk except that of Zacharias, which floated on the water; and he had thereupon the care of the child committed to him.[3]

[9] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. Vide Lud. de Dieu, in not. ad Hist. Christ. Xav. p. [illegible]
[10] Al Beidâwi. Vide de Dieu, ubi sup. p. 545.
[1] Al Beidâwi.
[2] Idem.
[3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, &c.

he shall speak unto men in the cradle,[m] and when he is grown up;[n] and he shall be *one* of the righteous. she answered, LORD, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? *the angel* said, So GOD createth that which he pleaseth: when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is *God* shall teach him the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel; and *shall appoint him his* apostle to the children of Israel; *and he shall say*, Verily I come unto you with a sign from your LORD; for I will make before you, of clay, as it were the figure of a bird,[o] then I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of GOD[p] and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth, and the leper. and I will raise the dead[q] by the permission of GOD and I will prophesy unto you what ye eat, and what ye lay up for store in your houses. Verily herein will be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And *I come* to confirm the Law which was *revealed* before me, and to allow unto you as lawful, part of that which hath been forbidden you[r] and I come unto you with a sign from your LORD, therefore fear GOD, and obey me. Verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD. therefore serve him. This is the right way But when Jesus perceived their unbelief, he said, Who *will be* my helpers towards GOD?

[m] Besides an instance of this given in the Korân itself,[1] which I shall not here anticipate, a Mohammedan writer (of no very great credit, indeed) tells two stories, one of Jesus's speaking while in his mother's womb, to reprove her cousin Joseph for his unjust supicions of her[2] and another of his giving an answer to the same person soon after he was born For Joseph being sent by Zacharias to seek Mary (who had gone out of the city by night to conceal her delivery) and having found her, began to expostulate with her, but she made no reply, whereupon the child spoke these words *Rejoice, O Joseph, and be of good cheer, for* GOD *hath brought me forth from the darkness of the womb, to the light of the world, and I shall go to the children of Israel, and invite them to the obedience of* GOD.[3]

These seem all to have been taken from some fabulous traditions of the eastern Christians, one of which is preserved to us in the spurious gospel of the Infancy of Christ where we read that Jesus spoke while yet in the cradle, and said to his mother, *Verily I am Jesus the son of* GOD, *the word which thou hast brought forth, as the angel Gabriel did declare unto thee, and my father hath sent me to save the world*[4]

[n] The Arabic word properly signifies a man in full age, that is, between thirty or thirty-four, and fifty-one; and the passage may relate to Christ's preaching here on earth But as he had scarce attained this age when he was taken up into heaven, the commentators choose to understand it of his second coming[5]

[o] Some say it was a bat[6] though others suppose Jesus made several birds of different sorts.

This circumstance is also taken from the following fabulous tradition, which may be found in the spurious gospel above mentioned Jesus being seven years old, and at play with several children of his age, they made several figures of birds and beasts, for their diversion, of clay; and each preferring his own workmanship, Jesus told them, that he would make his walk and leap; which accordingly, at his command, they did: He made also several figures of sparrows and other birds, which flew about or stood on his hands as he ordered them, and also ate and drank when he offered them meat and drink The children telling this to their parents, were forbidden to play any more with Jesus, whom they held to be a sorcerer[8]

[p] The commentators observe that these words are added here, and in the next sentence, lest it should be thought Jesus did these miracles by his own power, or was GOD[9]

[q] Jallalo'ddin mentions three persons whom Christ restored to life, and who lived several years after, and had children, viz, Lazarus, the widow's son and the publican's (I suppose he means the ruler of the synagogue's) daughter He adds that he also raised Shem the son of Noah, who, as another writes,[10] thinking he had been called to judgment, came out of his grave with his head half grey, whereas men did not grow grey in his days, after which he immediately died again.

[r] Such as the eating of fish that have neither fins nor scales, the caul and fat of animals and camel's flesh, and to work on the sabbath These things, say the commentators, being arbitrary institutions in the law of Moses, were abrogated by Jesus, as several of the same kind, instituted by the latter, have been since abrogated by Mohammed[1]

[1] Cap. 19 [2] Vide Sike notas in Evang Infant p 5 [3] Al Kessai apud eundem. [4] Evang Infant p 5 [5] Jallalo'ddin Al Beidâwi. [6] Jallalo'ddin [7] Al Thalabi [8] Evang Infant p 111, &c [9] Al Beidâwi [10] Al Thalabi [1] Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin.

The apostles[s] answered, We *will be* the helpers of GOD; we believe in GOD, and do thou bear witness that we are true believers. O LORD, we believe in that which thou has sent down, and we have followed thy apostle; write us down therefore with those who bear witness *of him* And *the Jews* devised a stratagem *against him*,[t] but GOD devised a stratagem *against them*;[u] and GOD is the best deviser of stratagems When GOD said, O Jesus, verily I will cause thee to die,[x] and I will

[s] In Arabic, *al Hawâriyûn*; which word they derive from *Hâra, to be white*, and suppose the apostles were so called either from the *candour* and *sincerity* of their minds, or because they were princes and wore white garments, or else because they were by trade *fullers*[2] According to which last opinion, their vocation is thus related; that as Jesus passed by the seaside, he saw some fullers at work, and accosting them, said, *Ye cleanse these clothes, but cleanse not your hearts*; upon which they believed on him But the true etymology seems to be from the Ethiopic verb *Hawyra, to go*, whence *Hawârya* signifies *one that is sent, a messenger or apostle.*[3]

[t] *i e*, They laid a design to take away his life.

[u] This stratagem of GOD'S was the taking of Jesus up into heaven, and stamping his likeness on another person, who was apprehended and crucified in his stead For it is the constant doctrine of the Mohammedans that it was not Jesus himself who underwent that ignominious death, but somebody else in his shape and resemblance[4] The person crucified some will have to be a spy that was sent to entrap him, others that it was one Titian, who by the direction of Judas entered in at a window of the house where Jesus was, to kill him and others that it was Judas himself, who agreed with the rulers of the Jews to betray him for thirty pieces of silver, and led those who were sent to take him

They add, that Jesus after his crucifixion in *effigy*, was sent down again to the earth, to comfort his mother and disciples, and acquaint them how the Jews were deceived; and was then taken up a second time into heaven[5]

It is supposed by several that this story was an original invention of Mohammed's; but they are certainly mistaken, for several sectaries held the same opinion, long before his time The Basilidians,[6] in the very beginning of Christianity, denied that Christ himself suffered, but that Simon the Cyrenean was crucified in his place The Cerinthians before them, and the Carpocratians next (to name no more of those who affirmed Jesus to have been a mere man), did believe the same thing, that it was not himself, but one of his followers very like him that was crucified Photius tells us, that he read a book entitled, The Journeys of the Apostles, relating the acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul; and among other things contained therein, this was one, *that Christ was not crucified, but another in his stead*, and that therefore *he laughed at his crucifiers*,[7] or those who thought they had crucified him[8]

I have in another place[9] mentioned an apocryphal gospel of Barnabas, a forgery originally of some nominal Christians, but interpolated since by Mohammedans, which gives this part of the history of Jesus with circumstances too curious to be omitted. It is therein related, that the moment the Jews were going to apprehend Jesus in the garden, he was snatched up into the third heaven by the ministry of four angels, Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel, that he will not die till the end of the world, and that it was Judas who was crucified in his stead, GOD having permitted that traitor to appear so like his master, in the eyes of the Jews, that they took and delivered him to Pilate That this resemblance was so great, that it deceived the Virgin Mary and the apostles themselves; but that Jesus Christ afterwards obtained leave of GOD to go and comfort them That Barnabas having then asked him, why the divine goodness had suffered the mother and disciples of so holy a prophet to believe even for one moment that he had died in so ignominious a manner? Jesus returned the following answer "O Barnabas, believe me that every sin, how small soever, is punished by GOD with great torment, because GOD is offended with sin My mother therefore and faithful disciples, having loved me with a mixture of earthly love, the just GOD has been pleased to punish this love with their present grief, that they might not be punished for it hereafter in the flames of hell. And as for me, though I have myself been blameless in the world, yet other men having called me GOD, and the son of GOD, therefore GOD, that I might not be mocked by the devils at the day of judgment, has been pleased that in this world I should be mocked by men with the death of Judas, making everybody believe that I died upon the cross And hence it is that this mocking is still to continue till the coming of Mohammed, the messenger of GOD; who coming into the world, will undeceive every one who shall believe in the law of GOD from this mistake[1]

[x] It is the opinion of a great many Mohammedans that Jesus was taken up into heaven with-

[2] Idem [3] Vide Ludolfi Lexic Æthiop col 40, et Golii notas ad cap 61 Korâni, p. 205. [4] See Kor c. 4. [5] Vide Marracc in Alc. p 113, &c, et in Prodr part iii p. 63, &c. [6] Irenæus, l 1, c 23, &c Epiphan. Hæres 24, num iii. [7] Photius, Bibl Cod 114, col. 291. [8] Toland's Nazarenus, p 17, &c. [9] Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV, [1] See the Menagiana, tom iv p 320, &c.

take thee up unto me,[y] and I will deliver thee from the unbelievers; and I will place those who follow thee above the unbelievers, until the day of resurrection:[z] then unto me shall ye return, and I will judge between you of that concerning which ye disagree. Moreover, as for the infidels, I will punish them with a grievous punishment in this world, and in that which is to come; and there shall be none to help them. But they who believe, and do that which is right, he shall give them their reward; for GOD loveth not the wicked doers. These signs and this prudent admonition do we rehearse unto thee. Verily the likeness of Jesus in the sight of GOD is as the likeness of Adam: he created him out of the dust, and then said unto him, Be, and he was.[a] *This is* the truth from thy LORD, be not therefore *one* of those who doubt: and whoever shall dispute with thee concerning him,[b] after the knowledge which hath been given thee, say *unto them*, Come, let us call together our sons, and your sons, and our wives, and your wives, and our selves, and your selves; then let us make imprecations, and lay the curse of GOD on those who lie.[c] Verily this is a true history. and there is no GOD but GOD; and GOD is most mighty, and wise. If they turn back, GOD well knoweth the evil-doers. Say, O ye who have received the scripture, come to a just determination between us and you;[d] that we worship not *any* except GOD, and associate no creature with him; and that the one of us take not the other for lords,[e] beside GOD. But if they turn back, say, Bear witness that we are true

out dying; which opinion is consonant to what is delivered in the spurious gospel above mentioned. Wherefore several of the commentators say that there is a *hysteron proteron* in these words, *I will cause thee to die, and I will take thee up unto me*, and that the copulative does not import order, or that he died before his assumption, the meaning being this, viz, that GOD would first take Jesus up to heaven, and deliver him from the infidels, and afterwards cause him to die; which they suppose is to happen when he shall return into the world again, before the last day [2] Some, thinking the order of the words is not to be changed, interpret them figuratively, and suppose their signification to be that Jesus was lifted up while he was asleep, or that GOD caused him to die a spiritual death to all worldly desires But others acknowledge that he actually died a natural death, and continued in that state three hours, or, according to another tradition, seven hours, after which he was restored to life, and then taken up to heaven [3]

[y] Some Mohammedans say this was done by the ministry of Gabriel, but others that a strong whirlwind took him up from Mount Olivet [4]

[z] That is, they who believe in Jesus (among whom the Mohammedans reckon themselves) shall be for ever superior to the Jews, both in arguments and in arms And accordingly, says al Beidâwi, to this very day the Jews have never prevailed either against the Christians or Moslems, nor have they any kingdom or established government of their own

[a] He was like to Adam in respect of his miraculous production by the immediate power of GOD [1]

[b] Namely, Jesus

[c] To explain this passage their commentators tell the following story That some Christians, with their bishop named Abu Hareth, coming to Mohammed as ambassadors from the inhabitants of Najrân, and entering into some disputes with him touching religion and the history of Jesus Christ, they agreed the next morning to abide the trial here mentioned, as a quick way of deciding which of them were in the wrong Mohammed met them accordingly, accompanied by his daughter Fâtema, his son-in law Ali, and his two grandsons, Hasan and Hosein, and desired them to wait till he had said his prayers But when they saw him kneel down, their resolution failed them, and they durst not venture to curse him, but submitted to pay him tribute.[2]

[d] That is, to such terms of agreement as are indisputably consonant to the doctrine of all the prophets and scriptures, and therefore cannot be reasonably rejected [3]

[e] Besides other charges of idolatry on the Jews and Christians, Mohammed accused them of paying too implicit an obedience to their priests and monks, who took upon them to pronounce what things were lawful, and what unlawful, and to dispense with the laws of GOD [4]

[2] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV [3] Al Beidâwi [4] Al Thalabi See 2 Kings ii 1, 11
[1] Jallalo ddin, &c [2] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi [3] Idem. [4] Idem

believers. O ye to whom the scriptures have been given, why do ye dispute concerning Abraham,[f] since the Law and the Gospel were not sent down until after him? Do ye not therefore understand? Behold ye are they who dispute concerning that which ye have some knowledge in; why therefore do ye dispute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of?[g] GOD knoweth, but ye know not. Abraham was neither a Jew, nor a Christian; but he was of the true religion, one resigned *unto God*, and was not of the *number of the* idolaters. Verily the men who are the nearest *of kin* unto Abraham, are they who follow him; and this prophet, and they who believe *on him*: GOD is the patron of the faithful. Some of those who have received the scriptures desire to seduce you,[h] but they seduce themselves only, and they perceive *it* not. O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye not believe in the signs of GOD, since ye are witnesses *of them?* O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth?[i] And some of those to whom the scriptures were given, say, Believe in that which hath been sent down unto those who believe, in the beginning of the day, and deny *it* in the end thereof, that they may go back *from their faith*[k] and believe him only who followeth your religion. Say, Verily the *true* direction is the direction of GOD, that there may be given unto some other *a revelation* like unto what hath been given unto you. Will they dispute with you before your LORD? Say, Surely excellence is in the hand of GOD, he giveth it unto whom he pleaseth, GOD is bounteous and wise: he will confer peculiar mercy on whom he pleaseth, for GOD is endued with great beneficence. There is of those who have received the scriptures, unto whom if thou trust a talent, he will restore it unto thee,[l] and *there is also* of them, unto whom if thou trust a dinâr, he will not restore it unto thee, unless thou stand over him continually *with great urgency*.[m] This *they do* because

[f] viz., By pretending him to have been of your religion.

[g] i.e., Ye perversely dispute even concerning those things which ye find in the law and the gospel, whereby it appears they were both sent down long after Abraham's time; why then will ye offer to dispute concerning such points of Abraham's religion, of which your scriptures say nothing, and of which ye consequently can have no knowledge?[5]

[h] This passage was revealed when the Jews endeavoured to pervert Hodheifa, Ammâr, and Moâdh to their religion.[1]

[i] The Jews and Christians are again accused of corrupting the scriptures and stifling the prophecies concerning Mohammed.

[k] The commentators, to explain this passage, say that Caab Ebn al Ashraf and Malec Ebn al Seif (two Jews of Medina) advised their companions, when the Keblah was changed,[2] to make as if they believed it was done by the divine direction, and to pray towards the Caaba in the morning, but that in the evening they should pray, as formerly, towards the temple of Jerusalem; that Mohammed's followers, imagining the Jews were better judges of this matter than themselves, might imitate their example. But others say these were certain Jewish priests of Khaibar, who directed some of their people to pretend in the morning that they had embraced Mohammedism, but in the close of the day to say that they had looked into their books of scripture, and consulted their Rabbins, and could not find that Mohammed was the person described and intended in the law, by which trick they hoped to raise doubts in the minds of the Mohammedans.[3]

[l] As an instance of this, the commentators bring Abd'allah Ebn Salâm, a Jew, very intimate with Mohammed,[4] to whom one of the Koreish lent 1,200 ounces of gold, which he very punctually repaid at the time appointed.[5]

[m] Al Beidâwi produces an example of such a piece of injustice in one Phineas Ebn Azûra, a Jew, who borrowed a *dinâr*, which is a gold coin worth about ten shillings, of a Koreishite, and afterwards had the conscience to deny it.

But the person more directly struck at in this passage was the above mentioned Caab Ebn al

[5] Al Beidâwi. [1] Idem. [2] See before, [illegible] p. 16. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See Prideaux Life of Mahom. p. [illegible]. [5] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

they say, We are not obliged to observe justice with the heathen: but they utter a lie against GOD, knowingly. Yea; whoso keepeth his covenant, and feareth *God*, GOD surely loveth those who fear *him*. But they who make merchandise of GOD'S covenant, and of their oaths, for a small price, shall have no portion in the next life, neither shall GOD speak to them or regard them on the day of resurrection, nor shall he cleanse them; but they shall suffer a grievous punishment. And there are certainly some of them, who read the scriptures perversely, that ye may think *what they read* to be really in the scriptures, yet it is not in the scripture; and they say, This is from GOD, but it is not from GOD: and they speak that which is false concerning GOD, against their own knowledge. It is not *fit* for a man, that GOD should give him a book *of revelations*, and wisdom, and prophecy; and then he should say unto men, Be ye worshippers of me, besides GOD; but *he ought to say*, Be ye perfect in knowledge and in works, since ye know the scriptures, and exercise yourselves therein.[n] *God* hath not commanded *you* to take the angels and the prophets for *your* Lords. Will he command *you* to become infidels, after ye have been true believers? And *remember* when GOD accepted the covenant of the prophets,[o] *saying*, *This* verily *is* the scripture and the wisdom which I have given you: hereafter shall an apostle come unto you, confirming the truth of that *scripture* which is with you; ye shall surely believe on him, and ye shall assist him. *God* said, Are ye firmly resolved, and do ye accept my covenant on this *condition*? They answered, We are firmly resolved. *God* said, Be ye therefore witnesses, and I also bear witness with you: and whosoever turneth back after this, they are surely the transgressors. Do they therefore seek any other religion but GOD'S? since to him is resigned whosoever is in heaven or on earth, voluntarily, or of force; and to him shall they return. Say, We believe in GOD, and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which was sent down unto Abraham,

Ashraf, a most inveterate enemy of Mohammed and his religion, of whom Jallalo'ddin relates the same story as al Beidâwi does of Phineas. This Caab, after the battle of Bedr, went to Mecca, and there to excite the Koreish to revenge themselves, made and recited verses lamenting the death of those who were slain in that battle, and reflecting very severely on Mohammed; and he afterwards returned to Medina, and had the boldness to repeat them publicly there also; at which Mohammed was so exceedingly provoked that he proscribed him, and sent a party of men to kill him; and he was circumvented and slain by Mohammed Ebn Moslema in the third year of the Hejra.[1] Dr Prideaux[2] has confounded the Caab we are now speaking of with another very different person of the same name, and a famous poet, but who was the son of Zohair and no Jew, as a learned gentleman has already observed.[3] In consequence of which mistake the doctor attributes what the Arabian historians write of the latter to the former, and wrongly affirms that he was not put to death by Mohammed.

Some of the commentators, however, suppose that in the former part of this passage the Christians are intended, who, they say, are generally people of some honour and justice, and in the latter part the Jews, who, they think, are more given to cheating and dishonesty.[4]

[n] This passage was revealed, say the commentators, in answer to the Christians, who insisted that Jesus had commanded them to worship him as GOD. Al Beidâwi adds that two Christians, named Abu Râfe al Koradhi and al Seyid al Najrâni, offered to acknowledge Mohammed for their Lord, and to worship him; to which he answered, GOD *forbid that we should worship any besides* GOD.

[o] Some commentators interpret this of the children of Israel themselves, of whose race the prophets were. But others say the souls of all the prophets, even of those who were not then born, were present on Mount Sinai when GOD gave the law to Moses, and that they entered into the covenant here mentioned with him. A story borrowed by Mohammed from the Talmudists, and therefore most probably his true meaning in this place.

[1] Al Jannâbi, Elmacin. [2] Life of Mahomet, p. 78, &c. [3] Vide Gagnier, in not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 64 and 129. [4] Al Beidâwi.

and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which was delivered to Moses, and Jesus, and the prophets from their LORD; we make no distinction between any of them; and to him are we resigned. Whoever followeth any other religion than Islâm, it shall not be accepted of him: and in the next life he shall be of those who perish.[p] How shall God direct men who have become infidels after they had believed, and borne witness that the apostle was true, and manifest declarations *of the divine will* had come unto them? for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Their reward shall be, that on them *shall fall* the curse of GOD, and of angels, and of all mankind: they shall remain under the same for ever; their torment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be regarded, except those who repent after this, and amend; for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who become infidels after they have believed, and yet increase in infidelity, their repentance shall in no wise be accepted, and they are those who go astray. Verily they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, the world full of gold shall in no wise be accepted from any of them, even though he should give it for his ransom, they shall suffer a grievous punishment, and they shall have none to help them. (IV.) Ye will never attain unto righteouness, until ye give in alms of that which ye love. and whatever ye give, GOD knoweth it. All food was permitted unto the children of Israel, except what Israel forbade unto himself[q] before the Pentateuch was sent down[r] Say *unto the Jews*, Bring hither the Pentateuch and read it, if ye speak truth Whoever therefore contriveth a lie against GOD after this, they will be evil-doers. Say, GOD is true: follow ye therefore the religion of Abraham the orthodox; for he was no idolater. Verily the first house appointed unto men *to worship in* was that which is in Becca,[s] blessed, and a direction to all creatures[t] Therein are manifest signs[u] the place where Abraham stood; and whoever entereth therein, shall be safe. And *it is a duty* towards GOD, *incumbent*

[p] See before, chapter 2, p 8, note y.

[q] This passage was revealed on the Jews reproaching Mohammed and his followers with their eating of the flesh and milk of camels,[1] which they said was forbidden Abraham, whose religion Mohammed pretended to follow In answer to which he tells them that GOD ordained no distinction of meats before he gave the law to Moses, though Jacob voluntarily abstained from the flesh and milk of camels, which some commentators say was the consequence of a vow made by that patriarch, when afflicted with the *sciatica*, that if he were cured he would eat no more of that meat which he liked best; and that was camel's flesh but others suppose he abstained from it by the advice of physicians only[2]

This exposition seems to be taken from the children of Israel's not eating of the sinew on the hollow of the thigh, because the angel, with whom Jacob wrestled at Peniel, touched *the hollow of his thigh in the sinew that shrank*[3]

[r] Wherein the Israelites, because of their wickedness and perverseness, were forbidden to eat certain animals which had been allowed their predecessors[4]

[s] Mohammed received this passage when the Jews said that their Keblah, or the temple of Jerusalem, was more ancient than that of the Mohammedans, or the Caaba[5] Becca is another name of Mecca.[6] Al Beidâwi observes that the Arabs used the "M" and "B" promiscuously in several words

[t] *i e*, The Keblah, towards which they are to turn their faces in prayer.

[u] Such is the stone wherein they show the print of Abraham's feet, and the inviolable security of the place immediately mentioned, that the birds light not on the roof of the Caaba, and wild beasts put off their fierceness there, that none who came against it in a hostile manner ever prospered,[1] as appeared particularly in the unfortunate expedition of Abraha al Ashram;[8] and other fables of the same stamp which the Mohammedans are taught to believe.

[1] See Levit xi 4; Deut. xiv 7 [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [3] Gen. xxxii 32. [4] Kor. c. 4 See the notes there [5] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [6] See the Prelim. Disc Sect. I p. 3. [1] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [8] See Kor. c. 105.

on those who are able to go thither,[x] to visit this house; but whosoever disbelieveth, verily GOD needeth not *the service of* any creature. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye not believe in the signs of GOD? Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye keep back from the way of GOD him who believeth? Ye seek to make it crooked, and yet are witnesses *that it is the right:* but GOD will not be unmindful of what ye do. O true believers, if ye obey some of those who have received the scripture, they will render you infidels, after ye have believed:[y] and how can ye be infidels, when the signs of GOD are read unto you, and his apostle is among you? But he who cleaveth firmly unto GOD, is already directed into the right way. O believers, fear GOD with his true fear; and die not unless ye also be true believers. And cleave all *of you* unto the covenant[z] of GOD, and depart not *from it*, and remember the favour of GOD towards you: since ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour: and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Thus GOD declareth unto you his signs, that ye may be directed. Let there be people among you, who invite to the best *religion;* and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil; and they shall be happy. And be not as they who are divided, and disagree *in matters of religion*,[a] after manifest proofs have been brought unto them. they shall suffer a great torment. On the day *of resurrection some* faces shall become white, and *other* faces shall become black.[b] And unto them whose faces shall become black, *God will say*, Have ye returned unto *your* unbelief, after ye had believed? therefore taste the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers but they whose faces shall become white *shall be* in the mercy of GOD, therein shall they remain for ever.

[x] According to an exposition of this passage attributed to Mohammed, he is supposed to be able to perform the pilgrimage, who can supply himself with provisions for the journey, and a beast to ride upon Al Shâfei has decided that those who have money enough, if they cannot go themselves, must hire some other to go in their room Malec Ebn Ans thinks he is to be reckoned *able* who is strong and healthy, and can bear the fatigue of the journey on foot, if he has no beast to ride, and can also earn his living by the way But Abu Hanifa is of opinion that both money sufficient and health of body are requisite to make the pilgrimage a duty.[3]

[y] This passage was revealed on occasion of a quarrel excited between the tribes of al Aws and al Khazraj, by one Shâs Ebn Kais, a Jew, who, passing by some of both tribes as they were sitting and discoursing familiarly together, and being inwardly vexed at the friendship and harmony which reigned among them on their embracing Mohammedism, whereas they had been, for 120 years before, most inveterate and mortal enemies, though descendants of two brothers, in order to set them at variance, sent a young man to sit down by them, directing him to relate the story of the battle of Boâth (a place near Medina), wherein, after a bloody fight, al Aws had the better of al Khazraj, and to repeat some verses on that subject. The young man executed his orders, whereupon those of each tribe began to magnify themselves, and to reflect on and irritate the other, till at length they called to arms, and great numbers getting together on each side, a dangerous battle had ensued, if Mohammed had not stepped in and reconciled them; by representing to them how much they would be to blame if they returned to paganism, and revived those animosities which Islâm had composed, and telling them that what had happened was a trick of the devil to disturb their present tranquillity[4]

[z] Literally, *Hold fast by the cord of* GOD That is, *Secure yourselves by adhering to* Islâm, which is here metaphorically expressed by a *cord*, because it is as sure a means of saving those who profess it from perishing hereafter, as holding by a rope is to prevent one's falling into a well, or other like place It is said that Mohammed used for the same reason to call the Korân, Habl Allah al matin, *i.e*, *the sure cord of* GOD.[5]

[a] *i.e.*, As the Jews and Christians, who dispute concerning the unity of GOD, the future state, &c.[1]

[b] See the Preliminary Discourse, Sect IV.

[3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. [5] Idem. [1] Idem

These are the signs of GOD: we recite them unto thee with truth GOD will not deal unjustly with *his* creatures. And to GOD *belongeth* whatever is in heaven and on earth; and to GOD shall *all* things return. Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind: ye command that which is just, and ye forbid that which is unjust, and ye believe in GOD. And if they who have received the scriptures had believed, it had surely been the better for them · there are believers among them,[c] but the greater part of them are transgressors They shall not hurt you, unless with a *slight* hurt; and if they fight against you, they shall turn their backs to you, and they shall not be helped.[d] They are smitten with vileness wheresoever they are found; unless *they obtain security* by *entering into* a treaty with GOD, and a treaty with men [e] and they draw on themselves indignation from GOD, and they are afflicted with poverty. This *they suffer*, because they disbelieved the signs of GOD, and slew the prophets unjustly; this, because they were rebellious, and transgressed. *Yet* they are not *all* alike. there are of those who have received the scriptures, upright people,[f] they meditate on the signs of GOD[g] in the night season, and worship; they believe in GOD and the last day, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is unjust, and zealously strive *to excel* in good works · these are of the righteous And ye shall not be denied *the reward of* the good which ye do,[h] for GOD knoweth the pious As for the unbelievers, their wealth shall not profit them at all, neither their children, against GOD: they *shall be* the companions of *hell* fire, they shall continue therein for ever. The likeness of that which they lay out in this present life, is as a wind wherein there is a scorching cold it falleth on the standing corn of those men who have injured their own souls, and destroyeth it. And GOD dealeth not unjustly with them, but they injure their own souls. O true believers, contract not an intimate friendship *with any* besides yourselves.[i] they will not fail to corrupt you They wish for that which may cause you to perish their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already shown you signs *of their ill will towards you*, if ye understand. Behold, ye love them, and they do not love you: ye believe in all the scriptures, and when they meet you, they say, We believe; but when they assemble privately together, they bite their fingers' ends out of wrath against you. Say *unto them*, Die in your wrath: verily GOD knoweth the innermost part of *your* breasts. If good happen unto you, it grieveth them; and if evil befall you, they rejoice at it. But if ye be patient, and fear *God*, their subtlety shall not hurt you at all; for GOD comprehendeth whatever they do *Call to mind* when thou wentest

[c] As Abd'allah Ebn Salâm and his companions,[2] and those of the tribes of al Aws and al Khazraj who had embraced Mohammedism

[d] This verse, al Beidâwi says, is one of those whose meaning is mysterious, and relates to something future · intimating the low condition to which the Jewish tribes of Koreidha, Nadir, Banu Kainokâ, and those who dwelt at Khaibar, were afterwards reduced by Mohammed

[e] *i.e.*, Unless they either profess the Mohammedan religion, or submit to pay tribute.

[f] Those namely who have embraced Islâm.

[g] That is, the Korân

[h] Some copies have a different reading in this passage, which they express in the third person *They shall not be denied*, &c

[i] *i.e.*, Of a different religion.

[2] Al Beidâwi

forth early from thy family, that thou mightest prepare the faithful a camp for war;[k] and GOD heard and knew *it*, when two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful, so that ye became faint-hearted;[l] but GOD was the supporter of them both; and in GOD let the faithful trust. And GOD had already given you the victory at Bedr,[m] when ye were inferior *in number;* therefore fear GOD, that ye may be thankful. When thou saidst unto the faithful, Is it not enough for you, that your LORD should assist you with three thousand angels, sent down *from heaven?* Verily if ye persevere, and fear *God*, and *your enemies* come upon you suddenly, your LORD will assist you with five thousand angels, distinguished *by their horses and attire*.[n] And this GOD designed only as good tidings for you[o] that your hearts might rest secure: for victory is from GOD alone, the mighty, the wise. That he should cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers, or cast them down, or that they should be overthrown and unsuccessful, *is nothing to thee*. It is no business of thine; whether *God* be turned unto them, or whether he punish them; they are surely unjust doers.[p] To GOD belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth: he spareth whom he pleaseth, and he punisheth whom he pleaseth; for GOD is merciful. O true believers, devour not usury, doubling it twofold; but fear GOD, that ye may prosper. and fear the fire which is prepared for the unbelievers; and obey GOD, and *his* apostle, that ye may obtain mercy. And run with emulation to *obtain* remission from your LORD, and paradise, whose breath *equalieth* the heavens and the earth, which is prepared for the godly, who give alms in prosperity and adversity, who bridle

[k] This was at the battle of Ohod, a mountain about four miles to the north of Medina. The Koreish, to revenge their loss at Bedr,[1] the next year being the third of the Hejra, got together an army of 3,000 men, among whom there were 200 horse, and 700 armed with coats of mail. These forces marched under the conduct of Abu Sofian and sat down at Dhu'l Holeifa, a village about six miles from Medina. Mohammed, being much inferior to his enemies in numbers, at first determined to keep himself within the town, and receive them there, but afterwards, the advice of some of his companions prevailing, he marched out against them at the head of 1,000 men (some say he had 1,050 men, others but 900) of whom 100 were armed with coats of mail, but he had no more than one horse, besides his own, in his whole army. With these forces he formed a camp in a village near Ohod, which mountain he contrived to have on his back, and the better to secure his men from being surrounded, he placed fifty archers in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. When they came to engage, Mohammed had the better at first, but afterwards by the fault of his archers, who left their ranks for the sake of the plunder, and suffered the enemies' horse to encompass the Mohammedans and attack them in the rear, he lost the day, and was very near losing his life, being struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out of which his two foreteeth dropped out. Of the Moslems seventy men were slain, and among them Hamza the uncle of Mohammed, and of the infidels twenty-two.[2] To excuse the ill success of this battle, and to raise the drooping courage of his followers, is Mohammed's drift in the remaining part of this chapter.

[l] These were some of the families of Banu Salma of the tribe of al Khazraj, and Banu'l Hareth of the tribe of al Aws, who composed the two wings of Mohammed's army. Some ill impression had been made on them by Abda'llah Ebn Obba Solûl, then an infidel, who having drawn off 300 men, told them that they were going to certain death, and advised them to return back with him; but he could prevail on but a few, the others being kept firm by the divine influence, as the following words intimate.[3]

[m] See before, p. 32.

[n] The angels who assisted the Mohammedans at Bedr, rode, say the commentators, on black and white horses, and had on their heads white and yellow sashes, the ends of which hung down between their shoulders.

[o] *i.e.*, As an earnest of future success.

[p] This passage was revealed when Mohammed received the wounds above mentioned at the battle of Ohod, and cried out, *How shall that people prosper who have stained their prophet's*

[1] See before, p. 32. [2] Abulfeda, in Vita Moham. p. 64, &c. Elmacin. l. 1. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 80. [3] Al Beidâwi.

their anger and forgive men: for GOD loveth the beneficent.[q] And who, after they have committed a crime, or dealt unjustly with their own souls, remember GOD, and ask pardon for their sins (for who forgiveth sins except God?) and persevere not in what they have done knowingly: their reward shall be pardon from their LORD, and gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall remain therein for ever: and how excellent is the reward of those who labour! There have already been before you examples of punishment *of infidels*, therefore go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those who accuse *God's apostles* of imposture. This *book* is a declaration unto men, and a direction, and an admonition to the pious. And be not dismayed, neither be ye grieved; for ye shall be superior *to the unbelievers* if ye believe. If a wound hath happened unto you *in war*,[r] a like wound hath already happened unto the *unbelieving* people:[s] and we cause these days *of different success* interchangeably to succeed each other among men, that GOD may know those who believe, and may have martyrs from among you (GOD loveth not the workers of iniquity); and that GOD might prove those who believe, and destroy the infidels. Did ye imagine that ye should enter paradise, when as yet GOD knew not those among you who fought strenuously *in his cause*; nor knew those who persevered with patience? Moreover ye did sometime wish for death before that ye met it,[t] but ye have now seen it, and ye looked on, *but retreated from it*. Mohammed is no more than an apostle; the *other* apostles have already deceased before him. if he die therefore, or be slain, will ye turn back on your heels?[u] but he who turneth back on his heels, will not hurt GOD at all, and GOD will surely reward the thankful. No soul can die unless by the permission of GOD, according to *what is written in* the book containing the determinations of things.[x] And whoso chooseth the reward of this world, we will give

face with blood, while he called them to their Lord! The person who wounded him was Otha the son of Abu Wakkâs.[4]

[q] It is related of Hasan the son of Ali, that a slave having once thrown a dish on him boiling hot, as he sat at table, and fearing his master's resentment, fell immediately on his knees, and repeated these words, *Paradise is for those who bridle their anger.* Hasan answered, *I am not angry.* The slave proceeded, *and for those who forgive men. I forgive you*, said Hasan. The slave, however, finished the verse, adding, *for* GOD *loveth the beneficent. Since it is so* replied Hasan, *I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver.*[5] A noble instance of moderation and generosity.

[r] That is, by your being worsted at Ohod.

[s] When they were defeated at Bedr. It is observable that the number of Mohammedans slain at Ohod, was equal to that of the idolaters slain at Bedr; which was so ordered by GOD for a reason to be given elsewhere.[1]

[t] Several of Mohammed's followers who were not present at Bedr, wished for an opportunity of obtaining, in another action, the like honour as those had gained who fell martyrs in that battle; yet were discouraged on seeing the superior numbers of the idolaters in the expedition of Ohod. On which occasion this passage was revealed.[2]

[u] These words were revealed when it was reported in the battle of Ohod that Mohammed was slain, whereupon the idolaters cried out to his followers, *Since your prophet is slain, return to your ancient religion, and to your friends, if Mohammed had been a prophet he had not been slain.* It is related that a Moslem named Ans Ebn al Nadar, uncle to Malec Ebn Ans, hearing these words, said aloud to his companions: *My friends, though Mohammed be slain, certainly Mohammed's Lord liveth and dieth not, therefore value not your lives since the prophet is dead, but fight for the cause for which he fought*: then he cried out, *O God, I am excused before thee, and acquitted in thy sight of what they say*; and drawing his sword, fought valiantly till he was killed.[3]

[x] Mohammed, the more effectually to still the murmurs of his party on their defeat, represents

[4] Idem. Abulfeda, ubi supra. [5] Vide D'Herbe ot Bibl. Orient. Art. Hassan. [1] In not. ad cap. 8. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem.

him thereof: but whoso chooseth the reward of the world to come, we will give him thereof; and we will surely reward the thankful. How many prophets have encountered those who had many myriads *of troops:* and yet they desponded not in their mind for what had befallen them in fighting for the religion of GOD, and were not weakened, neither behaved themselves in an abject manner? GOD loveth those who persevere patiently. And their speech was no other than that they said, Our LORD forgive us our offences, and our transgressions in our business; and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. And GOD gave them the reward of this world, and a glorious reward in the life to come; for GOD loveth the well-doers. O ye who believe, if ye obey the infidels, they will cause you to turn back on your heels, and ye will be turned back and perish:[y] but GOD is your LORD; and he is the best helper. We will surely cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers,[z] because they have associated with GOD that concerning which he sent them down no power: their dwelling shall be the fire *of hell*; and the receptacle of the wicked shall be miserable. GOD had already made good unto you his promise, when ye destroyed them by his permission,[a] until ye became faint-hearted, and disputed concerning the command *of the apostle*, and were rebellious;[b] after *God* had shown you what ye desired. Some of you chose this present world, and others of you chose the world to come.[c] Then he turned you *to flight* from before them, that he might make trial of you (but he hath now pardoned you; for GOD is endued with beneficence toward the faithful), when ye went up *as ye fled*, and looked not back on any; while the apostle called you, in the uttermost part of you.[d] Therefore *God* rewarded you with affliction on affliction, that ye be not grieved *hereafter* for the *spoils* which ye fail of, nor for that which befalleth you;[e] for GOD is well acquainted

to them that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by GOD, and that those who fell in the battle could not have avoided their fate had they stayed at home; whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith. Of the Mohammedan doctrine of absolute predestination I have spoken in another place.[4]

[y] This passage was also occasioned by the endeavours of the Koreish to seduce the Mohammedans to their old idolatry, as they fled in the battle of Ohod.

[z] To this Mohammed attributed the sudden retreat of Abu Sofiân and his troops, without making any farther advantage of their success; only giving Mohammed a challenge to meet them next year at Bedr, which he accepted. Others say that as they were on their march home, they repented they had not utterly extirpated the Mohammedans, and began to think of going back to Medina for that purpose, but were prevented by a sudden consternation or panic fear, which fell on them from GOD.[5]

[a] *i.e.*, In the beginning of the battle, when the Moslems had the advantage, putting the idolaters to flight, and killing several of them.

[b] That is, till the bowmen, who were placed behind to prevent their being surrounded, seeing the enemy fly, quitted their post, contrary to Mohammed's express orders, and dispersed themselves to seize the plunder; whereupon Khâled Ebn al Walîd perceiving their disorder, fell on their rear with the horse which he commanded, and turned the fortune of the day. It is related that though Abda'llah Ebn Johair, their captain, did all he could to make them keep their ranks, he had not ten that stayed with him out of the whole fifty.[6]

[c] The former were they who, tempted by the spoil, quitted their post; and the latter they who stood firm by their leader.

[d] Crying aloud, *Come hither to me, O servants of* GOD! *I am the apostle of* GOD; *he who returneth back shall enter paradise.* But notwithstanding all his endeavours to rally his men, he could not get above [illegible]rty of them about him.

[e] *i.e.*, GOD punished your avarice and disobedience by suffering you to be beaten by your enemies, and to be discouraged by the report of your prophet's death, that ye might be inured to patience under adverse fortune, and not repine at any loss or disappointment for the future.

[4] Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. [5] Al B[illegible]. [6] Idem. Vide Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 65, 66, and note, ibid.

with whatever ye do. Then he sent down upon you after affliction security; soft sleep which fell on some part of you; but *other* part were troubled by their own souls;[f] falsely thinking of GOD a foolish imagination, saying, Will anything of the matter *happen* unto us?[g] Say, Verily the matter *belongeth* wholly unto GOD. They concealed in their minds what they declared not unto thee, saying,[h] If anything of the matter had happened unto us,[i] we had not been slain here. Answer, If ye had been in your houses, verily they would have gone forth to fight, whose slaughter was decreed, to the places where they died, and *this came to pass* that GOD might try what was in your breasts, and might discern what was in your hearts; for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts *of men*. Verily they among you who turned their backs on the day whereon the two armies met each other *at Ohod*, Satan caused them to slip, for some *crime* which they had committed:[k] but now hath GOD forgiven them; for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, be not as they who believe not, and said of their brethren, when they had journeyed in the land or had been at war, If they had been with us, those had not died, nor had these been slain: *whereas what befell them was so ordained* that GOD might make it *matter of* sighing in their hearts. GOD giveth life, and causeth to die: and GOD seeth that which ye do. Moreover if ye be slain, or die in defence of the religion of GOD, verily pardon from GOD, and mercy, is better than what they heap together *of worldly riches*. And if ye die, or be slain, verily unto GOD shall ye be gathered. And as to the mercy *granted unto the disobedient* from GOD, thou, *O Mohammed*, hast been mild towards them, but if thou hadst been severe and hard-hearted, they had surely separated themselves from about thee. Therefore forgive them, and ask pardon for them: and consult them in the affair *of war*, and after thou hast deliberated, trust in GOD; for GOD loveth those who trust *in him*. If GOD help you, none shall conquer you; but if he desert you, who is it that will help you after him? Therefore in GOD let the faithful trust. It is not *the part* of a prophet to defraud,[l] for he who defraudeth, shall bring with him what he hath defrauded *any one of*, on the day of the resurrection.[m] Then shall every

[f] After the action, those who had stood firm in the battle were refreshed as they lay in the field by falling into an agreeable sleep, so that the swords fell out of their hands; but those who had behaved themselves ill were troubled in their minds, imagining they were now given over to destruction.[1]

[g] That is, is there any appearance of success, or of the divine favour and assistance which we have been promised?[2]

[h] *i. e.* To themselves, or to one another in private.

[i] If GOD had assisted us according to his promise; or, as others interpret the words, if we had taken the advice of Abdallah Ebn Obba Solûl, and had kept within the town of Medina, our companions had not lost their lives.[3]

[k] *viz.* For their covetousness in quitting their post to seize the plunder.

[l] This passage was revealed, as some say, on the division of the spoil at Bedr; when some of the soldiers suspected Mohammed of having privately taken a scarlet carpet made all of silk and very rich, which was missing.[4] Others suppose the archers, who occasioned the loss of the battle of Ohod, left their station because they imagined Mohammed would not give them their share of the plunder, because, as it is related, he once sent out a party as an advanced guard, and in the meantime attacking the enemy, took some spoils which he divided among those who were with him in the action, and gave nothing to the party that was absent on duty.[5]

[m] According to a tradition of Mohammed, whoever cheateth another will on the day of judgment carry his fraudulent purchase publicly on his neck.

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin. [5] Al Beidâwi.

soul be paid what he hath gained; and they shall not be treated unjustly. Shall he therefore who followeth that which is well pleasing unto GOD, be as he who bringeth on himself wrath from GOD, and whose receptacle is hell? an evil journey shall it be *thither*. There shall be degrees *of rewards and punishments* with GOD, for GOD seeth what they do. Now hath GOD been gracious unto the believers when he raised up among them an apostle of their own nation,[n] who should recite his signs unto them, and purify them, and teach them the book *of the Korân* and wisdom;[o] whereas they were before in manifest error. After a misfortune hath befallen you *at Ohod* (ye had already obtained two equal advantages),[p] do ye say, Whence *cometh* this? Answer, This is from yourselves:[q] for GOD is almighty. And what happened unto you, on the day whereon the two armies met, was certainly by the permission of GOD; and that he might know the faithful, and that he might know the ungodly. It was said unto them, Come, fight for the religion of GOD, or drive back *the enemy*: they answered, If we had known *ye went out* to fight, we had certainly followed you.[r] They were on that day nearer unto unbelief than they were to faith; they spake with their mouths what was not in their hearts: but GOD perfectly knew what they concealed; who said of their brethren, *while themselves* stayed *at home*, if they had obeyed us, they had not been slain. Say, Then keep back death from yourselves, if ye say truth. Thou shalt in no wise reckon those who have been slain *at Ohod* in the cause of GOD, dead; nay, they are sustained alive with their LORD,[s] rejoicing for what GOD of his favour hath granted them; and being glad for those who, coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them;[t] because there shall no fear come on them, neither shall they be grieved. They are filled with joy for the favour *which they have received* from GOD, and *his* bounty; and for that GOD suffereth not the reward of the faithful to perish. They who hearkened unto GOD and *his* apostle, after a wound had befallen them *at Ohod*,[u]

[n] Some copies, instead of *min anfúsihim*, i.e., *of themselves*, read *min anfasihim*, i.e., *of the noblest among them*; for such was the tribe of Koreish, of which Mohammed was descended.[1]

[o] i.e., The Sonna.[2]

[p] viz., In the battle of Bedr, where ye slew seventy of the enemy, equalling the number of those who lost their lives at Ohod, and also took as many prisoners.[3]

[q] It was the consequence of your disobeying the orders of the prophet, and abandoning your post for the sake of plunder.

[r] That is, if we had conceived the least hope of success when ye marched out of Medina to encounter the infidels, and had not known that ye went rather to certain destruction than to battle, we had gone with you. But this Mohammed here tells them was only a feigned excuse, the true reason of their staying behind being their want of faith and firmness in their religion.[4]

[s] See before, p. 17.

[t] i.e., Rejoicing also for their sakes who are destined to suffer martyrdom, but have not as yet attained it.[5]

[u] The commentators differ a little as to the occasion of this passage. When news was brought to Mohammed, after the battle of Ohod, that the enemy, repenting of their retreat, were returning towards Medina, he called about him those who had stood by him in the battle, and marched out to meet the enemy as far as Homará al Asad, about eight miles from that town, notwithstanding several of his men were so ill of their wounds that they were forced to be carried; but a panic fear having seized the army of the Koreish, they changed their resolution and continued their march home; of which Mohammed having received intelligence, he also went back to Medina: and, according to some commentators, the Korân here approves the faith and courage of those who attended the prophet on this occasion. Others say the persons intended in this passage were those who went with Mohammed the next year, to meet

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] See before, p. [illegible] [4] Al Beidawi. [5] Vide Sur. vi. 17.

such of them as do good works, and fear GOD, shall have a great reward; unto whom *certain* men said, Verily the men *of Mecca* have already gathered *forces* against you, be ye therefore afraid of them:[x] but *this* increaseth their faith, and they said, GOD is our support, and the most excellent patron. Wherefore they returned with favour from GOD, and advantage;[y] no evil befell them. and they followed what was well pleasing unto GOD; for GOD is endowed with great liberality. Verily that devil[z] would cause you to fear his friends. but be ye not afraid of them; but fear me, if ye be true believers. They shall not grieve thee, who emulously hasten unto infidelity; for they shall never hurt GOD at all. GOD will not give them a part in the next life, and they shall suffer a great punishment. Surely those who purchase infidelity with faith, shall by no means hurt GOD at all, but they shall suffer a grievous punishment. And let not the unbelievers think, because we grant them lives long and prosperous, that it is better for their souls: we grant them long and prosperous lives only that their iniquity may be increased; and they shall suffer an ignominious punishment. GOD is not *disposed* to leave the faithful in the condition which ye are now in,[a] until he sever the wicked from the good, nor is GOD *disposed* to make you acquainted with what is a hidden secret, but GOD chooseth such of his apostles as he pleaseth, *to reveal his mind unto*.[b] believe therefore in GOD, and his apostles, and if ye believe, and fear *God*, ye shall receive a great reward. And let not those who are covetous of what GOD of his bounty hath granted them, imagine that *their avarice* is better for them. nay, rather it is worse for them. That which they have covetously reserved shall be bound as a collar about their neck,[c] on the day of the resurrection: unto GOD *belongeth* the inheritance of heaven and earth, and GOD is well acquainted with what ye do. GOD hath already heard the saying of those who said, Verily GOD is

Abu Sofiân and the Koreish, according to their challenge, at Bedr,[1] where they waited some time for the enemy, and then returned home, for the Koreish, though they set out from Mecca, yet never came so far as the place of appointment, their hearts failing them on their march; which Mohammed attributed to their being struck with a terror from GOD.[2] This expedition the Arabian histories call the *second*, or *lesser expedition of* Bedr.

[x] The persons who thus endeavoured to discourage the Mohammedans were, according to one tradition, some of the tribe of Abd Kais, who, going to Medina, were bribed by Abu Sofiân with a camel's load of dried raisins, and, according to another tradition, it was Noaim Ebn Masûd al Ashjai who was also bribed with a she-camel ten months gone with young (a valuable present in Arabia). This Noaim, they say, finding Mohammed and his men preparing for the expedition, told them that Abu Sofiân, to spare them the pains of coming so far as Bedr, would seek them in their own houses, and that none of them could possibly escape otherwise than by timely flight. Upon which Mohammed, seeing his followers a little dispirited, swore that he would go himself though not one of them went with him. And accordingly he set out with seventy horsemen, every one of them crying out, *Hashna Allah*, *i.e.*, GOD *is our support*.[3]

[y] While they stayed at Bedr expecting the enemy, they opened a kind of fair there, and traded to very considerable profit.[4]

[z] Meaning either Noaim, or Abu Sofiân himself.

[a] That is, he will not suffer the good and sincere among you to continue indiscriminately mixed with the wicked and hypocritical.

[b] This passage was revealed on the rebellious and disobedient Mohammedans telling Mohammed that if he was a true prophet he could easily distinguish those who sincerely believed from the dissemblers.[1]

[c] Mohammed is said to have declared, that whoever pays not his legal contribution of alms duly shall have a serpent twisted about his neck at the resurrection.[2]

[1] See before, p. 47, note [z]. [2] Al Baidâwi. [3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [4] Al Beidâwi.
[1] Idem. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

poor, and we are rich :[d] we will surely write down what they have said, and the slaughter which they have made of the prophets without a cause; and we will say *unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning. This *shall they suffer* for the *evil* which their hands have sent before them, and because GOD is not unjust towards mankind; who *also* say, Surely GOD hath commanded us, that we should not give credit to *any* apostle, until *one* should come unto us with a sacrifice, which should be consumed by fire.[e] Say, Apostles have already come unto you before me,[f] with plain proofs, and with the *miracle* which ye mention. why therefore have ye slain them, if ye speak truth? If they accuse thee of imposture, the apostles before thee have also been accounted impostors, who brought evident demonstrations, and the scriptures, and the book which enlightened *the understanding*. Every soul shall taste of death, and ye shall have your rewards on the day of resurrection; and he who shall be far removed from *hell* fire, and shall be admitted into paradise, shall be happy: but the present life is only a deceitful provision. Ye shall surely be proved in your possessions, and *in* your persons; and ye shall bear from those unto whom the scripture was delivered before you, and from the idolaters, much hurt · but if ye be patient, and fear *God*, this is a matter that is absolutely determined. And when GOD accepted the covenant of those to whom the book *of the law* was given, *saying*, Ye shall surely publish it unto mankind, ye shall not hide it; yet they threw it behind their backs, and sold it for a small price, but woeful *is the price* for which they have sold *it*.[g] Think not that they who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praised for what they have not done;[h] think not, *O prophet*, that they shall escape from

[d] It is related that Mohammed, writing to the Jews of the tribe of Kainokâ to invite them to Islâm, and exhorting them among other things, in the words of the Korân,[3] *to lend unto* GOD *on good usury*, Phineas Ebn Azûra, on hearing that expression, said, *Surely* GOD *is poor, since they ask to borrow for him.* Whereupon Abu Becr, who was the bearer of that letter, struck him on the face, and told him that if it had not been for the truce between them, he would have struck off his head, and on Phineas's complaining to Mohammed of Abu Becr's ill usage, this passage was revealed.[4]

[e] The Jews, say the commentators, insisted that it was a peculiar proof of the mission of all the prophets sent to them, that they could, by their prayers, bring down fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice, and therefore they expected Mohammed should do the like. And some Mohammedan doctors agree that GOD appointed this miracle as the test of all their prophets, except only Jesus and Mohammed;[5] though others say any other miracle was a proof full as sufficient as the bringing down fire from heaven.[6]

The Arabian Jews seem to have drawn a general consequence from some particular instances of this miracle in the Old Testament.[7] And the Jews at this day say, that first the fire which fell from heaven on the altar of the tabernacle,[8] after the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and afterwards that which descended on the altar of Solomon's temple, at the dedication of that structure,[9] was fed and constantly maintained there by the priests, both day and night, without being suffered once to go out, till it was extinguished, as some think, in the reign of Manasses,[10] but, according to the more received opinion, when the temple was destroyed by the Chaldeans. Several Christians[11] have given credit to this assertion of the Jews, with what reason I shall not here inquire, and the Jews, in consequence of this notion, might probably expect that a prophet who came to restore GOD's true religion, should rekindle for them this heavenly fire, which they have not been favoured with since the Babylonish captivity.

[f] Among these the commentators reckon Zacharias and John the Baptist.

[g] *i.e.*, Dearly shall they pay hereafter for taking bribes to stifle the truth. *Whoever concealeth the knowledge which* GOD *has given him*, says Mohammed, GOD *shall put on him a bridle of fire on the day of resurrection.*

[h] *i.e.*, Who think they have done a commendable deed in concealing and dissembling the testimonies in the Pentateuch concerning Mohammed, and in disobeying GOD's commands to

[3] Cap. 2, p. 26. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Jallalo'ddin. [6] Al Beidâwi. [7] Levit. ix. 24 1 Chron. xxi. 26; 2 Chron. vii. 1, 1 Kings xviii. 38. [8] Levit. ix. 24. [9] 2 Chron. vii. 1. [10] Talmud, Zebachim, c. 6. [11] See Prideaux's Connect. part i. bk. iii. p. 158.

punishment, for they shall suffer a painful punishment; and unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth; GOD is almighty. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, are signs unto those who are endued with understanding; who remember GOD standing, and sitting, and *lying* on their sides;[i] and meditate on the creation of heaven and earth, *saying*, O LORD, thou has not created this in vain; far be it from thee: therefore deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire: O LORD, surely whom thou shalt throw into the fire, thou wilt also cover with shame; nor shall the ungodly have any to help them. O LORD, we have heard of a preacher[k] inviting *us* to the faith, *and saying*, Believe in your LORD: and we believed. O LORD, forgive us therefore our sins, and expiate our evil deeds from us, and make us to die with the righteous. O LORD, give us also *the reward* which thou hast promised by thy apostles; and cover us not with shame on the day of resurrection, for thou art not contrary to the promise. Their LORD therefore answereth them, *saying*, I will not suffer the work of him among you who worketh to be lost whether he be male or female:[l] the one of you is from the other. They therefore who have left their country, and have been turned out of their houses, and have suffered for my sake, and have been slain in battle, verily I will expiate their evil deeds from them, and I will surely bring them into gardens watered by rivers; a reward from GOD: and with GOD is the most excellent reward. Let not the prosperous dealing of the unbelievers in the land deceive thee:[m] *it is but* a slender provision,[n] *and* then their receptacle shall be hell; an unhappy couch *shall it be*. But they who fear their LORD shall have gardens through which rivers flow, they shall continue therein for ever: this is the gift of GOD, for what is with GOD shall be better for the righteous *than short-lived worldly prosperity*. There are some of those who have received the scriptures, who believe in GOD, and that which hath been sent down unto you, and that which hath been sent down to them, submitting themselves unto GOD,[o] they tell not the signs of GOD for a

the contrary. It is said that Mohammed once asking some Jews concerning a passage in their law, they gave him an answer very different from the truth, and were mightily pleased that they had, as they thought, deceived him. Others, however, think this passage relates to some pretended Mohammedans who rejoiced in their hypocrisy, and expected to be commended for their wickedness.[15]

[i] viz., At all times and in all postures. Al Beidâwi mentions a saying of Mohammed to one Imrân Ebn Hosein, to this purpose: *Pray standing, if thou art able; if not, sitting; and if thou canst not sit up, then as thou liest along*. Al Shâfeï directs that the sick should pray lying on their right side.

[k] Namely, Mohammed, with the Korân.

[l] These words were added, as some relate, on Omm Salma, one of the prophet's wives, telling him that she had observed GOD often made mention of the men who fled their country for the sake of their faith, but took no notice of the women.[1]

[m] The original word properly signifies success in the affairs of life, and particularly in trade. It is said that some of Mohammed's followers observing the prosperity the idolaters enjoyed, expressed their regret that those enemies of GOD should live in such ease and plenty, while themselves were perishing for hunger and fatigue; whereupon this passage was revealed.[2]

[n] Because of its short continuance.

[o] The persons here meant, some will have to be Abda'llah Ebn Salâm[3] and his companions; others suppose they were forty Arabs of Najrân, or thirty-two Ethiopians, or else eight Greeks, who were converted from Christianity to Mohammedism; and others say this passage was revealed in the ninth year of the Hejra, when Mohammed, on Gabriel's bringing him the news of the death of Ashama king of Ethiophia, who had embraced the Mohammedan religion some

[15] Al Beidâwi. [1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] See before, p. 44.

small price: these shall have their reward with their LORD; for GOD is swift in taking an account.[p] O true believers, be patient, and strive to excel in patience, and be constant-minded, and fear GOD, that ye may be happy.

CHAPTER IV.

ENTITLED, WOMEN;[q] REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O MEN, fear your LORD, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from them two hath multiplied many men and women: and fear GOD by whom ye beseech one another,[r] and *respect* women[s] *who have borne you*, for GOD is watching over you. And give the orphans *when they come to age* their substance; and render *them* not in exchange bad for good[t] and devour not their substance, *by adding it* to your substance, for this is a great sin. And if ye fear that ye shall not act with equity towards orphans *of the female sex*, take in marriage of such *other* women as please you, two, or three, or four, *and not more.*[u] But if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably *towards so many, marry* one *only*, or the slaves which ye shall have acquired.[x] This will be easier, that ye swerve not *from righteousness.* And give women their dowry freely, but if they voluntarily remit unto you any part of it, enjoy it with satisfaction and advantage. And give not unto those who are weak of understanding, the substance which GOD hath appointed you to preserve *for them*, but maintain them thereout, and clothe them, and speak kindly unto them And

years before,[4] prayed for the soul of the departed, at which some of his hypocritical followers were displeased and wondered that he should pray for a Christian proselyte whom he had never seen[5]

[p] See before, p 21, and the Preliminary Discourse, Sect IV

[q] This title was given to this chapter because it chiefly treats of matters relating to women, as, marriages, divorces, dower, prohibited degrees, &c.

[r] Saying, I beseech thee for GOD's sake[1]

[s] Literally, *the wombs*

[t] That is, take not what ye find of value among their effects to your own use, and give them worse in its stead.

[u] The commentators understand this passage differently The true meaning seems to be as it is here translated Mohammed advising his followers that if they found they should wrong the female orphans under their care, either by marrying them against their inclinations, for the sake of their riches or beauty, or by not using or maintaining them so well as they ought, by reason of their having already several wives, they should rather choose to marry other women, to avoid all occasion of sin[2] Others say that when this passage was revealed, many of the Arabians, fearing trouble and temptation, refused to take upon them the charge of orphans, and yet multiplied wives to a great excess, and used them ill or, as others write, gave themselves up to fornication, which occasioned the passage And according to these, its meaning must be either that if they feared they could not act justly towards orphans, they had as great reason to apprehend they could not deal equitably with so many wives, and therefore are commanded to marry but a certain number, or else, that since fornication was a crime as well as wronging of orphans, they ought to avoid that also, by marrying according to their abilities[3]

[x] For slaves requiring not so large a dower, nor so good and plentiful a maintenance as free woman, a man might keep several of the former, as easily as one of the latter

[4] See the Prelim. Discourse, Sect. II [5] Al Beidâwi [1] Idem. [2] Idem [3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

examine the orphans[y] until they attain *the age of* marriage:[z] but if ye perceive they are able to manage their affairs well, deliver their substance unto them; and waste it not extravagantly, or hastily, because they grow up.[a] Let him who is rich abstain *entirely from the orphan's estates;* and let him who is poor take *thereof* according to what shall be reasonable.[b] And when ye deliver their substance unto them, call witnesses *thereof* in their presence: GOD taketh sufficient account *of your actions.* Men ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave *behind them when they die:* and women *also* ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave,[c] whether it be little, or whether it be much; a determinate part *is due to them.* And when they who are of kin are present at the dividing *of what is left,* and also the orphans, and the poor; distribute unto them *some part* thereof; and *if the estate be too small, at least* speak comfortably unto them. And let those fear *to abuse orphans,* who if they leave behind them a weak offspring, are solicitous for them: let them therefore fear GOD, and speak that which is convenient.[d] Surely they who devour the possessions of orphans unjustly, shall swallow down nothing but fire into their bellies, and shall broil in raging flames. GOD hath *thus* commanded you concerning your children. A male shall have as much as the share of two females:[e] but if they be females *only, and* above two *in number,* they shall have two third parts of what *the deceased* shall leave,[f] and if there be *but* one, she shall have the half.[g] And the parents of *the deceased* shall have each of them a sixth part of what he shall leave, if he have a child: but if he have no child, and his parents be his heirs, then his mother shall have the third part.[h] And if he have brethren, his mother shall have a sixth part, after the legacies[i] which he shall bequeath, and his debts *be paid.* Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater use unto you. *This is* an

[y] *i e*, Try whether they be well grounded in the principles of religion, and have sufficient prudence for the management of their affairs Under this expression is also comprehended the duty of a curator's instructing his pupils in those respects

[z] Or age of maturity, which is generally reckoned to be fifteen; a decision supported by a tradition of their prophet, though Abu Hanifah thinks eighteen the proper age.[1]

[a] *i e*, Because they will shortly be of age to receive what belongs to them.

[b] That is, no more than what shall make sufficient recompense for the trouble of their education

[c] This law was given to abolish a custom of the pagan Arabs, who suffered not women or children to have any part of their husband's or father's inheritance, on pretence that they only should inherit who were able to go to war[2]

[d] viz., Either to comfort the children, or to assure the dying father they shall be justly dealt by.[3]

[e] This is the general rule to be followed in the distribution of the estate of the deceased, as may be observed in the following cases[4]

[f] Or if there be two and no more, they will have the same share

[g] And the remaining third part, or the remaining moiety of the estate, which is not here expressly disposed of, if the deceased leaves behind him no son, nor a father, goes to the public treasury It must be observed that Mr Selden is certainly mistaken when, in explaining this passage of the Korán, he says, that where there is a son and an only daughter, each of them will have a moiety[5] for the daughter can have a moiety but in one case only, that is, where there is no son, for if there be a son, she can have but a third, according to the above-mentioned rule

[h] And his father consequently the other two-thirds.[6]

[i] By *legacies*, in this and the following passages, are chiefly meant those bequeathed to pious uses, for the Mohammedans approve not of a person's giving away his substance from his family and near relations on any other account.

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Idem. [3] Idem [4] Vide Prelim. Disc. Sect. VI [5] Selden, de Success ad Leges Ebræor l. 1, c. 1 [6] Al Beidâwi.

ordinance from GOD, and GOD is knowing and wise. Moreover ye may claim half of what your wives shall leave, if they have no issue; but if they have issue, then ye shall have the fourth part of what they shall leave, after the legacies which they shall bequeath, and the debts *be paid*. They also shall have the fourth part of what ye shall leave, in case ye have no issue; but if ye have issue, then they shall have the eighth part of what ye shall leave, after the legacies which ye shall bequeath and your debts *be paid*. And if a man or woman's *substance* be inherited by a distant relation,[k] and he *or she* have a brother or sister; each of them two shall have a sixth part *of the estate*.[l] But if there be more than this *number*, they shall be *equal* sharers in a third part, after *payment of* the legacies which shall be bequeathed, and the debts, without prejudice *to the heirs*. *This is* an ordinance from GOD: and GOD is knowing and gracious. These are the statutes of GOD. And whoso obeyeth GOD and his apostle, GOD shall lead him into gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall continue therein for ever; and this shall be great happiness. But whoso disobeyeth GOD, and his apostle, and transgresseth his statutes, GOD shall cast him into *hell* fire; he shall remain therein for ever, and he shall suffer a shameful punishment. If any of your women be guilty of whoredom,[m] produce four witnesses from among you against them, and if they bear witness *against them*, imprison them in *separate* apartments until death release them, or GOD affordeth them a way *to escape*.[n] And if two of you commit the like *wickedness*,[o] punish them both [p] but if they repent and amend, let them both alone; for GOD is easy to be reconciled and merciful Verily repentance *will be accepted* with GOD, from those who do evil ignorantly, and then repent speedily, unto them will GOD be turned · for GOD is knowing and wise. But no repentance *shall be accepted* from those who do evil until *the time* when death presenteth itself unto one of them, *and he* saith, Verily I repent now; nor unto those who die unbelievers · for them have we prepared a grievous punishment. O true believers, it is

[k] For this may happen by contract, or on some other special occasion.

[l] Here, and in the next case, the brother and sister are made equal sharers, which is an exception to the general rule, of giving a male twice as much as a female, and the reason is said to be because of the smallness of the portions, which deserve not such exactness of distribution; for in other cases the rule holds between brother and sister, as well as other relations [1]

[m] Either adultery or fornication

[n] Their punishment, in the beginning of Mohammedism, was to be immured till they died, but afterwards this cruel doom was mitigated, and they might avoid it by undergoing the punishment ordained in its stead by the Sonna, according to which the maidens are to be scourged with a hundred stripes, and to be banished for a full year, and the married women to be stoned.[2]

[o] The commentators are not agreed whether the text speaks of fornication or sodomy. Al Zamakhshari, and from him, al Beidâwi, supposes the former is here meant but Jallalo'ddin is of opinion that the crime intended in this passage must be committed between two men, and not between a man and a woman, not only because the pronouns are in the masculine gender, but because both are ordered to suffer the same slight punishment, and are both allowed the same repentance and indulgence, and especially for that a different and much severer punishment is appointed for the women in the preceding words Abu'l Kâsem Hebatallah takes simple fornication to be the crime intended, and that this passage is abrogated by that of the 24th chapter, where the man and the woman who shall be guilty of fornication are ordered to be scourged with a hundred stripes each.

[p] The original is, *Do them some hurt* or *damage* · by which some understand that they are only to reproach them in public,[3] or strike them on the head with their slippers[4] (a great indignity in the east), though some imagine they may be scourged.[5]

[1] See this chapter, near the end. [2] Jallalo'ddin. [3] Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, Abul Kâsem Hebatallah, al Beidâwi. [4] Jallalo'ddin al Beidâwi. [5] Al Beidâwi.

not lawful for you to be heirs of women against their will,[q] nor to hinder them *from marrying others*,[r] that ye may take away part of what ye have given them *in dowry*; unless they have been guilty of a manifest crime.[s] but converse kindly with them. And if ye hate them, it may happen that ye may hate a thing wherein GOD hath placed much good. If ye be desirous to exchange a wife for *another* wife,[t] and ye have already given one of them a talent,[u] take not away anything therefrom.[x] will ye take it by slandering *her*, and *doing her* manifest injustice? And how can ye take it, since the one of you hath gone in unto the other, and they have received from you a firm covenant? Marry not women whom your fathers have had to wife (except what is already past). for this is uncleanness, and an abomination, and an evil way. Ye are forbidden *to marry* your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your aunts both on the father's and on the mother's side, and your brother's daughters, and your sister's daughters, and your mothers who have given you suck, and your foster-sisters, and your wives' mothers, and your daughters-in-law which are under your tuition, *born* of your wives unto whom ye have gone in (but if ye have not gone in unto them, it shall be no sin in you *to marry them*), and the wives of your sons who *proceed* out of your loins, and *ye are also forbidden* to take to wife two sisters,[y] except what is already past for GOD is gracious and merciful (V) *Ye are* also *forbidden to take to wife* free women *who are married*, except those *women* whom your right hands shall possess *as slaves*[z] *This is* ordained you from GOD. Whatever is beside this, is allowed you; that ye may with your substance provide *wives* for yourselves, acting that which is right, and avoiding whoredom. And for the advantage which ye receive from them, give them their reward,[a] according to what is ordained. but it shall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among yourselves,[b] after the ordinance *shall be complied with*, for GOD is knowing and wise. Whoso among you hath not means sufficient that he may marry free women, who are believers, *let him marry* with such of your maid-servants whom your right hands possess, as are true believers; for GOD well knoweth

[q] It was customary among the pagan Arabs, when a man died, for one of his relations to claim a right to his widow, which he asserted by throwing his garment over her, and then he either married her himself, if he thought fit on assigning her the same dower that her former husband had done, or kept her dower and married her to another, or else refused to let her marry unless she redeemed herself by quitting what she might claim of her husband's goods.[1] This unjust custom is abolished by this passage

[r] Some say these words are directed to husbands who used to imprison their wives without any just cause, and out of covetousness, merely to make them relinquish their dower or their inheritance [2]

[s] Such as disobedience, ill behaviour immodesty, and the like [3]

[t] That is, by divorcing one, and marrying another

[u] *i e.*, Ever so large a dower

[x] See chapter 2, p 25

[y] The same was also prohibited by the Levitical law [4]

[z] According to this passage it is not lawful to marry a free woman that is already married, be she a Mohammedan or not, unless she be legally parted from her husband by divorce; but it is lawful to marry those who are slaves, or taken in war, after they shall have gone through the proper purifications, though their husbands be living. Yet, according to the decision of Abu Hanîfah, it is not lawful to marry such whose husbands shall be taken, or in actual slavery with them.[1]

[a] That is, assign them their dower.

[b] That is, either to increase the dower, or to abate some part or even the whole of it.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem [4] Levit xviii. 18. [1] Al Beidâwi.

your faith. Ye are the one from the other:[c] therefore marry them with the consent of their masters; and give them their dower according to justice; *such as are* modest, not guilty of whoredom, nor entertaining lovers. And when they are married, if they be guilty of adultery, they shall suffer half the punishment which *is appointed* for the free women.[d] This *is allowed* unto him among you, who feareth to sin *by marrying free women;* but if ye abstain *from marrying slaves, it will be* better for you; GOD is gracious and merciful. GOD is willing to declare *these things* unto you, and to direct you according to the ordinances of those who *have gone* before you,[e] and to be merciful unto you. GOD is knowing and wise. GOD desireth to be gracious unto you; but they who follow *their* lusts,[f] desire that ye should turn aside *from the truth* with great deviation. GOD is minded to make *his religion* light unto you: for man was created weak.[g] O true believers, consume not your wealth among yourselves in vanity;[h] unless there be merchandizing among you by mutual consent: neither slay yourselves;[i] for GOD is merciful towards you: and whoever doth this maliciously[k] and wickedly, he will surely cast him to be broiled in *hell* fire; and this is easy with GOD. If ye turn aside from the grievous sins,[l] of those which ye are forbidden *to commit*, we will cleanse you from your *smaller* faults, and will introduce you *into paradise* with an honourable entry. Covet not that which GOD hath bestowed on some of you preferably to others.[m] Unto the men *shall be given* a portion of what they shall have gained, and unto the women *shall be given* a portion of what they shall have gained:[n] therefore ask GOD of his bounty; for

[c] Being alike descended from Adam, and of the same faith.[2]

[d] The reason of this is because they are not presumed to have had so good education. A slave, therefore, in such a case, is to have fifty stripes, and to be banished for half a year, but she shall not be stoned, because it is a punishment which cannot be inflicted by halves.[3]

[e] viz., Of the prophets, and other holy and prudent men of former ages.[4]

[f] Some commentators suppose that these words have a particular regard to the Magians, who formerly were frequently guilty of incestuous marriages, their prophet Zerdusht having allowed them to take their mothers and sisters to wife; and also to the Jews, who likewise might marry within some of the degrees here prohibited.[5]

[g] Being unable to refrain from women, and too subject to be led away by carnal appetites.[6]

[h] That is, employ it not in things prohibited by GOD; such as usury, extortion, rapine, gaming, and the like.[7]

[i] Literally, *slay not your souls*; *i.e.*, says Jallalo'ddin, by committing mortal sins, or such crimes as will destroy them. Others, however, are of opinion that self-murder, which the gentile Indians did, and still do, often practise in honour of their idols, or else the taking away the life of any true believer, is hereby forbidden.[8]

[k] See Wisdom xvi. 14, in the Vulgate.

[l] These sins al Beidâwi, from a tradition of Mohammed, reckons to be seven (equalling in number the sins called deadly by Christians), that is to say, idolatry, murder, falsely accusing modest women of adultery, wasting the substance of orphans, taking of usury, desertion in a religious expedition, and disobedience to parents. But Ebn Abbâs says they amount to near seven hundred; and others suppose that idolatry only, of different kinds, in worshipping idols or any creature, either in opposition to or jointly with the true GOD, is here intended; that sin being generally esteemed by Mohammedans, and in a few lines after declared by the Korân itself, to be the only one which GOD will not pardon.[1]

[m] Such as honour, power, riches, and other worldly advantages. Some, however, understand this of the distribution of inheritances according to the preceding determinations, whereby some have a larger share than others.[9]

[n] That is, they shall be blessed according to their deserts; and ought, therefore, instead of displeasing GOD by envying of others, to endeavour to merit his favour by good works, and to apply to him by prayer.

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] Jallalo'ddin. Al Beidâwi. [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] Idem.
Jallalo'ddin. [7] Idem. [8] Idem. [1] Idem. See before, c. 2, p. 10. [9] Idem.
Jallalo'ddin.

GOD is omniscient. We have appointed unto every one kindred, *to inherit part* of what their parents and relations shall leave *at their deaths.* And unto those with whom your right hands have made an alliance, give their part *of the inheritance,*[o] for GOD is witness of all things. Men shall have the pre-eminence above women, because of those *advantages* wherein GOD hath caused the one of them to excel the other,[p] and for that which they expend of their substance *in maintaining their wives.* The honest women *are* obedient, careful in the absence *of their husbands,*[q] for that GOD preserveth *them, by committing them to the care and protection of the men.* But those, whose perverseness ye shall be apprehensive of, rebuke; and remove them into separate apartments,[r] and chastise them.[s] But if they shall be obedient unto you, seek not an occasion *of quarrel* against them; for GOD is high and great. And if ye fear a breach between the *husband and wife,* send a judge[t] out of his family, and a judge out of her family: if they shall desire a reconciliation, GOD will cause them to agree; for GOD is knowing and wise. Serve GOD, and associate no creature with him; and *show* kindness unto parents, and relations, and orphans, and the poor, and *your* neighbour who is of kin to you,[u] and also *your* neighbour who is a stranger, and to *your* familiar companion, and the traveller, and *the captives* whom your right hands shall possess; for GOD loveth not the proud *or* vainglorious, who are covetous, and recommend covetousness unto men, and conceal that which GOD of his bounty hath given them[x] (we have prepared a shameful punishment for the unbelievers), and who bestow their wealth *in charity* to be observed of men, and believe not in GOD, nor in the last day; and whoever hath Satan for a companion, an evil companion *hath he!* And what *harm would befall* them if they should believe in GOD and the last day, and give alms out of that which GOD hath bestowed on them? since GOD knoweth them *who do this.* Verily GOD will not wrong *any one even* the weight of an ant;[y] and if it be a good action, he will double it, and will recompense *it* in his sight with a great reward. How *will it be with the unbelievers* when we shall

[o] A precept conformable to an old custom of the Arabs, that where persons mutually entered into a strict friendship or confederacy, the surviving friend should have a sixth part of the deceased's estate But this was afterwards abrogated, according to Jallalo'ddin and al Zamakhshari, at least as to infidels The passage may likewise be understood of a private contract, whereby the survivor is to inherit a certain part of the substance of him that dies first.[3]

[p] Such as superior understanding and strength, and the other privileges of the male sex, which enjoys the dignities in church and state, goes to war in defence of GOD's true religion, and claims a double share of their deceased ancestors' estates [4]

[q] Both to preserve their husband's substance from loss or waste, and themselves from all degrees of immodesty [5]

[r] That is, banish them from your bed

[s] By this passage the Mohammedans are in plain terms allowed to beat their wives, in case of stubborn disobedience, but not in a violent or dangerous manner [6]

[t] *i e*, Let the magistrate first send two arbitrators or mediators, one on each side, to compose the difference, and prevent, if possible, the ill consequences of an open rupture.

[u] Either of your own nation or religion

[x] Whether it be wealth, knowledge, or any other talent whereby they may help their neighbour

[y] Either by diminishing the recompense due to his good actions, or too severely punishing his sins On the contrary, he will reward the former in the next life far above their deserts. The Arabic word *dharra*, which is translated *an ant*, signifies a very small sort of that insect, and is used to denote a thing that is exceeding small, as a *mite*

[3] Vide al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. [5] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [6] Idem.

bring a witness out of each nation *against itself*,[*] and shall bring thee, O *Mohammed*, a witness against these *people*?[a] In that day they who have not believed, and have rebelled against the apostle *of God*, shall wish the earth was levelled with them; and they shall not *be able to* hide any matter from GOD. O true believers, come not to prayers when ye are drunk,[b] until ye understand what ye say; nor when ye are polluted by emission of seed, unless ye be travelling on the road, until ye wash yourselves. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you come from easing nature, or have touched women, and find no water; take fine clean sand and rub your faces and your hands *therewith*,[c] for GOD is merciful and inclined to forgive. Hast thou not observed those unto whom part of the scripture[d] was delivered? they sell error, and desire that ye may wander from the *right* way; but GOD well knoweth your enemies. GOD is a sufficient patron, and GOD is a sufficient helper. Of the Jews there are some who pervert words from their places;[e] and say, We have heard, and have disobeyed; and do thou hear without understanding *our meaning*,[f] and look upon us,[g] perplexing with their tongues, and reviling the *true* religion. But if they had said, We have heard, and do obey; and do thou hear, and regard us,[h] certainly it were better for them, and more right. But GOD hath cursed them by reason of their infidelity; therefore a few *of them* only shall believe. O *ye* to whom the scriptures have been given, believe in the *revelation* which we have sent down, confirming that which is with you; before we deface *your* countenances, and render them as the back parts thereof;[i] or curse them, as we cursed those who transgressed on the sabbath day,[k] and the command of GOD was fulfilled. Surely GOD will not pardon the giving him an equal,[l] but will pardon any other *sin*, except that, to whom he pleaseth,[m] and whoso giveth a companion

[*] When the prophet who was sent to each nation in particular, shall on the last day be produced to give evidence against such of them as refused to believe on him, or observed not the laws which he brought.

[a] That is, the Arabians, to whom Mohammed was, as he pretended, more peculiarly sent.[1]

[b] It is related, that before the prohibition of wine, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf made an entertainment, to which he invited several of the apostle's companions, and after they had ate and drunk plentifully, the hour of evening prayer being come, one of the company rose up to pray, but being overcome with liquor, made a shameful blunder in reciting a passage of the Korân; whereupon to prevent the danger of any such indecency for the future, this passage was revealed.[2]

[c] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV.

[d] Meaning the Jews, and particularly their Rabbins.

[e] That is (according to the commentators), who change the true sense of the Pentateuch by dislocating passages, or by wresting the words according to their own fancies and lusts.[3] But Mohammed seems chiefly to intend here the Jews bantering of him in their addresses, by making use of equivocal words, seeming to bear a good sense in Arabic, but spoken by them in derision according to their acceptation in Hebrew; an instance of which he gives in the following words.

[f] Literally, *without being made to hear* or apprehend what we say.

[g] The original word is *Raina*, which being a term of reproach in Hebrew, Mohammed forbade their using to him.[4]

[h] In Arabic, *Ondhorna*; which having no ill equivocal meaning, the prophet ordered them to use instead of the former.

[i] That is, perfectly plain, without eyes, nose, or mouth. The original, however, may also be translated, *and turn them behind*, by wringing their necks backward.

[k] And were therefore changed into apes.[5]

[l] That is, idolatry of all kinds.

[m] viz., To those who repent.[6]

[1] See before, c. 2, p. 16. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [4] See before, c. 2, p. 13.
[5] See before, c. 2, p. 8. [6] Al Beidâwi.

unto GOD, hath devised a great wickedness. Hast thou not observed those who justify themselves?[n] But GOD justifieth whomsoever he pleaseth, nor shall *they* be wronged a hair.[o] Behold, how they imagine a lie against GOD; and therein is iniquity sufficiently manifest. Hast thou not considered those to whom part of the scripture hath been given? They believe in false gods and idols,[p] and say of those who believe not, These are more rightly directed in the way *of truth* than they who believe *on Mohammed*. Those are *the men* whom *God* hath cursed; and unto him whom GOD shall curse, thou shalt surely find no helper. Shall they have a part of the kingdom,[q] since even then they would not bestow the smallest matter[r] on men? Do they envy *other* men that which GOD of his bounty hath given them?[s] We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a book of *revelations* and wisdom; and we gave them a great kingdom.[t] There is of them who believeth on him;[u] and there is of them who turneth aside from him: but the raging fire of hell is *a* sufficient *punishment*. Verily, those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast to be broiled in *hell* fire; so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the *sharper* torment, for GOD is mighty and wise. But those who believe and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers, therein shall they remain for ever, *and* there shall they enjoy wives free from all impurity; and we will lead them into perpetual shades. Moreover GOD commandeth you to restore what ye are trusted with, to the owners,[x] and when ye judge between

[n] *i. e.*, The Christians and Jews, who called themselves *the children of* GOD, *and his beloved people*.[1]

[o] The original word signifies a little skin in the cleft of a date-stone, and is used to express a thing of no value.

[p] The Arabic is, in Jibt and Taghût. The former is supposed to have been the proper name of some idol, but it seems rather to signify any false deity in general. The latter we have explained already.[8]

It is said that this passage was revealed on the following occasion. Hoyai Ebn Akhtab and Caab Ebn al Ashraf,[9] two chief men among the Jews, with several others of that religion, went to Mecca, and offered to enter into a confederacy with the Koreish, and to join their forces against Mohammed. But the Koreish, entertaining some jealousy of them, told them, that the Jews pretended to have a written revelation from heaven, as well as Mohammed, and their doctrines and worship approached much nearer to what he taught, than the religion of their tribe; wherefore, said they, if you would satisfy us that you are sincere in the matter, do as we do, and worship our gods. Which proposal, if the story be true, these Jews complied with, out of their inveterate hatred to Mohammed.[1]

[q] For the Jews gave out that they should be restored to their ancient power and grandeur,[3] depending, it is to be presumed, on the victorious Messiah whom they expected.

[r] The original word properly signifies a small dent on the back of a date-stone, and is commonly used to express a thing of little or no value.

[s] *viz.*, The spiritual gifts of prophecy, and divine revelations, and the temporal blessings of victory and success, bestowed on Mohammed and his followers.

[t] Wherefore GOD will doubtless show equal favour to this prophet (a descendant also of Abraham) and those who believe on him.[4]

[u] Namely, on Mohammed.

[x] This passage, it is said, was revealed on the day of the taking of Mecca, the primary design of it being to direct Mohammed to return the keys of the Caaba to Othmân Ebn Telha Ebn Abdaldâr, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place,[4] and not to deliver them to his uncle al Abbâs, who having already the custody of the well Zemzem, would fain have had also that of the Caaba. The prophet obeying the divine order, Othmân was so affected with the justice of the action, notwithstanding he had at first refused him entrance, that he immediately embraced Mohammedism, whereupon the guardianship of the Caaba was confirmed to this Othmân and his heirs for ever.[5]

[7] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. See c. 5, not far from the beginning. [8] See p. 28, note t. [9] See before, p. 40, note m. [1] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 2. [5] Al Beidâwi. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 22 [illegible]

men, that ye judge according to equity: and surely an excellent *virtue it is* to which GOD exhorteth you; for GOD *both* heareth and seeth. O true believers, obey GOD, and obey the apostle, and those who are in authority among you and if ye differ in anything, refer it unto GOD[y] and the apostle, if ye believe in GOD and the last day. this is better, and a fairer *method of* determination. Hast thou not observed those who pretend they believe in what hath been revealed unto thee, and what hath been revealed before thee? They desire to go to judgment before Taghût,[z] although they have been commanded not to believe in him; and Satan desireth to seduce them into a wide error. And when it is said unto them, Come unto *the book* which GOD hath sent down, and to the apostle; thou seest the ungodly turn aside from thee, with *great* aversion. But how *will they behave* when a misfortune shall befall them, for that which their hands have sent before them? Then will they come unto thee, and swear by GOD, *saying*, If we intended any other than to do good, and to reconcile *the parties*.[a] GOD knoweth what is in the hearts of these *men*, therefore let them alone, and admonish them, and speak unto them a word which may affect their souls. We have not sent any apostle, but that he might be obeyed by the permission of GOD. but if they, after they have injured their own souls,[b] come unto thee, and ask pardon of GOD, and the apostle ask pardon for them, they shall surely find GOD easy to be reconciled and merciful. And by thy LORD they will not *perfectly* believe, until they make thee judge of their controversies, and shall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardship in what thou shalt determine, but shall acquiesce *therein* with *entire* submission. And if we had commanded them, *saying*, Slay yourselves, or depart from your houses,[c] they would not have done it, except a few of them And if they had done what they were admonished, it would certainly have been better for them, and more efficacious for confirming *their faith*, and we should then have surely given them in our sight an *exceeding* great reward, and we should have directed them in the right way Whoever obeyeth GOD and the apostle, they *shall be* with those unto whom GOD hath been gracious, of the prophets, and the sincere, and the martyrs, and the righteous;

[y] *i.e.*, To the decision of the Korân

[z] That is, before the tribunals of infidels This passage was occasioned by the following remarkable accident A certain Jew having a dispute with a wicked Mohammedan, the latter appealed to the judgment of Caab Ebn al Ashraf a principal Jew, and the former to Mohammed But at length they agreed to refer the matter to the prophet singly, who, giving it in favour of the Jew, the Mohammedan refused to acquiesce in his sentence, but would needs have it re-heard by Omar, afterwards Khalif When they came to him, the Jew told him that Mohammed had already decided the affair in his favour, but that the other would not submit to his determination, and the Mohammedan confessing this to be true, Omar bid them stay a little, and fetching his sword, struck off the obstinate Moslem's head, saying aloud, *This is the reward of him who refuseth to submit to the judgment of* GOD *and his apostle* And from this action Omar had the surname of al Faruk, which alludes both to his *separating* that knave's head from his body, and to his *distinguishing* between truth and falsehood[1] The name of Taghût,[2] therefore, in this place, seems to be given to Caab Ebn al Ashraf

[a] For this was the excuse of the friends of the Mohammedan whom Omar slew, when they came to demand satisfaction for his blood[3]

[b] viz., By acting wickedly, and appealing to the judgment of infidels

[c] Some understand these words of their venturing their lives in a religious expedition; and others, of their undergoing the same punishments which the Israelites did for their idolatry in worshipping the golden calf[4]

[1] Jallalo'ddin al Beidâwi See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p 688, and Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. v. 1 p. 315. [2] [illegible] [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] [illegible] before [illegible]

and these are the most excellent company. This is bounty from GOD; and GOD is sufficiently knowing. O true believers, take your *necessary* precaution[d] *against your enemies*, and *either* go forth *to war* in separate parties, or go forth all together *in a body*. There is of you who tarrieth behind;[e] and if a misfortune befall you, he saith, Verily GOD hath been gracious unto me, that I was not present with them. but if success attend you from GOD, he will say (as if there was no friendship between you and him),[f] Would to GOD I had been with them, for I should have acquired great merit. Let them therefore fight for the religion of GOD, who part with the present life in exchange for that which is to come;[g] for whosoever fighteth for the religion of GOD, whether he be slain, or be victorious,[h] we will surely give him a great reward. And what ails you, that ye fight not for GOD'S true religion, and *in defence of* the weak among men, women, and children,[i] who say, O LORD, bring us forth from this city, whose inhabitants are wicked, grant us from before thee a protector, and grant us from thee a defender[k] They who believe fight for the religion of GOD; but they who believe not fight for the religion of Taghût.[l] Fight therefore against the friends of Satan, for the stratagem of Satan is weak. Hast thou not observed those unto whom it was said, Withhold your hands *from war*, and be constant at prayers, and pay the legal alms?[m] But when war is commanded them, behold, a part of them fear men as they should fear GOD, or with a greater fear, and say, O LORD, wherefore hast thou commanded us to go to war, and hast not suffered us to wait *our* approaching end?[n] Say *unto them*, The provision of this life is *but* small, but the future *shall be* better for him who feareth *God*, and ye shall not be in the least injured *at the day of judgment* Wheresoever ye be, death will overtake you, although ye be in lofty towers. If good befall them, they say, This is from GOD; but if evil befall them, they say, This is from thee, O Mohammed[o] say, All is from GOD; and what aileth these people, that they are so far from understanding what is said *unto them?* Whatever

[d] *i e*, Be vigilant, and provide yourselves with arms and necessaries

[e] Mohammed here upbraids the hypocritical Moslems, who for want of faith and constancy in their religion, were backward in going to war for its defence

[f] *i e*, As one who attendeth not to the public, but his own private interest Or else these may be the words of the hypocritical Mohammedan himself, insinuating that he stayed not behind the rest of the army by his own fault, but was left by Mohammed, who chose to let the others share in his good fortune preferably to him.[1]

[g] By venturing their lives and fortunes in defence of the faith.

[h] For no man ought to quit the field till he either fall a martyr or gain some advantage for the cause[2]

[i] viz., Those believers who stayed behind at Mecca, being detained there either forcibly by the idolaters, or for want of means to fly for refuge to Medina Al Beidâwi observes that *children* are mentioned here to show the inhumanity of the Koreish, who persecuted even that tender age

[k] This petition the commentators say, was heard For GOD afforded several of them an opportunity and means of escaping, and delivered the rest at the taking of Mecca by Mohammed, who left Otâb Ebn Osaid governor of the city and under his care and protection, those who had suffered for their religion became the most considerable men in the place.

[l] See before, p 28

[m] These were some of Mohammed's followers, who readily performed the duties of their religion so long as they were commanded nothing that might endanger their lives.

[n] That is, a natural death

[o] As the Jews, in particular, who pretended that their land was grown barren and provision scarce, since Mohammed came to Medina.[3]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem

good befalleth thee, *O man*, it is from GOD; and whatever evil befalleth thee, it is from thyself.[p] We have sent thee an apo... unto men, and GOD is a sufficient witness *thereof*. Whoever obeyeth the apostle, obeyeth GOD; and whoever turneth back, we have not sent thee *to be* a keeper over them.[q] They say, Obedience. yet when they go forth from thee, part of them meditate by night *a matter* different from what thou speakest; but GOD shall write down what they meditate by night: therefore let them alone, and trust in GOD, for GOD is a sufficient protector. Do they not attentively consider the Korân? If it had been from any besides GOD, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions. When any news cometh unto them, either of security or fear, they *immediately* divulge it; but if they told it to the apostle and to those who are in authority among them, such of them would understand *the truth of* the matter, as inform themselves thereof *from the apostle and his chiefs*. And if the favour of GOD and his mercy *had* not *been* upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few *of you*.[r] Fight therefore for the religion of GOD, and oblige not any to what is difficult,[s] except thyself; however, excite the faithful *to war*, perhaps GOD will restrain the courage of the unbelievers; for GOD is stronger *than they*, and more able to punish. He who intercedeth *between men* with a good intercession[t] shall have a portion thereof, and he who intercedeth with an evil intercession shall have a portion thereof; for GOD overlooketh all things. When ye are saluted with a salutation, salute *the person* with a better salutation,[u] or *at least* return the same; for GOD taketh an account of all things GOD! there is no GOD but he; he will surely gather you together on the day of resurrection; there is no doubt of it: and who is more true than GOD in what he saith? Why are ye *divided* concerning the ungodly into two parties;[x] since GOD hath overturned them for what they have committed? Will ye direct him whom GOD hath led astray; since for him whom GOD shall lead astray, thou shalt find no *true* path? They desire that ye should become

[p] These words are not to be understood as contradictory to the preceding, *That all proceeds from* GOD, since the evil which befalls mankind, though ordered by GOD, is yet the consequence of their own wicked actions

[q] Or, to take an account of their actions, for this is GOD's part.

[r] That is, if GOD had not sent his apostle with the Korân to instruct you in your duty, ye had continued in idolatry and been doomed to destruction, except only those who, by GOD's favour and their superior understanding, should have true notions of the divinity, such, for example, as Zeid Ebn Amru Ebn Nofail[1] and Waraka Ebn Nawfal,[2] who left idols, and acknowledged but one GOD, before the mission of Mohammed [3]

[s] It is said this passage was revealed when the Mohammedans refused to follow their prophet to the lesser expedition of Bedr, so that he was obliged to set out with no more than seventy.[4] Some copies vary in this place, and instead of *la tokallafo*, in the second person singular, read *la nokallafo*, in the first person plural, *We do not oblige*, &c The meaning being, that the prophet only was under an indispensable necessity of obeying GOD's commands, however difficult, but others might choose, though at their peril.

[t] *i.e.*, To maintain the right of a believer, or to prevent his being wronged

[u] By adding something farther As when one salutes another by this form, *Peace be unto thee*, he ought not only to return the salutation, but to add, *and the mercy of* GOD *and his blessing*

[x] This passage was revealed, according to some, when certain of Mohammed's followers, pretending not to like Medina, desired leave to go elsewhere, and, having obtained it, went farther and farther, till they joined the idolaters, or, as others say, on occasion of some deserters at the battle of Ohod, concerning whom the Moslems were divided in opinion whether they should be slain as infidels or not

[1] Vide Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moh. p 311 [2] See the Prelim. Disc Sect. II
[3] Al Beidâwi [4] See before, c. 3, p. 49.

infidels, as they are infidels, and that ye should be equal *with them-selves* Therefore take not friends from among them, until they fly *their country* for the religion of GOD, and if they turn back *from the faith*, take them, and kill them wherever ye find them; and take no friend from among them, nor any helper, except those who go unto a people who are in alliance with you,[y] or those who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight against you, or to fight against their own people[z] And if GOD pleased he would have permitted them to have prevailed against you, and they would have fought against you But if they depart from you, and fight not against you and offer you peace, GOD doth not allow you *to take or kill* them. Ye shall find others who are desirous to enter into a confidence with you and *at the same time* to preserve a confidence with their own people;[a] so often as they return to sedition, they shall be subverted therein; and if they depart not from you, and offer you peace, and restrain their hands *from warring against you*, take them and kill them wheresoever ye find them; over these have we granted you a manifest power. It is not *lawful* for a believer to kill a believer, unless *it happen* by mistake;[b] and whoso killeth a believer by mistake, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer from slavery, and a fine to be paid to the family of *the deceased*,[c] unless they remit *it* as alms. and if *the slain person* be of a people at enmity with you, and be a true believer, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer;[d] but if he be of a people in confederacy with you, a fine to be paid to his family, and the freeing of a believer. And he who findeth not *wherewith to do this*, shall fast two months consecutively, *as* a penance *enjoined* from GOD. and GOD is knowing and wise But whoso killeth a believer designedly, his reward shall be hell, he shall remain therein *for ever*,[e] and GOD shall be angry with him, and shall curse him, and shall prepare for him a great punishment O true believers, when ye are on a march in defence of the true religion, justly discern *such as ye shall happen to meet*, and say not unto him who saluteth you, Thou art not a true believer;[f] seeking

[y] The people here meant, say some, were the tribe of Khozâah, or, according to others, the Aslamians, whose chief, named Helâl Ebn Owaimar, agreed with Mohammed, when he set out against Mecca, to stand neuter, or, as others rather think, Banu Becr Ebn Zeid[1]

[z] These, it is said, were the tribe of Modlaj, who came in to Mohammed, but would not be obliged to assist him in war[2]

[a] The persons hinted at here were the tribes of Asad and Ghatfân, or, as some say, Banu Abdaldâr, who came to Medina and pretended to embrace Mohammedism, that they might be trusted by the Moslems, but when they returned, fell back to their old idolatry[3]

[b] That is, by accident and without design This passage was revealed to decide the case of Ayâsh Ebn Abi Rabia, the brother by the mother's side, of Abu Jahl, who meeting Hareth Ebn Zeid on the road and not knowing that he had embraced Mohammedism, slew him[4]

[c] Which fine is to be distributed according to the laws of inheritances given in the beginning of this chapter[5]

[d] And no fine shall be paid, because in such case his relations, being infidels and at open war with the Moslems, have no right to inherit what he leaves

[e] That is, unless he repent Others, however, understand not here an eternity of damnation (for it is the general doctrine of the Mohammedans that none who profess that faith shall continue in hell for ever), but only a long space of time[1]

[f] On pretence that he only feigns to be a Moslem, that he might escape from you. The commentators mention more instances than one of persons slain and plundered by Mohammed's men under this pretext, notwithstanding they declared themselves Moslems by repeating the usual form of words, and saluting them; for which reason this passage was revealed, to prevent such rash judgments for the future

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin [2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem [4] Idem [5] Idem. [1] Idem

the accidental goods of the present life;[g] for with GOD is much spoil. Such have ye formerly been; but GOD hath been gracious unto you;[h] therefore make a just discernment, for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. Those believers who sit still *at home*, not having any hurt,[i] and those who employ their fortunes and their persons for the religion of GOD, shall not be held equal. GOD hath preferred those who employ their fortunes and their persons *in that cause*, to a degree *of honour* above those who sit at home: GOD hath indeed promised every one paradise, but GOD hath preferred those who fight *for the faith* before those who sit still, *by adding unto them* a great reward, *by* degrees *of honour conferred on them* from him, and *by granting them* forgiveness and mercy; for GOD is indulgent *and* merciful. Moreover unto those whom the angels put to death, having injured their own souls,[k] *the angels* said, Of what *religion* were ye? they answered, We were weak in the earth.[l] *The angels* replied, Was not GOD'S earth wide *enough*, that ye might fly therein *to a place of refuge*?[m] Therefore their habitation shall be hell, and an evil journey *shall it be thither:* except the weak among men, and women, and children, who were not able to find means, and were not directed in the way; these peradventure GOD will pardon, for GOD is ready to forgive *and* gracious. Whosoever flieth *from his country* for the sake of GOD'S true religion, shall find in the earth many forced *to do the same*, and plenty *of provisions*. And whoever departeth from his house, and flieth unto GOD and his apostle, if death overtake him *in the way*,[n] GOD will be obliged to reward him, for GOD is gracious *and* merciful. When ye march *to war* in the earth, it shall be no crime in you if ye shorten your prayers, in case ye fear the infidels may attack you, for the infidels are your open enemy. But when thou, *O prophet*, shalt be among them, and shalt pray with them, let a party of them arise to prayer with thee, and let them take their arms; and when they shall have worshipped, let them stand behind you,[o] and let another party come that hath not prayed, and let them pray with thee, and let them be cautious and take their arms. The unbelievers would that ye should neglect your arms and your beggage *while ye pray*, that they might turn upon you at once. It shall be no crime in you, if ye be incommoded by rain, or

[g] That is, being willing to judge him an infidel, only that ye may kill and plunder him.

[h] viz., At your first profession of Islâmism, before ye had given any demonstrations of your sincerity and zeal therein.

[i] *i.e.*, Not being disabled from going to war by sickness, or other just impediment. It is said that when the passage was first revealed there was no such exception therein, which occasioned Ebn Omm Mactûm, on his hearing it repeated, to object, *And what though I be blind?* Whereupon Mohammed, falling into a kind of trance, which was succeeded by strong agitations, pretended he had received the divine direction to add these words to the text.[2]

[k] These were certain inhabitants of Mecca, who held with the hare and ran with the hounds, for though they embraced Mohammedism, yet they would not leave that city to join the prophet, as the rest of the Moslems did, but on the contrary went out with the idolaters, and were therefore slain with them at the battle of Bedr.[3]

[l] Being unable to fly, and compelled to follow the infidels to war.

[m] As they did who fled to Ethiopia and to Medina.

[n] This passage was revealed, says al Beidâwi, on account of Jondob Ebn Damra. This person being sick, was, in his flight, carried by his sons on a couch, and before he arrived at Medina, perceiving his end approached, he clapped his right hand on his left, and solemnly plighting his faith to GOD and his apostle, died.

[o] To defend those who are at prayers, and to face the enemy.

[2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

be sick, that ye lay down your arms; but take your *necessary* precaution:[p] GOD hath prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment. And when ye shall have ended *your* prayer, remember GOD, standing, and sitting, and *lying* on your sides.[q] But when ye are secure *from danger*, complete *your* prayers; for prayer is commanded the faithful, *and* appointed *to be said* at the stated times. Be not negligent in seeking out the *unbelieving* people, though ye suffer *some inconvenience;* for they *also* shall suffer, as ye suffer, and ye hope for *a reward* from GOD which they cannot hope for; and GOD is knowing *and* wise.[r] We have sent down unto thee the book *of the Korân* with truth, that thou mayest judge between men through that *wisdom* which GOD showeth thee *therein*, and be not an advocate for the fraudulent;[s] but ask pardon of GOD *for thy wrong intention*, since GOD is indulgent *and* merciful. Dispute not for those who deceive one another, for GOD loveth not him who is a deceiver *or* unjust.[t] *Such* conceal themselves from men, but they conceal not themselves from GOD; for he is with them when they imagine by night a saying which pleaseth *him* not,[u] and GOD comprehendeth what they do. Behold, ye are they who have disputed for them in this present life; but who shall dispute with GOD for them on the day of resurrection, or who will become their patron? yet he who doth evil, or injureth his own soul, and afterwards asketh pardon of GOD, shall find GOD gracious *and* merciful. Whoso committeth wickedness, committeth it against his own soul GOD is knowing *and* wise. And whoso committeth a sin or iniquity and afterwards layeth it on the innocent, he shall surely bear *the guilt of* calumny and manifest injustice. If the indulgence and mercy of GOD had not been upon thee, surely a part of them had studied to seduce thee;[x] but they shall seduce themselves only, and shall not hurt thee at all GOD hath sent down unto thee the book *of the Korân* and wisdom, and hath taught thee that which thou knewest not,[y] for the favour of GOD hath been great towards thee. There is no good in the multitude of their private discourses, unless *in the discourse* of him who recommendeth alms, or that which is right, or agreement amongst men; whoever doth this out of a desire to please GOD

[p] By keeping strict guard

[q] That is, in such posture as ye shall be able [1]

[r] This verse was revealed on occasion of the unwillingness of Mohammed's men to accompany him in the lesser expedition of Bedr [2]

[s] Tima Ebn Obeirak of the sons of Dhafar, one of Mohammed's companions, stole a coat of mail from his neighbour, Kitâda Ebn al Nomân, in a bag of meal, and hid it at a Jew's named Zeid Ebn al Samin, Tima, being suspected, the coat of mail was demanded of him, but he denying he knew anything of it they followed the track of the meal, which had run out through a hole in the bag, to the Jew's house, and there seized it, accusing him of the theft, but he producing witnesses of his own religion that he had it of Tima, the sons of Dhafar came to Mohammed and desired him to defend his companion's reputation, and condemn the Jew; which he having some thoughts of doing this passage was revealed, reprehending him for his rash intention, and commanding him to judge not according to his own prejudice and opinion, but according to the merit of the case [3]

[t] Al Beidâwi, as an instance of the divine justice, adds, that Tíma, after the fact above mentioned, fled to Mecca, and returned to idolatry, and there undermining the wall of a house, in order to commit a robbery, the wall fell in upon him and crushed him to death.

[u] That is, when they secretly contrive means, by false evidence or otherwise, to lay their crimes on innocent persons.

[x] Meaning the sons of Dhafar

[y] By instructing thee in the knowledge of right and wrong, and the rules of justice

[1] See before, c. 2, p 52. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya.

we will surely give him a great reward. But whoso separateth himself from the apostle, after *true* direction hath been manifested unto him, and followeth any other way than that of the true believers, we will cause him to obtain that to which he is inclined,[a] and will cast him to be burned in hell; and an unhappy journey shall it be *thither*. Verily GOD will not pardon the giving him a companion, but he will pardon *any crime* besides that, unto whom he pleaseth: and he who giveth a companion unto GOD, is surely led aside into a wide mistake: the *infidels* invoke beside him only female *deities*;[a] and only invoke rebellious Satan. GOD cursed him; and he said, Verily I will take of thy servants a part cut off *from the rest*,[b] and I will seduce them, and will insinuate *vain* desires into them, and I will command them, and they shall cut off the ears of cattle;[c] and I will command them, and they shall change GOD'S creature.[d] But whoever taketh Satan for his patron, besides GOD,[e] shall surely perish with a manifest destruction He maketh them promises, and insinuateth into them vain desires; yet Satan maketh them only deceitful promises. The receptacle of these shall be hell, they shall find no refuge from it. But they who believe, and do good works, we will surely lead them into gardens, through which rivers flow; they shall continue therein for ever, *according to* the true promise of GOD; and who is more true than GOD in what he saith? It shall not be according to your desires, nor *according to* the desires of those who have received the scriptures[f] Whoso doth evil, shall be rewarded for it; and shall not find any patron or helper. beside GOD; but whoso doth good works, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer, they shall be admitted into paradise, and shall not in the least be unjustly dealt with. Who is better in point of religion than he who resigneth himself unto GOD, and is a worker of righteousness, and followeth the law of Abraham the orthodox? since GOD took Abraham for his friend:[g] and to GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in

[a] viz, Error, and false notions of religion.

[a] Namely, Allât, al Uzza, and Menât, the idols of the Meccans; or the angels, whom they called the *daughters of* GOD [4]

[b] Or, as the original may be translated, a part *destined* or *predetermined* to be seduced by me

[c] Which was done out of superstition by the old pagan Arabs. See more of this custom in the notes to the fifth chapter

[d] Either by maiming it, or putting it to uses not designed by the Creator Al Beidâwi supposes the text to intend not only the superstitious amputations of the ears and other parts of cattle, but the castration of slaves, the marking their bodies with figures by pricking and dyeing them with wood or indigo (as the Arabs did and still do) the sharpening their teeth by filing; and also sodomy, and the unnatural amours between those of the female sex, the worship of the sun, moon, and other parts of nature, and the like

[e] *i e.*, By leaving the service of GOD, and doing the works of the devil

[f] That is, the promises of GOD are not to be gained by acting after your own fancies, nor yet after the fancies of the Jews or Christians, but by obeying the commands of GOD. This passage, they say, was revealed on a dispute which arose between those of the three religions each preferring his own, and condemning the others. Some, however, suppose the persons here spoken to in the second person were not the Mohammedans, but the idolaters [1]

[g] Therefore the Mohammedans usually call that patriarch, as the scripture also does, Khalîl Allah, the *Friend of* GOD, and simply al Khalil, and they tell the following story That Abraham in a time of dearth sent to a friend of his in Egypt for a supply of corn, but the friend denied him, saying in his excuse, that though there was a famine in their country also, yet had it been for Abraham's own family, he would have sent what he desired, but he knew he wanted it only to entertain his guests and give away to the poor, according to his usual hospitality. The servants whom Abraham had sent on this message, being ashamed to return

[4] See the Prelim. Discourse, Sect. 1. [1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya.

heaven and on earth; GOD comprehendeth all things. They will consult thee concerning women;[h] Answer, GOD instructeth you concerning them,[i] and that which is read unto you in the book *of the Korân* concerning female orphans, to whom ye give not that which is ordained them, neither will ye marry them,[k] and concerning weak infants,[l] and that ye observe justice towards orphans: whatever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. If a woman fear ill usage, or aversion, from her husband, it shall be no crime in them if they agree the matter amicably between themselves,[m] for a reconciliation is better *than a separation.* *Men's* souls are naturally inclined to covetousness:[n] but if ye be kind *towards women,* and fear *to wrong them,* GOD is well acquainted with what ye do. Ye can by no means carry yourselves equally between women *in all respects,* although ye study *to do it;* therefore turn not *from a wife* with all *manner of* aversion,[o] nor leave her like one in suspense.[p] if ye agree, and fear *to abuse your wives,* GOD is gracious *and* merciful; but if they separate, GOD will satisfy *them* both of his abundance;[q] for GOD is extensive *and* wise, and unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth. We have already commanded those unto whom the scriptures were given before you, and *we command* you also, *saying,* Fear GOD; but if ye disbelieve, unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and GOD is self-sufficient,[r] *and* to be praised; for unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and GOD is a sufficient protector. If he pleaseth he will take you away, O men, and will produce others[s] *in your stead,* for GOD is able to do this. Whoso desireth the reward of this world, verily with GOD is the reward

empty, to conceal the matter from their neighbours, filled their sacks with fine white sand, which in the east pretty much resembles meal. Abraham being informed by his servants, on their return, of their ill success, the concern he was under threw him into a sleep, and in the meantime Sarah, knowing nothing of what had happened, opening one of the sacks, found good flour in it, and immediately set out about making of bread. Abraham awaking and smelling the new bread, asked her whence she had the flour? *Why,* says she, *from your friend in Egypt.* *Nay,* replied the Patriarch, *it must have come from no other than my friend* GOD *Almighty.*[2]

[h] *i.e.*, As to the share they are to have in the distribution of the inheritances of their deceased relations, for it seems that the Arabs were not satisfied with Mohammed's decision on this point, against the old customs.

[i] *i.e.*, He hath already made his will known unto you, by revealing the passages concerning inheritances in the beginning of this chapter.

[k] Or the words may be rendered in the affirmative, *and whom ye desire to marry.* For the pagan Arabs used to wrong their female orphans in both instances; obliging them to marry against their inclinations, if they were beautiful or rich; or else not suffering them to marry at all, that they might keep what belonged to them.[3]

[l] That is, male children of tender years, to whom the Arabs, in the time of paganism, used to allow no share in the distribution of their parents' estate.[4]

[m] By the wife's remitting part of her dower or other dues.

[n] So that the woman, on the one side, is unwilling to part with any of her right, and the husband, on the other, cares not to retain one he has no affection for, or, if he should retain her, she can scarce expect he will use her in all respects as he ought.[5]

[o] *i.e.*, Though you cannot use her equally well with a beloved wife, yet observe some measures of justice towards her; for if a man is not able perfectly to perform his duty, he ought not, for that reason, entirely to neglect it.[6]

[p] Or like one that neither has a husband, nor is divorced, and at liberty to marry elsewhere.

[q] That is, either will bless them with a better and more advantageous match, or with peace and tranquillity of mind.[8]

[r] Wanting the service of no creature.

[s] *i.e.*, Either another race of men or a different species of creatures.

[2] Al Beidâwi. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 14, and Morgan's Mahometism Explained, vol. i. p. 132. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See before, p. 54, note [c]. [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] Idem. [8] Idem.

of this world, and also of that which is to come; GOD *both* heareth and seeth. O true believers, observe justice when ye bear witness before GOD, although *it be* against yourselves, or *your* parents, or relations; whether *the party* be rich, or *whether he be* poor; for GOD is more worthy than them both: therefore follow not *your own* lust *in bearing testimony*, so that ye swerve *from justice*. And whether ye wrest *your evidence*, or decline *giving it*, GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. O true believers, believe in GOD and his apostle, and the book which he hath caused to descend unto his apostle, and the book which he hath formerly sent down.[t] And whosoever believeth not in GOD, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles, and the last day, he surely erreth in a wide mistake. Moreover they who believed, and afterwards became infidels, and then believed *again*, and after that disbelieved, and increased in infidelity,[u] GOD will by no means forgiv them, nor direct them into the *right* way. Declare unto the ungodly that they shall suffer a painful punishment. They who take the un believers for their protectors, besides the faithful, do they seek for power with them? since all power belongeth unto GOD And he hath already revealed unto you, in the book *of the Korân*,[y] *the following passage:* When ye shall hear the signs of GOD, they shall not be believed, but they shall be laughed to scorn. Therefore sit not with them *who believe not*, until they engage in different discourse; for *if ye do*, ye will certainly *become* like unto them GOD will surely gather the ungodly and the unbelievers together in hell They who wait *to observe what befalleth* you, if victory be *granted* you from GOD, say, Were we not with you?[z] But if any advantage happen to the infidels, they say *unto them*, Were we not superior to you,[a] and have we not defended you against the believers? GOD shall judge between you on the day of resurrection, and GOD will not grant the unbelievers means *to prevail* over the faithful The hypocrites act deceitfully with GOD, but he will deceive them; and when they stand up to pray, they stand carelessly, affecting to be seen of men, and remember not GOD, unless a little,[b] wavering between *faith and infidelity, and adhering* neither unto these nor unto those.[c] and for him whom GOD shall lead astray, thou shalt find no true path. O true believers, take not the unbelievers for *your* protectors, besides the faithful. Will ye furnish GOD with an evident argument *of impiety* against you? Moreover the hypocrites

[t] It is said that Abda'llah Ebn Salâm and his companions told Mohammed that they believed in him, and his Korân, and in Moses, and the Pentateuch and in Ezra, but no farther, whereupon this passage was revealed, declaring that a partial faith is little better than none at all, and that a true believer must believe in all GOD's prophets and revelations without exception [4]

[u] These were the Jews, who first believed in Moses, and afterwards fell into idolatry by worshipping the golden calf, and though they repented of that, yet in after ages rejected the prophets who were sent to them, and particularly Jesus, the son of Mary, and now filled up the measure of their unbelief by rejecting of Mohammed [5]

[x] Mohammed here means those who hypocritically pretended to believe in him but really did not, and by their treachery did great mischief to his party [1]

[y] Cap. 6

[z] *i.e.* Did we not assist you? Therefore give us part of the spoil.[2]

[a] Would not our army have cut you off if it had not been for our faint assistance, or rather desertion, of the Moslems, and our disheartening them?[3]

[b] That is, with the tongue, and not with the heart.

[c] Halting between two opinions, and being staunch friends neither to the Moslems nor the infidels.

[4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. [1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] Idem.

shall be in the lowest bottom of *hell* fire,[d] and thou shalt not find any to help them *thence*. But they who repent and amend, and adhere firmly unto GOD, and approve the sincerity of their religion to GOD, they shall be *numbered* with the faithful; and GOD will surely give the faithful a great reward. And how should GOD go about to punish you, if ye be thankful and believe? for GOD is grateful *and* wise. (VI.) GOD loveth not the speaking ill *of any one* in public, unless he who is injured *call for assistance;* and GOD heareth *and* knoweth: whether ye publish a good *action*, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily GOD is gracious *and* powerful They who believe not in GOD and his apostles, and would make a distinction between GOD and his apostles,[e] and say, We believe in some *of the prophets*, and reject others *of them*, and seek to take a *middle* way in this *matter*, these are really unbelievers, and we have prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment. But they who believe in GOD and his apostles, and make no distinction between any of them, unto those will we surely give their reward; and GOD is gracious *and* merciful. They who have received the scriptures[f] will demand of thee, that thou cause a book to descend unto them from heaven: they formerly asked of Moses a greater *thing* than this; for they said, Show us GOD visibly[g] Wherefore a storm of fire from heaven destroyed them, because of their iniquity. Then they took the calf *for their God*,[h] after that evident proofs *of the divine unity* had come unto them: but we forgave *them* that, and gave Moses a manifest power *to punish them*[i] And we lifted the mountain *of Sinai* over them,[k] *when we exacted from them* their covenant; and said unto them, Enter the gate *of the city* worshipping[l] We also said unto them, Transgress not on the sabbath day. And we received from them a firm covenant, *that they would observe these things*. Therefore for that[m] they have made void their covenant, and have not believed in the signs of GOD, and have slain the prophets unjustly, and have said, Our hearts are uncircumcised (but GOD hath sealed them up, because of their unbelief; therefore they shall not believe, except a few *of them*): and for that they have not believed *on Jesus*, and have spoken against Mary a grievous calumny,[n] and have said, Verily we have slain Christ Jesus the son of Mary, the apostle of God, yet they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented *by one* in his likeness,[o] and verily they

[d] See the Preliminary Discourse, Sect. IV.

[e] See c 2, p 31, note h

[f] That is, the Jews, who demanded of Mohammed, as a proof of his mission, that they might see a book of revelations descend to him from heaven, or that he would produce one written in a celestial character, like the two tables of Moses.

[g] See chapter 2, p 6

This story seems to be an addition to what Moses says of the seventy elders, who went up to the mountain with him, and with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and saw the GOD of Israel[1]

[h] See chapter 2, p 6

[i] See ibid p 6, note m

[k] See ibid p 8

[l] See ibid p 7

[m] There being nothing in the following words of this sentence, to answer to the causal *for that*, Jallalo'ddin supposes something to be understood to complete the sense, as *therefore we have cursed them*, or the like.

[n] By accusing her of fornication.[2]

[o] See chapter 3, p 32, and the notes there.

[1] Exod. xxiv 9, 10, 11

[2] See the Kor. c. 19, and that virulent book entitled Toldoth Jesu

who disagreed concerning him,[p] were in a doubt as to this *matter*, and had no *sure* knowledge thereof, but followed only an *uncertain* opinion. They did not really kill him; but GOD took him up unto himself: and GOD is mighty *and* wise. And *there shall not be one* of those who have received the scriptures, who shall not believe in him, before his death;[q] and on the day of resurrection he shall be a witness against them.[r] Because of the iniquity of those who Judaize, we have forbidden them good things, which had been *formerly* allowed them;[s] and because they shut out many from the way of GOD, and have given usury, which was forbidden them *by the law*, and devoured men's substance vainly: we have prepared for such of them as are unbelievers a painful punishment. But those among them who are well grounded in knowledge,[t] and the faithful, who believe in that which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down *unto the prophets* before thee, and who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms, and believe in GOD and the last day; unto these will we give a great reward. Verily we have revealed *our will* unto thee, as we have revealed *it* unto Noah and the prophets who succeeded him; and *as* we revealed *it* unto Abraham, and Ismael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and unto Jesus, and Job, and Jonas, and Aaron, and Solomon; and *we have given thee the Korân, as* we gave the Psalms unto David · *some* apostles *have we sent*, whom we have formerly mentioned unto thee, and *other* apostles *have we sent*, whom we have not mentioned unto thee, and GOD spake unto Moses, discoursing *with him;* apostles declaring good tidings, and denouncing threats, lest men should have an argument *of excuse* against GOD, after the apostles *had been sent unto them;* GOD is mighty *and* wise. GOD is witness of that *revelation* which he hath sent down unto thee; he sent it down with his *special* knowledge. the angels also are witnesses *thereof;* but GOD is a sufficient witness. They who believe not,

[p] For some maintained that he was justly and really crucified. some insisted that it was not Jesus who suffered, but another who resembled him in the face, pretending the other parts of his body, by their unlikeness, plainly discovered the imposition. some said he was taken up into heaven, and others, that his manhood only suffered, and that his godhead ascended into heaven [8]

[q] This passage is expounded two ways.

Some, referring the relative *his*, to the first antecedent, take the meaning to be, that no Jew or Christian shall die before he believes in Jesus: for they say, that when one of either of those religions is ready to breathe his last, and sees the angel of death before him, he shall then believe in that prophet as he ought, though his faith will not then be of any avail According to a tradition of Hejâj, when a Jew is expiring, the angels will strike him on the back and face, and say to him, *O thou enemy of* GOD, *Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou didst not believe on him*, to which he will answer, *I now believe him to be the servant of* GOD, and to a dying Christian they will say, *Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou hast imagined him to be* GOD, *or the son of* GOD, whereupon he will believe him to be the servant of GOD only, and his apostle.

Others, taking the above-mentioned relative to refer to Jesus, suppose the intent of the passage to be, that all Jews and Christians in general shall have a right faith in that prophet before his death, that is when he descends from heaven and returns into the world, where he is to kill Antichrist, and to establish the Mohammedan religion, and a most perfect tranquillity and security on earth [1]

[r] *i.e.*, Against the Jews, for rejecting him, and against the Christians, for calling him GOD, and the son of GOD.[2]

[s] See chapter 3, p 38 and 42, and the notes there.

[t] As Abda'llah Ebn Salâm, and his companions [3]

[8] Al Beidâwi. [1] Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, al Zamakhshari, and al Beidâwi. See the Prelim Disc. Sect. IV. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem.

and turn aside *others* from the way of GOD, have erred in a wide mistake. Verily those who believe not, and act unjustly, GOD will by no means forgive, neither will he direct them into *any other* way than the way of hell; they shall remain therein for ever: and this is easy with GOD. O men, now is the apostle come unto you, with truth from your LORD; believe therefore, *it will be* better for you. But if ye disbelieve, verily unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever *is* in heaven and on earth; and GOD is knowing *and* wise. O ye who have received the scriptures, exceed not the just bounds in your religion,[u] neither say of GOD *any other* than the truth. Verily Christ Jesus the son of Mary is the apostle of GOD, and his Word, which he conveyed into Mary, and a spirit *proceeding* from him. Believe therefore in GOD, and his apostles, and say not, *There are* three *Gods*;[x] forbear *this*; it will be better for you. GOD is but one GOD. Far be it from him that he should have a son! unto him *belongeth* whatsoever *is* in heaven and on earth; and GOD is a sufficient protector. Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto GOD; neither the angels who approach near *to his presence*: and whoso disdaineth his service, and is puffed up with pride, *God* will gather them all to himself, *on the last day*. Unto those who believe, and do that which is right, he shall give their rewards, and shall *superabundantly* add unto them of his liberality: but those who are disdainful and proud, he will punish with a grievous punishment; and they shall not find any to protect or to help them, besides GOD. O men, now is an evident proof come unto you from your LORD, and we have sent down unto you manifest light.[y] They who believe in GOD and firmly adhere to him, he will lead them into mercy from him, and abundance; and he will direct them in the right way to himself.[z] They will consult thee *for thy decision in certain cases*; say *unto them*, GOD giveth you *these* determinations, concerning the more remote degrees of kindred.[a] If a man die without issue, and have a sister, she shall have the half of what he shall leave;[b] and he shall be heir to her,[c] in case she have no issue. But if there be two *sisters*, they shall have *between them* two third parts of what he shall leave; and if there be *several*, *both* brothers and sisters, a male shall have as much as the portion of two females. GOD declareth unto you *these precepts*, lest ye err: and GOD knoweth all things.

[u] Either by rejecting and contemning of Jesus as the Jews do, or raising him to an equality with GOD, as do the Christians.[4]

[x] Namely, God, Jesus, and Mary.[1] For the eastern writers mention a sect of Christians which held the Trinity to be composed of those three;[2] but it is allowed that this heresy has been long since extinct.[3] The passage, however, is equally levelled against the Holy Trinity, according to the doctrine of the orthodox Christians, who, as al Beidâwi acknowledges, believe the divine nature to consist of three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; by the Father understanding GOD's essence, by the Son his knowledge, and by the Holy Ghost his life.

[y] That is, Mohammed and his Korân.

[z] viz., Into the religion of Islâm in this world, and the way to paradise in the next.[4]

[a] See the beginning of this chapter, p. 53.

[b] And the other half will go to the public treasury.

[c] That is, he shall inherit her whole substance.

[4] Al Beidâwi. [1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya. [2] Elmacin, p. 227. Eutych. p. 120. See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. II. [3] Ahmed Ebn Abd'al Halim. [4] Al Beidâwi.

CHAPTER V

ENTITLED, THE TABLE;[d] REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O TRUE believers, perform your contracts Ye are allowed *to eat* the brute cattle,[e] other than what ye are commanded *to abstain from*, except the game which ye are allowed *at other times, but not* while ye are on pilgrimage *to Mecca*, GOD ordaineth that which he pleaseth. O true believers, violate not the holy rites of GOD,[f] nor the sacred month,[g] nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung *thereon*,[h] nor those who are travelling to the holy house seeking favour from their LORD, and to please *him*. But when ye shall have finished *your pilgrimage*, then hunt. And let not the malice of some, in that they hindered you *from entering* the sacred temple[i] provoke you to transgress *by taking revenge on them in the sacred months* Assist one another according to justice and piety but assist not one another in injustice and malice therefore fear GOD for GOD is severe in punishing Ye are forbidden *to eat* that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that on which the name of any besides GOD hath been invocated[k] and that which hath been strangled or killed by a blow, or by a fall, or by the horns *of another beast* and that which hath been eaten by a wild beast,[l] except what ye shall kill *yourselves*,[m] and that which hath been sacrificed unto idols[n] *It is likewise unlawful for you* to make division by casting lots with arrows[o] This is an impiety On this day,[p] woe be unto those who have [illegible] from their religion, therefore fear not them but fear me This day have I perfected your religion for you,[q] and have completed my mercy upon

[d] This title is taken from the Table which towards the end of the chap[ter] is fabled to have been let down from heaven to Je[sus] It is sometimes also called the [ch]apter of *Contracts* which word occurs in the f[irs]t verse

[e] As camels oxen a[nd] [illegible] and also wild cows antelopes, &c.[1] but not swine nor what is taken in hunting during the p[ilgrima]ge

[f] *i e* The ceremonies [us]ed in the pilgrimage of Mecca.

[g] See the Prelim. Disc Sect. VII

[h] The offering here meant is the sheep led to Mecca to be there sacrificed about the neck of which they used to hang garlands green boughs or some other ornament that it may be distinguished as a thing sacred[2]

[i] In the expedition of Al Hodeibiya.[3]

[k] For the idolatrous Arabs used in killing any animal for food to consecrate it as it were to their idols, by saying In the name of Allât or al Uzza.[4]

[l] Or by a creature t[rai]ned [to] h[un]t [illegible]

[m] That is unless ye come up time e[nou]gh to find life in the [anim]al and to cut its throat.

[n] The word also signifies certain stones which the pagan Arabs u[se]d to set up near their houses and on which they superstitiously slew animals in honour of their gods.[6]

[o] See Prelim Disc Sect V

[p] This passage it is said was revealed on Friday evening being the day of the pilgrims visiting Mount Arafat the last time Mohammed visited the temple of Mecca, therefore called the *pilgrimage of valediction* [7]

[q] And therefore the commentators say that after this time no positive or negative precept was given.[1]

[1] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [2] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect IV [3] See the Prelim Disc. Sect. I [4] See c. 2, p 19 [5] Al Beidawi. [6] Idem. [7] Idem See Prid Life of Mah p. p. 99. [1] Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 131

you;[r] and I have chosen for you Islâm, *to be your* religion. But whosoever shall be driven by necessity through hunger *to eat of what we have forbidden*, not designing to sin, surely GOD *will be* indulgent *and* merciful *unto him*. They will ask thee what is allowed them *as lawful to eat?* Answer, Such things as are good[s] are allowed you, and what ye shall teach animals of prey *to catch*,[t] training them up for hunting after the manner of dogs, *and* teaching them according to the *skill* which GOD hath taught you. Eat therefore of that which they shall catch for you, and commemorate the name of GOD thereon,[u] and fear GOD, for GOD is swift in taking an account. This day are ye allowed to eat such things as are good, and the food of those to whom the scriptures were given[x] is *also* allowed as lawful unto you, and your food is allowed as lawful unto them. And *ye are also allowed to marry* free women that are believers, and also free women of those who have received the scriptures before you, when ye shall have assigned them their dower, living chastely *with them*, neither committing fornication, nor taking *them for* concubines. Whoever shall renounce the faith, his work shall be vain, and in the next life he shall be of those who perish. O true believers, when ye prepare yourselves to pray, wash your faces, and your hands unto the elbows, and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ankles; and if ye be polluted by having lain with a woman, wash yourselves *all over*. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or *if* ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith. GOD would not put a difficulty upon you, but he desireth to purify you, and to complete his favour upon you, that ye may give thanks. Remember the favour of GOD towards you, and his covenant which he hath made with you when ye said, We have heard, and will obey.[y] Therefore fear GOD, for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts *of men*. O true believers, observe justice when ye appear as witnesses before GOD, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong: *but* act justly; this will approach nearer unto piety: and fear GOD, for GOD is fully acquainted with what ye do. GOD hath promised unto those who believe, and do that which is right, that they shall receive pardon and a great reward. But they who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they shall be the companions of hell. O true believers, remember GOD's favour towards you, when certain men designed to stretch forth their hands against you, but he restrained their hands from *hurting* you;[z] therefore fear GOD, and in

[r] By having given you a true and perfect religion; or by the taking of Mecca, and the destruction of idolatry.

[s] Not such as are filthy, or unwholesome.

[t] Whether beasts or birds.

[u] Either when ye let go the hound, hawk, or other animal after the game; or when ye kill it.

[x] viz. Slain or dressed by Jews or Christians.

[y] These words are the form used at the inauguration of a prince; and Mohammed here intends the oath of fidelity which his followers had taken to him at al Akaba.[a]

[z] The commentators tell several stories as the occasion of this passage. One says, that Mohammed and some of his followers being at Osfân (a place not far from Mecca, in the way to Medina), and performing their noon devotions, a company of idolaters, who were in view, repented they had not taken that opportunity of attacking them, and therefore waited till the hour of evening prayer, intending to fall upon them then: but GOD defeated their design, by

[a] Vide Abulfed. ibid. p. 44 and the Prelim. Disc. Sect. II.

GOD let the faithful trust. GOD formerly accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, and we appointed out of them twelve leaders.[a] And GOD said, Verily, I am with you:[b] if ye observe prayer, and give alms, and believe in my apostles, and assist them, and lend unto GOD on good usury,[b] I will surely expiate your evil *deeds* from you, and I will lead you into gardens, wherein rivers flow: but he among you who disbelieveth after this, erreth from the straight path. Wherefore because they have broken their covenant, we have cursed them, and hardened their hearts; they dislocate the words *of the Pentateuch* from their places, and have forgotten part of what they were admonished; and thou wilt not cease to discover deceitful practices among them, except a few of them. But forgive them,[c] and pardon them, for GOD loveth the beneficent. And from those who say, We are Christians, we have received their covenant; but they have forgotten part of what they were admonished, wherefore we have raised up enmity and hatred among them, till the day of resurrection; and GOD will *then* surely declare unto them what they have been doing. O ye who have received the scriptures, now is our apostle come unto you, to make manifest unto you many *things* which ye concealed in the scriptures,[d] and to pass over[e] many *things*. Now is light and a perspicuous book *of revelations* come unto you from GOD. Thereby will GOD direct him who shall follow his good pleasure, into the paths of peace; and shall lead them out of darkness into light, by his will, and shall direct them in the right way. They are infidels, who say, Verily GOD is Christ the son of Mary. Say unto them, And who could obtain anything from GOD *to the contrary*, if he pleased to destroy Christ the son of Mary, and his mother, and all those who are on the earth? For unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and whatsoever *is con-*

revealing the verse of *fear*. Another relates, that the prophet going to the tribe of Koreidha (who were Jews) to levy a fine for the blood of two Moslems, who had been killed by mistake, by Amru Ebn Ommeya al Dimri, they desired him to sit down and eat with them, and they would pay the fine. Mohammed complying with their request, while he was sitting, they laid a design against his life, one Amru Ebn Jahâsh undertaking to throw a millstone upon him; but GOD withheld his hand, and Gabriel immediately descended to acquaint the prophet with their treachery, upon which he rose up and went his way. A third story is, that Mohammed having hung up his arms on a tree, under which he was resting himself, and his companions being dispersed some distance from him, an Arab of the desert came up to him and drew his sword, saying, *Who hindereth me from killing thee?* To which Mohammed answered, GOD; and Gabriel beating the sword out of the Arab's hand, Mohammed took it up, and asked him the same question, *Who hinders me from killing thee?* the Arab replied, *nobody*, and immediately professed Mohammedism.[1] Abûlfeda[2] tells the same story, with some variation of circumstances.

[a] After the Israelites had escaped from Pharaoh, GOD ordered them to go against Jericho, which was then inhabited by giants, of the race of the Canaanites, promising to give it into their hands; and Moses, by the divine direction, appointed a prince or captain over each tribe, to lead them in that expedition;[3] and when they came to the borders of the land of Canaan, sent the captains as spies to get information of the state of the country, enjoining them secrecy; but they being terrified at the prodigious size and strength of the inhabitants, disheartened the people by publicly telling what they had seen, except only Caleb the son of Yufanna (Jephunneh) and Joshua the son of Nun.[4]

[b] By contributing towards this holy war.

[c] That is, if they repent and believe, or submit to pay tribute. Some, however, think these words are abrogated by the verse of the *sword*.[5]

[d] Such as the verse of stoning adulterers,[6] the description of Mohammed, and Christ's prophecy of him by the name of Ahmed.[7]

[e] *i.e.* Those which it was not necessary to restore.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Vit. Moh. p. 73. [3] See Numb. i. 4, 5. [4] Al Beidâwi. Numb. xiii. and xiv. [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] See c. 3, p. 34. [7] Al Beidâwi.

tained between them; he createth what he pleaseth, and GOD is almighty. The Jews and the Christians say, We are the children of GOD, and his beloved. Answer, Why therefore doth he punish you for your sins? Nay, but ye are men, of those whom he hath created. He forgiveth whom he pleaseth, and punisheth whom he pleaseth; and unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of what is *contained* between them both, and unto him shall *all things* return. O ye who have received the scriptures, now is our apostle come unto you, declaring unto you *the true religion*, during the cessation of apostles,[f] lest ye should say, There came unto us no bearer of good tidings, nor any warner. but now is a bearer of good tidings and a warner come unto you, and GOD is almighty. *Call to mind* when Moses said unto his people, O my people, remember the favour of GOD towards you, since he hath appointed prophets among you, and constituted you kings,[g] and bestowed on you what he hath given to no *other nation* in the world.[h] O my people, enter the holy land, which GOD hath decreed you, and turn not your backs, lest ye be subverted and perish. They answered, O Moses, verily there are a gigantic people in the *land*,[i] and we will by no means enter it, until they depart thence, but if they depart thence, then will we enter *therein*. And two men[k] of those who feared *God*, unto whom GOD had been gracious, said, Enter ye upon them *suddenly by* the gate *of the city*, and when ye shall have entered the same, ye shall surely be victorious. therefore trust in GOD, if ye are true believers. They replied, O Moses, we will never enter *the land*, while they remain therein. go therefore thou, and thy LORD, and fight, for we will sit here. Moses said, O LORD, surely I am not master of any except myself, and my brother, therefore make a distinction between us and the ungodly people. *God* answered, Verily the *land* shall be forbidden them forty years, *during which time* they shall wander *like men astonished* in the earth,[l] therefore be not thou solicitous for the ungodly people. Relate also unto them the history of the two sons of Adam,[m] with truth. When they offered[n] *their*

[f] The Arabic word *al Fatra* signifies the intermediate space of time between two prophets, during which no new revelation or dispensation was given, as the interval between Moses and Jesus, and between Jesus and Mohammed, at the expiration of which last Mohammed pretended to be sent.

[g] This was fulfilled either by GOD's giving them a kingdom, and a long series of princes, or by his having made them *kings* or *masters* of themselves by delivering them from the Egyptian bondage.

[h] Having divided the Red Sea for you, and guided you by a cloud, and fed you with quails and manna, &c.[1]

[i] The largest of these giants, the commentators say, was Og, the son of Anak, concerning whose enormous stature, his escaping the Flood, and the manner of his being slain by Moses, the Mohammedans relate several absurd fables.[2]

[k] Namely, Caleb and Joshua.

[l] The commentators pretend that the Israelites, while they thus wandered in the desert, were kept within the compass of about eighteen (or as some say twenty seven) miles, and that though they travelled from morning to night, yet they constantly found themselves the next day at the place from whence they set out.[1]

[m] viz., Cain and Abel, whom the Mohammedans call Kâbil and Hâbil.

[n] The occasion of their making this offering is thus related, according to the common tradition in the east.[2] Each of them being born with a twin sister, when they were grown up, Adam, by GOD's direction, ordered Cain to marry Abel's twin sister, and that Abel should

[1] Al Beidawi. [2] Vide Marracc. in Alcor. p. 231, &c. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 336.
[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Vide Abulfarag. p. 6, 7. Eutych. Annal. p. 15, 16, and D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Cabil.

offering, and it was accepted from one of them,[o] and was not accepted from the other, *Cain* said *to his brother*, I will certainly kill thee. *Abel* answered, GOD only accepteth *the offering* of the pious; if thou stretchest forth thy hand against me, to slay me, I will not stretch forth my hand against thee, to slay thee; for I fear GOD the LORD of all creatures.[p] I choose that thou shouldest bear my iniquity and thine own iniquity; and that thou become a companion of *hell* fire; for that is the reward of the unjust.[q] But his soul suffered him to slay his brother, and he slew him;[r] wherefore he became *of the number* of those who perish. And GOD sent a raven, which scratched the earth, to show him how he should hide the shame of his brother,[s] *and* he said, Woe is me! am I unable to be like this raven, that I may hide my brother's shame? and he became *one* of those who repent. Wherefore we commanded the children of Israel, that he who slayeth a soul, without having slain a soul, or committed wickedness in the earth,[t] *shall be* as if he had slain all mankind:[u] but he who saveth *a soul* alive, *shall be* as if he had saved the lives of all mankind. Our apostles formerly came unto them, with evident *miracles*; then were many of them, after this, transgressors on the earth. But the recompense of those who fight against GOD and his apostles, and study to act corruptly in the earth, *shall be*, that they shall be slain, or crucified, or have their hands and their feet cut off on the opposite *sides*, or be banished the land.[x] This shall be their disgrace in this world, and in the next world they shall suffer a grievous punishment; except those who shall repent, before ye prevail against them; for know that GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and*

marry Cain's (for it being the common opinion that marriages ought not to be had in the nearest degrees of consanguinity, since they must necessarily marry their sisters, it seemed reasonable to suppose they ought to take those of the remoter degree); but this Cain refusing to agree to, because his own sister was the handsomest, Adam ordered them to make their offerings to GOD, thereby referring the dispute to his determination.[3] The commentators say Cain's offering was a sheaf of the very worst of his corn, but Abel's a fat lamb, of the best of his flock.

[o] Namely, from Abel, whose sacrifice GOD declared his acceptance of in a visible manner, by causing fire to descend from heaven and consume it, without touching that of Cain.[4]

[p] To enhance Abel's patience, al Beidâwi tells us, that he was the stronger of the two, and could easily have prevailed against his brother.

[q] The conversation between the two brothers is related somewhat to the same purpose in the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel.

[r] Some say he knocked out his brains with a stone;[5] and pretend that as Cain was considering which way he should effect the murder, the devil appeared to him in a human shape, and showed him how to do it, by crushing the head of a bird between two stones.[6]

[s] *i. e.* His dead corpse. For Cain having committed this fratricide, became exceedingly troubled in his mind, and carried the dead body about on his shoulders for a considerable time, not knowing where to conceal it, till it stank horribly; and then GOD taught him to bury it by the example of a raven, who having killed another raven in his presence, dug a pit with his claws and beak, and buried him therein.[7] For this circumstance of the raven Mohammed was beholden to the Jews, who tell the same story, except only that they make the raven to appear to Adam, and that he thereupon buried his son.[8]

[t] Such as idolatry, or robbing on the highway.

[u] Having broken the commandment which forbids the shedding of blood.

[x] The lawyers are not agreed as to the applying of these punishments. But the commentators suppose that they who commit murder only are to be put to death in the ordinary way; those who murder and rob too, to be crucified; those who rob without committing murder, to have their right hand and their left foot cut off; and they who assault persons and put them in fear, to be banished.[9] It is also a doubt whether they who are to be crucified shall be crucified alive, or be first put to death, or whether they shall hang on the cross till they die.[1]

[3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [5] Vide Eutych. ubi supra. [6] Vide D'Herbelot, ubi sup. [7] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [8] Vide R. Eliezer, Pirke, c. 21. [9] Al Beidâwi. [1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [3] Al Beidawi.

merciful. O true believers, fear GOD, and earnestly desire a near conjunction with him, and fight for his religion, that ye may be happy. Moreover they who believe not, although they had whatever *is* in the earth, and as much more withal, that they might therewith redeem themselves from punishment on the day of resurrection, it shall not be accepted from them, but they shall suffer a painful punishment. They shall desire to go forth from the fire, but they shall not go forth from it, and their punishment shall be permanent. If a man or a woman steal, cut off their hands,[y] in retribution for that which they have committed; *this is* an examplary punishment *appointed* by GOD, and GOD is mighty *and* wise. But whoever shall repent after his iniquity, and amend, verily GOD will be turned unto him,[z] for GOD *is* inclined to forgive *and* merciful. Dost thou not know that the kingdom of heaven and earth is GOD'S? He punisheth whom he pleaseth, and he pardoneth whom he pleaseth; for GOD is almighty. O apostle, let not them grieve thee, who hasten to infidelity,[a] *either* of those who say, We believe, with their mouths, but whose hearts believe not,[b] or of the Jews, who hearken to a lie, *and* hearken to other people,[c] *who* come not unto thee: they pervert the words *of the law* from their *true* places,[d] *and* say, If this be brought unto you, receive it; but if it be not brought unto you, beware *of receiving ought else*;[e] and in behalf of him whom GOD shall resolve to reduce, thou shalt not prevail with GOD at all. They whose hearts GOD shall not please to cleanse, shall suffer shame in this world, and a grievous punishment in the next: who hearken to a lie, *and* eat that which is forbidden.[f] But if they come unto thee *for judgment*, either judge between them, or leave them;[g] and if thou leave them, they shall not hurt thee at all. But

[y] But this punishment, according to the Sonna, is not to be inflicted, unless the value of the thing stolen amount to four *dinârs*, or about forty shillings. For the first offence the criminal is to lose his right hand, which is to be cut off at the wrist; for the second offence, his left foot, at the ankle; for the third, his left hand; for the fourth, his right foot; and if he continue to offend, he shall be scourged at the discretion of the judge.[4]

[z] That is, GOD will not punish him for it hereafter: but his repentance does not supersede the execution of the law here, nor excuse him from making restitution. Yet according to al Shafei, he shall not be punished if the party wronged forgive him before he be carried before a magistrate.[5]

[a] *i. e.* Who take the first opportunity to throw off the mask, and join the unbelievers.

[b] *viz.* The hypocritical Mohammedans.

[c] These words are capable of two senses; and may either mean that they attended to the lies and forgeries of their Rabbins, neglecting the remonstrances of Mohammed; or else that they came to hear Mohammed as spies only, that they might report what he said to their companions, and represent him as a liar.[1]

[d] See chapter 4. p. 59. note [e].

[e] That is, if what Mohammed tells you agrees with scripture as corrupted and dislocated by us, then you may accept it as the word of GOD; but if not, reject it. These words, it is said, relate to the sentence pronounced by that prophet on an adulterer and an adulteress,[2] both persons of some figure among the Jews. For they, it seems, though they referred the matter to Mohammed, yet directed the persons who carried the criminals before him, that if he ordered them to be scourged, and to have their faces blackened (by way of ignominy), they should acquiesce in his determination; but in case he condemned them to be stoned, they should not. And Mohammed pronouncing the latter sentence against them, they refused to execute it, till Ebn Sûriya (a Jew), who was called upon to decide the matter, acknowledged the law to be so—whereupon they were stoned at the door of the mosque.[3]

[f] Some understand this of unlawful meats, but others of taking or *devouring*, as it is expressed, of usury and bribes.[4]

[g] *i. e.* Take thy choice, whether thou wilt determine their differences or not. Hence al Shâfeï

[4] Jallaloddin. Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. [1] Al Beidâwi. [2] See c. 3. p. 34. note [*].
[3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem.

if thou *undertake to* judge, judge between them with equity; for GOD loveth those who observe justice. And how will they submit to thy decision, since they have the law, containing the judgment of GOD?[h] Then will they turn their backs, after this;[i] but those are not true believers.[k] We have surely sent down the law, containing direction, and light thereby did the prophets, who professed the true religion, judge these who Judaized, and the doctors and priests *also judged* by the book of GOD, which had been committed to their custody, and they were witnesses thereof[l] Therefore fear not men, but fear me, neither sell my signs for a small price. And whoso judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are infidels We have therein commanded them, that *they should give* life for life,[m] and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and *that* wounds *should also be punished by* retaliation[n] but whoever should remit it as alms, it *should be accepted as* an atonement for him And whoso judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are unjust We also caused Jesus the son of Mary to follow the footsteps of *the prophets*, confirming the law which *was sent down* before him, and we gave him the gospel containing direction and light confirming also the law which *was given* before it, and a direction and admonition unto those who fear *God* that they who have received the gospel might judge according to what GOD hath revealed therein and whoso judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed they are transgressors We have also sent down unto thee the book *of the Korân* with truth, confirming that scripture which *was revealed* before it and preserving the same safe *from corruption* Judge therefore between them according to that which GOD hath revealed and follow not their desires, *by swerving* from the truth which hath come unto thee Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path and if GOD had pleased, he had surely made you one people[o] but *he hath thought fit to give you different laws* that he might try you in that which he hath given you *respectively* Therefore strive to excel each other in good works unto GOD shall ye all return and *then* will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed Wherefore *do thou, O pro*

was of opinion that a judge was not obliged to decide causes between Jews or Christians though if one or both of them be tributaries or under the protection of the Mohammedans they are obliged this verse not regarding them Abu Hanifa however thought that the magistrates were obliged to judge all cases which were submitted to them[g]

[h] In the following passage Mohammed endeavours to answer the objections of the Jews and Christians, who insisted that they ought to be judged the former by the law of Moses and the latter by the gospel He allows that the law was the proper rule of judging till the coming of Jesus Christ after which the gospel was the rule but pretends that both are set aside by the revelation of the Koran which is so far from being contradictory to either of the former that it is more full and explicit declaring several points which had been stifled or corrupted therein and requiring a rigorous execution of the precepts in both which had been too remissly observed or rather neglected by the latter professors of those religions

[i] That is, notwithstanding their outward submission they will not abide by thy sentence, though conformable to the law if it contradict their own false and loose decisions.

[k] As gainsaying the doctrine of the books which they acknowledge for scripture.

[l] That is vigilant to prevent any corruptions therein.

[m] The original word is *soul*.

[n] See Exod xxi 24 &c.

[o] *i e* He had given you the same laws, which should have continued in force through all ages, without being abolished or changed by new dispensations, or he could have forced you all to embrace the Mohammedan religion.[h]

[g] Idem. [h] Idem.

phet, judge between them according to that which GOD hath revealed, and follow not their desires; but beware of them, lest they cause thee to err[p] from part of those *precepts* which GOD hath sent down unto thee; and if they turn back,[q] know that GOD is pleased to punish them for some of their crimes; for a great number of men are transgressors. Do they therefore desire the judgment of *the time of* ignorance?[r] but who is better than GOD, to judge between people who reason aright? O true believers, take not the Jews or Christians for *your* friends; they are friends the one to the other; but whoso among you taketh them for *his* friends, he *is* surely *one* of them: verily GOD directeth not unjust people. Thou shalt see those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, to hasten unto them, saying, We fear lest some adversity befall us.[s] but it is easy for GOD to give victory, or a command from him,[t] that they may repent of that which they concealed in their minds. And they who believe will say, Are these *the men* who have sworn by GOD, with a most firm oath, that they surely *held* with you?[u] their works are become vain, and they are of those who perish. O true believers, whoever of you apostatizeth from his religion, GOD will certainly bring other people to *supply his place*,[x] whom he will love, and who will love *him*, *who shall be*

[p] It is related that certain of the Jewish priests came to Mohammed with a design to entrap him, and having first represented to him that if they acknowledged him for a prophet, the rest of the Jews would certainly follow their example, made this proposal: that if he would give judgment for them in a controversy of moment which they pretended to have with their own people, and which was agreed to be referred to his decision, they would believe him: but this Mohammed absolutely refused to comply with.[1]

[q] Or refuse to be judged by the Korân.

[r] That is, to be judged according to the customs of paganism, which indulge the passions and vicious appetites of mankind: for this, it seems, was demanded by the Jewish tribes of Koreidha and al Nadir.[2]

[s] These were the words of Ebn Obba, who, when Obadah Ebn al Samat publicly renounced the friendship of the infidels, and professed that he took GOD and his apostle for his patrons, said that he was a man apprehensive of the fickleness of fortune, and therefore would not throw off his old friends, who might be of service to him hereafter.[1]

[t] To extirpate and banish the Jews, or to detect and punish the hypocrites.

[u] These words may be spoken by the Mohammedans either to one another or to the Jews, since these hypocrites had given their oaths to both.[2]

[x] This is one of those accidents which, it is pretended, were foretold by the Korân long before they came to pass. For in the latter days of Mohammed, and after his death, considerable numbers of the Arabs quitted his religion, and returned to Paganism, Judaism, or Christianity. Al Beidâwi reckons them up in the following order. 1. Three companies of Banu Modlaj, seduced by Dhu'lhamâr al Aswad al Ansi, who set up for a prophet in Yaman, and grew very powerful there.[3] 2. Banu Honeifa, who followed the famous false prophet Moseilama.[4] 3. Banu Asad, who acknowledged Toleiha Ebn Khowailed, another pretender to divine revelation,[5] for their prophet. All these fell off in Mohammed's lifetime. The following, except only the last, apostatized in the reign of Abu Becr. 4. Certain of the tribe of Fezârah, headed by Oyeyna Ebn Hosein. 5. Some of the tribe of Ghatfân, whose leader was Korrah Ebn Salma. 6. Banu Soleim, who followed al Fajaah Ebn Abd Yalîl. 7. Banu Yarbu, whose captain was Malec Ebn Noweirah Ebn Kais. 8. Part of the tribe of Tamîm, the proselytes of Sajâj the daughter of al Mondhar, who gave herself out for a prophetess.[6] 9. The tribe of Kendah, led by al Ashath Ebn Kais. 10. Banu Becr Ebn Wayel, in the province of Bahrein, headed by al Hotam Ebn Zeid. And 11. Some of the tribe of Ghassân, who, with their prince Jabalah Ebn al Ayham, renounced Mohammedism in the time of Omar, and returned to their former profession of Christianity.[7]

But as to the persons who fulfilled the other part of this prophecy, by supplying the loss of so many renegades, the commentators are not agreed. Some will have them to be the inhabitants of Yaman, and others the Persians; the authority of Mohammed himself being vouched for both opinions. Others, however, suppose them to be 2,000 of the tribe of al Nakhå (who dwelt in Yaman), 5,000 of those of Kendah and Bajilah, and 3,000 of unknown descent,[8] who

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. VIII. [4] See ibid. [5] See ibid. [6] See ibid. [7] See ibid. Sect. I. [8] Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. [illegible]

humble towards the believers, *but* severe to the unbelievers, they shall fight for the religion of GOD, and shall not fear the obloquy of the detractor. This *is* the bounty of GOD, he bestoweth it on whom he pleaseth GOD *is* extensive *and* wise Verily your protector is GOD, and his apostle, and those who believe, who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms, and who bow down *to worship* And whoso taketh GOD, and his apostle, and the believers for his friends, *they are* the party of GOD, *and* they *shall be* victorious O true believers, take not such of those to whom the scriptures were delivered before you, or of the infidels, for your friends, who make a laughing-stock and a jest of your religion,[y] but fear GOD, if ye be true believers, *nor those who*, when ye call to prayer, make a laughing stock and a jest of it,[z] this *they do* because they are people who do not understand Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, do ye reject us *for any other reason* than because we believe in GOD and that *revelation* which hath been sent down unto us, and that which was formerly sent down, and for that the greater part of you are transgressors? Say, Shall I denounce unto you a worse *thing* than this *as to* the reward *which ye are to expect* with GOD? He whom GOD hath cursed and with whom he hath been angry, having changed *some* of them into apes and swine,[a] and *who* worship Taghut,[b] they *are* in the worse condition, and err more *widely* from the straightness of the path When they came unto you, they said, We believe yet they entered *into your company* with infidelity, and went forth *from you* with the same but GOD well knew what they concealed Thou shalt see many of them hastening unto iniquity and malice, and to eat things forbidden[c] and woe *unto them for* what they have done Unless *their* doctors and priests forbid them uttering wickedness, and eating things forbidden, woe *unto them for* what they shall have committed The Jews say the hand of GOD is tied up[d] Their hands shall be tied up,[e] and they shall be cursed for that which they have said Nay, his hands are both stretched forth,

were present at the famous battle of Kadesia fought in the Khalifat of O[illegible] and which put an end to the Persian empire[9]

[y] This passage was primarily intended to forbid the M[illegible] entering into a friendship with two hypocrites named Refâa Ebn Zeid and Sweid Ebn al Hareth who though they had embraced Mohammedism yet ridiculed it on all occasions and were notwithstanding greatly beloved among the prophet's followers.

[z] These words were added on occasion of a certain Christian who hearing the Muadhdhin or crier in calling to prayers, repeat this part of the usual form *I profess that* Mohammed *is the apostle of* GOD said aloud *May* GOD *burn the liar* but a few nights after his own house was accidentally set on fire by a servant and himself and his family perished in the flames[1]

[a] The former were the Jews of Ailah who broke the sabbath[2] and the latter those who believed not in the miracle of the table which was let down from heaven to Jesus[3] Some however imagine that the Jews of Ailah only are meant in this place pretending that the young men among them were metamorphosed into apes and the old men into swine.[4]

[b] See chap 2 p 30

[c] See before p 73.

[d] That is he is become niggardly and close fisted. These were the words of Phineas Ebn Azûra (another indecent expression of which almost to the same purpose is mentioned elsewhere)[5] when the Jews were much impoverished by a dearth which the commentators will have to be a judgment on them for their rejecting of Mohammed and the other Jews who heard him, instead of reproving him expressed their approbation of what he had said[6]

[e] *i e* They shall be punished with want and avarice The words may also allude to the manner wherein the reprobates shall appear at the last day having their right hands tied up to their necks,[7] which is the proper signification of the Arabic word.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem [3] See c 2, p 8. [9] See towards the end of this chapter
[4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Cap. 3, p 51 [6] Al Beidâwi. [7] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV

he bestoweth as he pleaseth that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD,[f] shall increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them, and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of resurrection So often as they shall kindle a fire for war, GOD shall extinguish it;[g] and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but GOD loveth not the corrupt doers Moreover, if they who have received the scriptures believe, and fear *God*, we will surely expiate their sins from them, and we will lead them into gardens of pleasure, and if they observe the law, and the gospel, and *the other scriptures* which have been sent down unto them from their LORD, they shall surely eat *of good things* both from above them and from under their feet[h] Among them there are people who act uprightly, but how evil is that which many of them do work! O apostle, publish *the whole of* that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD for if thou do not, thou dost not *in effect* publish any part thereof,[i] and GOD will defend thee against *wicked* men,[k] for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, ye are not *grounded* on anything, until ye observe the law and the gospel, and that which hath been sent down unto you from your LORD That which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD shall surely increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them but be not thou solicitous for the unbelieving people Verily they who believe, and those who Judaize and the Sabians, and the Christians whoever *of them* believeth in GOD and the last day, and doth that which is right, *there shall come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved[l] We formerly accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, and sent apostles unto them So often as an apostle came unto them with that which their souls desired not, they accused some of them of imposture, and some of them they killed and they imagined that there should be no punishment *for those crimes*, and they became blind and deaf[m] Then was GOD turned unto them,[n] afterwards many of them *again* became blind and deaf, but GOD saw what they did They are surely infidels, who say, Verily GOD is Christ the son of Mary, since Christ said, O children of Israel, serve GOD, my LORD and your LORD, whoever shall give a companion unto GOD, GOD shall exclude him from paradise, and his habitation shall be *hell* fire, and the ungodly shall have none to help them. They are certainly infidels, who say, GOD is

[f] viz The Korân.

[g] Either by raising feuds and quarrels among themselves or by granting the victory to the Moslems. Al Beidawi adds that on the Jews neglecting the true observance of their law and corrupting their religion GOD has successively delivered them into the hands first of Bakht Nasr or Nebuchadnezzar then of Titus the Roman and afterwards of the Persians, and has now at last subjected them to the Mohammedans.

[h] That is they shall enjoy the blessings both of heaven and earth

[i] That is if thou do not complete the publication of all thy revelations without exception, thou dost not answer the end for which they were revealed because the concealing of any part renders the system of religion which GOD has thought fit to publish to mankind by thy ministry lame and imperfect[1]

[k] Until this verse was revealed Mohammed entertained a guard of armed men for his security but on his receiving this assurance of GOD's protection, he immediately dismissed them.[2]

[l] See chap 2 p 8

[m] Shutting their eyes and ears against conviction and the remonstrance of the law, as when they worshipped the calf

[n] *i e.*, Upon their repentance

[1] Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem.

the third of three:[o] for there is no GOD besides one GOD; and if they refrain not from what they say, a painful torment shall surely be inflicted on such of them as are unbelievers. Will they not therefore be turned unto GOD, and ask pardon of him? since GOD is gracious *and* merciful. Christ the son of Mary is no more than an apostle; *other* apostles have preceded him; and his mother was a woman of veracity:[p] they *both* ate food.[q] Behold, how we declare unto them the signs *of God's unity*; and then behold, how they turn aside *from the truth*. Say *unto them*, Will ye worship besides GOD, that which can cause you neither harm nor profit? GOD *is* he who heareth *and* seeth. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, exceed not *the just bounds* in your religion,[r] *by speaking* beside the truth; neither follow the desires of people who have heretofore erred, and who have seduced many, and have gone astray from the strait path.[s] Those among the children of Israel who believed not, were cursed by the tongue of David, and of Jesus the son of Mary.[t] This *befell them* because they were rebellious and transgressed: they forbade not one another the wickedness which they committed; and woe *unto them for* what they committed. Thou shalt see many of them take for their friends those who believe not. Woe *unto them* for what their souls have sent before them,[u] for that GOD is incensed against them, and they shall remain in torment *for ever*. But if they had believed in GOD and the prophet, and that which hath been revealed unto him, they had not taken them for *their* friends; but many of them are evil doers. Thou shalt surely find the most violent of *all* men in enmity against the true believers, *to be* the Jews and the idolaters; and thou shalt surely find those among them *to be* the most inclinable to *entertain* friendship for the true believers, who say, We are Christians. This *cometh to pass*, because there are priests and monks among them; and because they are not elated with pride.[x] (VII.) And when they hear that which hath been sent down to the apostle *read unto them*, thou shalt see their eyes overflow with tears, because of the truth which they perceive *therein*,[y] saying,

[o] See chap. 4. p. 72.

[p] Never pretending to partake of the divine nature, or to be the mother of God.[3]

[q] Being obliged to support their lives by the same means, and being subject to the same necessities and infirmities as the rest of mankind, and therefore no Gods.[1]

[r] See chap. 4. p. 72. But here the words are principally directed to the Christians.

[s] That is, of their prelates and predecessors, who erred in ascribing divinity to Christ, before the mission of Mohammed.[2]

[t] See before, p. 81. note [a].

[u] See chap. 2. p. 11. note [r].

[x] Having not that high conceit of themselves, as the Jews have; but being humble and well disposed to receive the truth; qualities, says al B[illegible], which are to be commended even in infidels.

[y] The persons directly intended in this passage were either Ashama king of Ethiopia, and several bishops and priests, who being assembled for that purpose, heard Jaafar Ebn Abi Taleb, who fled to that country in the first flight,[8] read the [illegible] and 30th and afterwards the 18th and 19th chapters of the Koran, [illegible] which the king and the rest of the company burst into tears, and confessed what was delivered therein to be conformable to truth; that prince himself in particular becoming a proselyte to Mohammedism.[4] or else, thirty, or as others say, seventy persons sent ambassadors to Mohammed by the same king of Ethiopia, to whom the prophet himself read the 36th chapter, entitled Y. S. Whereupon they began to weep, saying, *How like is this to that which was revealed unto* Jesus! and immediately professed themselves Moslems.[5]

[8] Jallalo'ddin. [1] Idem, al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. II. [4] Al Beidâwi, al Thalabi. Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moham. p. 25, &c. Marracc. Prodr. ad Refut. part 1. p. 45. [5] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. Vide Marracc. ubi sup.

O LORD, we believe; write us down therefore with those who bear witness *to the truth:* and what *should hinder* us from believing in GOD, and the truth which hath come unto us, and from earnestly desiring that our LORD would introduce us *into paradise* with the righteous people? Therefore hath GOD rewarded them, for what they have said, with gardens through which rivers flow; they shall continue therein *for ever;* and this is the reward of the righteous. But they who believe not, and accuse our signs of falshood, they *shall be* the companions of hell O true believers, forbid not the good things which GOD hath allowed you;[z] but transgress not, for GOD loveth not the transgressors. And eat of what GOD hath given you for food *that which is* lawful *and* good: and fear GOD, in whom ye believe. GOD will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths;[a] but he will punish you for what ye solemnly swear *with deliberation.* And the expiation of such *an oath shall be* the feeding of ten poor men with such moderate *food* as ye feed your own families withal: or to clothe them,[b] or to free the neck *of a true believer from captivity* but he who shall not find *wherewith to perform one of these three things,* shall fast three days.[c] This is the expiation of your oaths, when ye swear *inadvertently.* Therefore keep your oaths Thus GOD declareth unto you his signs, that ye may give thanks. O true believers, surely wine, and lots,[d] and images,[e] and divining arrows,[f] *are* an abomination of the work of Satan, therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper Satan seeketh to sow dissension and hatred among you, by means of wine and lots, and to divert you from remembring GOD, and from prayer: will ye not therefore abstain *from them?* Obey GOD, and obey the apostle, and take heed *to yourselves.* but if ye turn back, know that the duty of our apostle is only to preach publicly.[g] In those who believe and do good works, it is no sin that they have tasted *wine or gaming before they were forbidden;* if they fear *God,* and believe, and do good works, and *shall for the future* fear *God,* and believe, and *shall persevere to* fear *him,* and *to* do good,[h] for GOD loveth those who do good O true believers, GOD will surely prove you in *offering you plenty of* game, which ye may take with your hands or

[z] These words were revealed when certain of Mohammed's companions agreed to oblige themselves to continual fasting and watching, and to abstain from women, eating flesh, sleeping on beds, and other lawful enjoyments of life, in imitation of some self-denying Christians; but this the prophet disapproved, declaring that he would have no *monks* in his religion [1]

[a] See chap 2, p 24

[b] The commentators give us the different opinions of the doctors, as to the quantity of food and clothes to be given in this case, which I think scarce worth transcribing

[c] That is, three days together, says Abu Hanifa But this is not observed in practice, being neither explicitly commanded in the Korân, nor ordered in the Sonna.[2]

[d] That is, all inebriating liquors, and games of chance See the Prelim Disc Sect V and chap 2, p 23.

[e] Al Beidâwi and some other commentators expound this of idols; but others, with more probability, of the carved pieces or men, with which the pagan Arabs played at chess, being little figures of men, elephants, horses and dromedaries, and this is supposed to be the only thing Mohammed disliked in that game for which reason the Sonnites play with plain pieces of wood or ivory; but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, still make use of the carved ones [3]

[f] See the Prelim Discourse, Sect V

[g] See ibid Sect II

[h] The commentators endeavour to excuse the tautology of this passage, by supposing the threefold repetition of *fearing* and *believing* refers either to the three parts of time, past, present, and future, or to the threefold duty of man, towards GOD, himself, and his neighbour, &c [4]

[1] Jallalo'ddin al Beidâwi. [2] [illegible] [3] Vide Prelim Disc. Sect V [4] Al Beidâwi

your lances,[i] that GOD may know who feareth him in secret; but whoever transgresseth after this, shall suffer a grevious punishment. O true believers, kill no game while ye are on pilgrimage;[k] whosoever among you shall kill any designedly, shall restore the like of what ye shall have killed, in domestic animals,[l] according to the determination of two just persons among you, to be brought as an offering to the Caaba; or in atonement thereof shall feed the poor; or instead thereof shall fast, that he may taste the heinousness of his deed. GOD hath forgiven what is past, but whoever returneth *to transgress*, GOD will take vengeance on him; for GOD is mighty *and* able to avenge. It is lawful for you to fish in the sea,[m] and to eat *what ye shall catch*, as a provision for you and for those who travel; but it is unlawful for you to hunt by land, while ye are performing the rites of pilgrimage;[n] therefore fear GOD, before whom ye shall be assembled *at the last day*. GOD hath appointed the Caaba, the holy house, an establishment[o] for mankind; and *hath ordained* the sacred month,[p] and the offering, and the ornaments hung *thereon*.[q] This *hath he done* that ye might know that GOD knoweth whatsoever *is* in heaven and on earth, and that GOD is omniscient. Know that GOD is severe in punishing, and that GOD *is also* ready to forgive *and* merciful. The duty of our apostle is to preach only;[r] and GOD knoweth that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal. Say, Evil and good shall not be equally esteemed of, though the abundance of evil pleaseth thee;[s] therefore fear GOD, O ye of understanding, that ye may be happy. O true believers, inquire not concerning things which, if they be declared unto you, may give you pain;[t] but if ye ask concerning them when the Koran is sent down

[i] This temptation or trial was at al Hodeibiya, where Mohammed's men, who had attended him thither with an intent to perform a pilgrimage to the C[illegible] had initiated themselves with the usual rites, were surrounded by [illegible] great [illegible] birds and beasts that they impeded their march [illegible] which [illegible] they then concluded that GOD had allowed them to be taken, but [illegible] was to [illegible] the contrary.[1]

[k] Literally, *while ye are* Mohrims, or have actually [illegible] yourselves as pilgrims by putting on the garment worn at that solemnity. Hunting [illegible] hereby absolutely forbidden to persons in this state, though they are allowed to kill certain kinds of noxious animals.[2]

[l] That is, he shall bring an offering to the temple of Mecca, to be slain there and distributed among the poor, of some [illegible] or tame [illegible] equal in value to what he shall have killed, as a sheep for example in lieu of an antelope, a pigeon for a partridge, &c. And of this value two prudent persons were to be judges. If the offender was not able to do this, he was to give a certain quantity of food to one or more poor men; or if he could not afford that, to fast a proportional number of days.[3]

[m] This, says Jallalo'ddin, is to be understood of fish that live [illegible] in the sea, and not of those that live in the sea and on land both, as crabs, &c. [illegible] whence the Hanifites never eat this sort of fish; but the sect of Malec Ebn Ans, and perhaps some others, make no scruple of it.

[n] See above, note [k].

[o] That is, the place where the practice of their religious ceremonies is chiefly established, where those who are under any apprehension of danger may find a sure *asylum*, and the merchant certain gain, &c.[4]

[p] Al Beidâwi understands this of the month of Dhu'lhajja, wherein the ceremonies of the pilgrimage are performed; but Jallalo'ddin supposes all the four sacred months are here intended.[5]

[q] See before, p. 73.

[r] See the Prelim. Discourse, Sect. II.

[s] For judgment is to be made of things not from their plenty or scarcity, but from their intrinsic good or bad qualities.[6]

[t] The Arabs continually teasing their prophet with questions, which probably he was not

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [2] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. V. [3] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. [5] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. VII. [6] Al Beidâwi.

they will be declared unto you: GOD pardoneth *you as to* these matters, for GOD is ready to forgive *and* gracious People who have been before you formerly inquired concerning them, and afterwards disbelieved therein. GOD hath not ordained *anything* concerning Bahîra, nor Sâiba, nor Wasîla, nor Hâmi;[u] but the unbelievers have invented a lie against GOD and the greater part of them do not understand And when it was said unto them, Come unto that which GOD hath revealed, and to the apostle, they answered, That *religion* which we found our fathers *to follow* is sufficient for us. What though their fathers knew nothing, and were not *rightly* directed? O true believers, take care of your souls He who erreth shall not hurt you, while ye are *rightly* directed[x] unto GOD shall ye all return, and he will tell you that which ye have done. O true believers, let witnesses be taken between you, when death approaches any of you, at the time of *making* the testament, *let there be* two *witnesses*, just men, from among you,[y] or two others of *a* different *tribe or faith* from yourselves,[z] if ye be journeying in the earth, and the accident of death befall you Ye shall shut them both up, after the *afternoon* prayer,[a] and they shall swear by GOD, if ye doubt *them, and they shall say*, We will not sell *our evidence* for a bribe, although *the person concerned* be one who is related *to us*, neither will we conceal the testimony of GOD, for then should we certainly be *of the number* of the wicked But if it appear that both have been guilty of iniquity, two others shall stand up in their place, of those who have convicted them *of falsehood*, the two nearest *in blood*, and they shall swear by GOD, *saying*, Verily our testimony is more true than the testimony of these two, neither have we prevaricated, for *then* should we become *of the number* of the unjust This will be easier, that *men* may give testimony according to the plain intention thereof, or fear least a *different* oath be given, after their oath. Therefore fear GOD, and hearken, for GOD directeth not the unjust people[b]

always prepared to answer, they are here ordered to wait till GOD should think fit to declare his pleasure by some farther revelation and to abate their curiosity they are told at the same time that very likely the answer would not be agreeable to their inclinations Al Beidawi says that when the pilgrimage was first commanded Sorâka Ebn Malec asked Mohammed whether they were obliged to perform it every year? To this question the prophet at first turned a deaf ear but being asked it a second and a third time he at last said, *No but if I had said yes it would have become a duty and if it were a duty ye would not be able to perform it, therefore give me no trouble as to things wherein I give you none* whereupon this passage was revealed

[u] These were the names given by the pagan Arabs to certain camels or sheep which were turned loose to feed and exempted from common services in some particular cases having their ears slit or some other mark that they might be known and this they did in honour of their gods[1] Which superstitions are here declared to be no ordinances of GOD, but the inventions of foolish men.

[x] This was revealed when the infidels reproached those who embraced Mohammedism and renounced their old idolatry that by so doing they arraigned the wisdom of their forefathers[2]

[y] That is of your kindred or religion

[z] They who interpret these words of persons of another religion say they are abrogated and that the testimony of such ought not to be received against a Moslem[3]

[a] In case there was any doubt the witnesses were to be kept apart from company lest they should be corrupted till they gave their evidence which they generally did when the afternoon prayer was over because that was the time of people's assembling in public, or, say some, because the guardian angels then relieve each other, so that there would be four angels to witness against them if they gave false evidence. But others suppose they might be examined after the hour of any other prayer when there was a sufficient assembly[4]

[b] The occasion of the preceding passage is said to have been this Tamim al Dâri and Addi

[1] See the Prelim Disc Sect. V [2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem. [4] Idem.

On *a certain* day[a] shall GOD assemble the apostles, and shall say unto them, What answer was returned you, *when ye preached unto the people to whom ye were sent?* They shall answer, We have no knowledge but thou art the knower of secrets.[d] When GOD shall say, O Jesus son of Mary, remember my favour towards thee, and towards thy mother; when I strengthened thee with the holy spirit,[e] that thou shouldest speak unto men in the cradle, and when thou wast grown up;[f] and when I taught thee the scripture, and wisdom, and the law and the gospel; and when thou didst create of clay as it were the figure of a bird, by my permission, and didst breathe thereon, and it became a bird by my permission; and thou didst heal one blind from his birth and the leper, by my permission; and when thou didst bring forth the dead *from their graves*, by my permission;[g] and when I withheld the children of Israel from *killing* thee,[h] when thou hadst come unto them with evident *miracles*, and such of them as believed not, said, This is nothing but manifest sorcery. And when I commanded the apostles of *Jesus*, *saying*, Believe in me and in my messenger, they answered, We do believe; and do thou bear witness that we are resigned *unto thee*. *Remember* when the apostles said, O Jesus, son of Mary, is thy LORD able to cause a table to descend unto us from heaven?[i] He

Ebn Yâzid, both Christians, took a journey into Syria to trade, in company with Bodeil, the freed man of Amru Ebn al As, who was a Moslem. When they came to Damascus Bodeil fell sick, and died, having first wrote down a list of his effects on a piece of paper which he hid in his baggage, without acquainting his companions with it, and desired them only to deliver what he had to his friends of the tribe of Sahm. The survivors however searching among his goods, found a vessel of silver of considerable weight, and inlaid with gold, which they concealed, and on their return delivered the rest to the deceased's relations, who, finding the list of Bodeil's writing, demanded the vessel of silver of them, but they denied it: and the affair being brought before Mohammed, these words, viz., *O true believers, take witnesses*, &c., were revealed, and he ordered them to be sworn at the pulpit in the mosque, just as afternoon prayer was over, and on their making oath that they knew nothing of the plate demanded, dismissed them. But afterwards the vessel being found in their hands, the Sahmites, suspecting it was Bodeil's, charged them with it, and they confessed it was his, but insisted that they had bought it of him, and that they had not produced it because they had no proof of the bargain. Upon this they went again before Mohammed, to whom these words, *And if it appear* &c., were revealed; and thereupon Amru Ebn al As and al Motalleb Ebn Abi Refaa, both of the tribe of Sahm, stood up, and were sworn against them, and judgment was given accordingly.[1]

[c] That is, on the day of judgment.

[d] That is, we are ignorant whether our proselytes were sincere, or whether they apostatized after our deaths; but thou well knowest, not only what answer they gave us, but the secrets of their hearts, and whether they have since continued firm in their religion or not.

[e] See chapter 2, p. 10.

[f] See chapter 3, p. 37.

[g] See ibid.

[h] See ibid. p. 38.

[i] This miracle is thus related by the commentators. Jesus having, at the request of his followers, asked it of GOD, a red table immediately descended, in their sight, between two clouds, and was set before them; whereupon he rose up, and having made the ablution, prayed, and then took off the cloth which covered the table, saying, *In the name of GOD, the best provider of food*. What the provisions were with which this table was furnished is a matter wherein the expositors are not agreed. One will have them to be nine cakes of bread and nine fishes; another, bread and flesh; another, all sorts of food except flesh; another, all sorts of food, except bread and flesh; another, all except bread and fish; another, one fish, which had the taste of all manner of food; and another, fruits of paradise; but the most received tradition is that when the table was uncovered there appeared a fish ready dressed, without scales or prickly fins, dropping with fat, having salt placed at its head and vinegar at its tail, and round it all sorts of herbs, except leeks, and five loaves of bread, on one of which there were olives, on the second honey, on the third butter, on the fourth cheese, and on the fifth dried flesh. They add that Jesus, at the request of the apostles, showed them another miracle, by restoring

[1] Al Beidâwi.

nswered, Fear GOD, ye be true believers They said, We desire to at thereof, and that our hearts may rest at ease, and that we may know that thou hast told us the truth, and that we may be witnesses thereof Jesus, the son of Mary, said, O GOD our LORD, cause a table to descend unto us from heaven, that *the day of its descent* may become a festival day[k] unto us unto the first of us and unto the last of us, and a sign from thee and do thou provide food for us for thou art the best provider GOD said Verily I will cause it to descend unto you but whoever among you shall disbelieve hereafter, I will surely punish him with a punishment wherewith I will not punish any other creature. And when GOD shall say *unto Jesus, at the last day*, O Jesus, son of Mary, hast thou said unto men, Take me and my mother for two gods, beside GOD? He shall answer, Praise be unto thee! it is not for me to say that which I ought not if I had said so thou wouldst surely have known it thou knowest what is in me, but I know not what is in thee, for thou art the knower of secrets I have not spoken to them *any other* than what thou didst command me *namely*, Worship GOD my LORD and your LORD and I was a witness *of their actions* while I stayed among them but since thou hast taken me to thyself,[l] thou hast been the watcher over them for thou art witness of all things If thou punish them they are surely thy servants and if thou forgive them, thou art mighty *and* wise GOD will say This day shall their veracity be of advantage unto those who speak truth they shall have gardens wherein rivers flow they shall remain therein for ever GOD hath been well pleased in them and they have been well pleased in him This *shall* be great felicity Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth and of whatever therein is, and he is almighty

the fish to life and ca[illegible] ng [illegible]s scale and fin to r[e]turn to it a[illegible] wh[ic]h the sta[n]ders by being af[fri]ghted he caused t[o] b[e]come a[s] it wa[s] b[efor]e that [illegible] or me[n] and women all affl[ic]ted with bod[i]ly infirm[i]t[i]es or pove[rt]y [illegible] of the e[illegible] and w[e]r[e] [illegible]t[is]hed the fi[s]h remai[n]ing whole as it was at f[irst] [illegible] the table [illegible] to hea[ven] [in the si]ght of all [illegible] very one who had part[a]ke[n] [o]f [this] foo[d] were [de]l[i]ve[r]e[d] f[rom] th[eir] [illegible] and m[i]sfortu[n]es and that it cont[i]nued to [illegible] [illegible] day togeth[er] [illegible] and stood [o]n the ground till the sun decl[i]n[e]d [illegible] as the take[n] [illegible] the [illegible] S[ome] [o]f the Mohammedan wr[i]te[r]s are of op[ini]o[n] that [the] t[a]ble d[i]d not [r]eally [illegible] that [i]t wa[s] o[n]ly a parable but most th[i]nk the wo[r]ds of th[e] K[oran] [illegible] A [f]u[rt]her trad[i]t[i]on [i]s that several men wer[e] chan[g]ed [i]nto swine for [illegible] th[i]s [illegible] [illegible] t to magic art or as others pret[e]nd [illegible] teal[i]ng so[m]e of the [illegible] off [illegible] S[e]ve[r]al ot[h]er fabulous circumstances are [al]so told wh[ic]h are [s]carce worth tra[n]scrib[in]g[2]

[k] Some say th[is] ta[ble] [illegible] on a Sun[day] wh[ic]h [w]as the reason of the Christians observ[ing] that day as sac[r]e[d] O[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] kept am[o]ng them as a very great fe[s]t[i]val and it se[ems] [illegible] an [i]mperfect no[ti]on of Christ's last supper and the [i]ns[ti]tu[ti]on [o]f th[e] [Euc]hari[s]t

[l] Or *sin[c]e thou [h]ast caused me to [die]* [B]ut as it is a [disp]ute among the Mohammedans whether Christ actually d[i]e[d] or not [illegible] [illegible][3] [illegible] [the] or[i]g[in]al may be translated either way I have chosen the former expression wh[i]ch leave[s] the matter [un]de[ci]ded

[1] Idem al Thalabi. [2] Vide Marracc. in Alc. p. 238 &c. [3] See cap. 3, p. 38.

CHAPTER VI

ENTITLED, CATTLE;[m] REVEALED AT MECCA[n]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRAISE be unto GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath ordained the darkness and the light: nevertheless they who believe not in the LORD, equalize *other gods with him*. It is he who hath created you of clay; and then decreed the term *of your lives*; and the prefixed term is with him:[o] yet do ye doubt *thereof*. He is GOD in heaven and in earth; he knoweth what ye keep secret, and what ye publish, and knoweth what ye deserve. There came not unto them any sign, of the signs of their LORD, but they retired from the same; and they have gainsaid the truth, after that it hath come unto them: but a message shall come unto them, concerning that which they have mocked at.[p] Do they not consider how many generations we have destroyed before them? We had established them in the earth in a manner wherein we have not established you;[q] we sent the heaven to rain abundantly upon them, and we gave *them* rivers which flowed under *their feet*: yet we destroyed them in their sins, and raised up other generations after them. Although we had caused to descend unto thee a book *written* on paper, and they had handled it with their hands, the unbelievers had surely said, This is no other than manifest sorcery. They said, Unless an angel be sent down unto him, *we will not believe*. But if we had sent down an angel, verily the matter had been decreed,[r] and they should not have been borne with, *by having time granted them to repent*. And if we had appointed an angel *for our messenger*, we should have sent him *in the form of* a man,[s] and have clothed *him* before them, as they are clothed. *Other* apostles have been laughed to scorn before thee; but *the judgment* which they made a jest of encompassed those who laughed them to scorn. Say, GO through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those who accused *our prophets* of imposture. Say, Unto whom *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and earth? Say, Unto GOD. He hath prescribed unto himself mercy. He will surely gather you together on the

[m] This chapter is so entitled because some superstitious customs of the Meccans, as to certain cattle, are therein mentioned.

[n] Except only six verses, or, say others, three verses, which will be taken notice of in the notes.

[o] By the last term some understand the time of the resurrection; others think that by the first term is intended the space between creation and death, and by the latter that between death and the resurrection.

[p] That is, they shall be convinced of the truth which they have made a jest of, when they see the punishment which they shall suffer for so doing, both in this world and the next; or when they shall see the glorious success of Mohammedanism.

[q] *i.e.*, We had blessed them with greater power and length of prosperity than we have granted you, O men of Mecca.[1] Mohammed seems here to mean the ancient and potent tribes of Ad and Thamûd, &c.[2]

[r] That is to say, As they would not have believed even if an angel had descended to them from heaven, GOD has shown his mercy in not complying with their demand; for if he had, they would have suffered immediate condemnation, and would have been allowed no time for repentance.

[s] As Gabriel generally appeared to Mohammed, who, though a prophet, was not able to

[1] Al Beidawi. [2] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. I. p. 5, &c.

day of resurrection; there is no doubt of it. They who destroy their own souls *are those who* will not believe. Unto him *is owing* whatsoever happeneth by night or by day; *it is* he who heareth and knoweth. Say, Shall I take any other protector than GOD, the creator of heaven and earth, who feedeth *all* and is not fed *by any?* Say, Verily I am commanded to be the first who professeth Islâm,[t] and *it was said unto me,* Thou shalt by no means be *one* of the idolaters. Say, Verily I fear, if I should rebel against my LORD, the punishment of the great day: from whomsoever it shall be averted on that day, *God* will have been merciful unto him; this *will be* manifest salvation. If GOD afflict thee with any hurt, there is none who can take it off *from thee,* except himself; but if he cause good to befall thee, he is almighty; he is the supreme *Lord* over his servants; and he *is* wise *and* knowing. Say, What thing is the strongest in bearing testimony?[u] Say, GOD; *he is* witness between me and you. And this Korân was revealed unto me, that I should admonish you thereby, and *also* those unto whom it shall reach. Do ye really profess that there are other gods together with GOD? Say, I do not profess *this.* Say, Verily he is one GOD, and I am guiltless of what ye associate *with him.* They unto whom we have given the scripture know *our apostle,* even as they know their own children,[x] *but* they who destroy their own souls, will not believe. Who is more unjust than he who inventeth a lie against GOD,[y] or chargeth his signs with imposture? Surely the unjust shall not prosper. And on the day *of resurrection* we will assemble them all; then will we say unto those who associated *others with God,* Where are your companions,[z] whom ye imagined *to be those of God?* But they shall have no other excuse, than that they shall say, By GOD our LORD, we have not been idolaters. Behold, how they lie against themselves, and what they have *blasphemously* imagined *to be the companion of God* flieth from them.[a] There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee *when thou readest the Korân;*[b] but we have cast veils over their hearts, that they should not understand it, and a deafness in their ears: and though they should see all *kinds of* signs, they will not believe therein; *and their infidelity will arrive to that height* that they will even come unto thee, to dispute with thee. The unbelievers will say, This is nothing but silly fables of ancient *times.* And they will

bear the sight of him when he appeared in his proper form, much less would others be able to support it.

[t] That is, the first of my nation.[1]

[u] This passage was revealed when the Koreish told Mohammed that they had asked the Jews and Christians concerning him, who assured them they found no mention or description of him in their books of scripture. *Therefore,* said they, *who bears witness to thee, that thou art the apostle of* GOD?[2]

[x] See chapter 2, p. 16.

[y] Saying the angels are the daughters of GOD, and intercessors for us with him, &c.[3]

[z] *i.e.*, Your idols and false gods.

[a] That is, their imaginary deities prove to be nothing, and disappear like vain phantoms and chimeras.

[b] The persons here meant were Abu Sofiân, al Walid, al Nodar, Otba, Abu Jahl, and their comrades, who went to hear Mohammed repeat some of the Korân; and Nodar being asked what he said, answered, with an oath, that he knew not, only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of foolish stories, as he had done to them.[4]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem.

forbid *others* from *believing therein*, and will retire afar off from it; but they will destroy their own souls only, and they are not sensible *thereof*. If thou didst see, when they shall be set over the fire *of hell*! and they shall say, Would to GOD we might be sent back *into the world*; we would not charge the signs of our LORD with imposture, and we would become true believers: nay, but that is become manifest unto them, which they formerly concealed;[c] and though they should be sent back *into the world*, they would surely return to that which was forbidden them; and they are surely liars. And they said, There is no *other life* than our present life; neither shall we be raised again. But if thou couldst see, when they shall be set before their LORD![d] He shall say *unto them*, Is not this in truth *come to pass*? They shall answer, Yea, by our LORD. *God* shall say, Taste therefore the punishment *due unto you*, for that ye have disbelieved. They are lost who reject as falsehood the meeting of GOD *in the next life*, until the hour[e] cometh suddenly upon them. *Then will* they say, Alas! for that we have behaved ourselves negligently in *our lifetime*; and they shall carry their burdens on their backs,[f] will it not be evil which they shall be loaden with? This present life is no other than a play and a vain amusement; but surely the future mansion *shall be* better for those who fear *God*: will they not therefore understand? Now we know that what they speak grieveth thee yet they do not accuse thee of falsehood; but the ungodly contradict the signs of GOD.[g] And apostles before thee have been accounted liars but they patiently bore their being accounted liars, and their being vexed, until our help came unto them, for there is none who can change the words of GOD. and thou hast received some information concerning those who have been *formerly* sent *from him*.[h] If their aversion *to thy admonitions* be grievous unto thee, if thou canst seek out a den *whereby thou mayest penetrate into the inward parts of* the earth, or a ladder *by which thou mayest ascend* into heaven, that thou mayest show them a sign, *do so, but thy search will be fruitless*; for if GOD pleased he would bring them

[c] Their hypocrisy and vile actions, nor does their promise proceed from any sincere intention of amendment, but from the anguish and misery of their condition.[5]

[d] viz., In order for judgment.

[e] The last day is here called *the hour*, as it is in scripture,[6] and the preceding expression of *meeting* GOD on that day is also agreeable to the same.[7]

[f] When an infidel comes forth from his grave, says Jallalo'ddin, his works shall be represented to him under the ugliest form that ever he beheld, having a most deformed countenance, a filthy smell, and a disagreeable voice; so that he shall cry out, GOD *defend me from thee, what art thou? I never saw anything more detestable!* To which the figure will answer, *Why dost thou wonder at my ugliness? I am thy evil works,*[1] *thou didst ride upon me while thou wast in the world; but now will I ride upon thee, and thou shalt carry me.* And immediately it shall get upon him, and whatever he shall meet shall terrify him, and say, *Hail, thou enemy of* GOD, *thou art he who was meant by* (these words of the Korân), *and they shall carry their burdens*, &c.[2]

[g] That is, it is not thou but GOD whom they injure by their impious gainsaying of what has been revealed to thee. It is said that Abu Jahl once told Mohammed that they did not accuse him of falsehood, because he was known to be a man of veracity, but only they did not believe the revelations which he brought them, which occasioned this passage.[3]

[h] *i.e.*, Thou has been acquainted with the stories of several of the preceding prophets; what persecutions they suffered from those to whom they were sent, and in what manner GOD supported them and punished their enemies, according to his unalterable promise.[4]

[5] Idem. [6] 1 John v. 25, &c. [7] 1 Thess. iv. 17. [1] See Milton's Paradise Lost, bk. ii. v. 737, &c. [2] See also cap. 3, p. 48. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem.

all to the *true* direction: be not therefore *one* of the ignorant.[i] He will give a favourable answer unto those only who shall hearken *with attention*: and GOD will raise the dead; then unto him shall they return. The *infidels* say, Unless some sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*: answer, Verily GOD is able to send down a sign: but the greater part of them know *it* not.[k] There is no *kind of* beast on earth, nor fowl which flieth with its wings, but *the same is* a people like unto you;[l] we have not omitted anything in the book[m] *of our decrees* then unto their LORD shall they return.[n] They who accuse our signs of falsehood, *are* deaf and dumb, *walking* in darkness. GOD will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and whom he pleaseth he will put in the right way. Say, What think ye? if the punishment of GOD come upon you, or the hour *of the resurrection* come upon you, will ye call upon any other than GOD, if ye speak truth? yea, him shall ye call upon, and he shall free *you* from that which ye ask him *to deliver you from*, if he pleaseth, and ye shall forget that which ye associated *with him*.[o] We have already sent *messengers* unto *sundry* nations before thee, and we afflicted them with trouble and adversity that they might humble themselves: yet when the affliction *which we sent* came upon them, they did not humble themselves. but their hearts became hardened, and Satan prepared for them that which they committed. And when they had forgotten that concerning which they had been admonished, we opened unto them the gates of all things;[p] until, while they were rejoicing for that which had been given them, we suddenly laid hold on them, and behold, they *were* seized with despair; and the utmost part of the people which had acted wickedly, was cut off: praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Say, what think ye? if GOD should take away your hearing and your sight, and should seal up your hearts, what god besides GOD will restore them unto you? See how variously we show forth the signs *of God's unity*;[q] yet do they turn aside *from them*. Say *unto them*, What think ye? if the punishment of GOD come upon you suddenly, or in open view,[r] will *any* perish, except the ungodly people? We send not *our* messengers otherwise than bearing good tidings and denouncing threats Whoso

[i] In this passage Mohammed is reproved for his impatience in not bearing with the obstinacy of his countrymen, and for his indiscreet desire of effecting what GOD hath not decreed, namely, the conversion and salvation of all men.[5]

[k] Being both ignorant of GOD's almighty power, and of the consequence of what they ask, which might prove their utter destruction.

[l] Being created and preserved by the same omnipotence and providence as ye are

[m] That is, in the *preserved table*, wherein GOD's decrees are written, and all things which come to pass in this world, as well the most minute as the more momentous, are exactly registered.[6]

[n] For, according to the Mohammedan belief, the irrational animals will also be restored to life at the resurrection, that they may be brought to judgment, and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they did one another while in this world.[7]

[o] That is, ye shall then forsake your false gods, when ye shall be effectually convinced that GOD alone is able to deliver you from eternal punishment But others rather think that this forgetting will be the effect of the distress and terror which they will then be in.[8]

[p] That is, we gave them all manner of plenty, that since they took no warning by their afflictions, their prosperity might become a snare to them, and they might bring down upon themselves swifter destruction

[q] Laying them before you in different views, and making use of arguments and motives drawn from various considerations.

[r] That is, says al Beidâwi, either without any previous notice, or after some warning given.

[5] Idem. [6] See the Prelim Disc. Sect. IV [7] See ibid. p. 67 [8] Al Beidâwi.

therefore shall believe and amend, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved ; but whoso shall accuse our signs of falsehood, a punishment shall fall on them, because they have done wickedly. Say, I say not unto you, The treasures of GOD are in my power : neither *do I say*, I know the secrets *of God:* neither do I say unto you, Verily I am an angel : I follow only that which is revealed unto me. Say, shall the blind and the seeing be held equal? do ye not therefore consider? Preach it unto those who fear that they shall be assembled before their LORD : they shall have no patron nor intercessor, except him ; that peradventure they may take heed to themselves. Drive not away those who call upon their LORD morning and evening, desiring *to see* his face ;[s] it belongeth not unto thee to pass any judgment on them,[t] nor doth it belong unto them to pass any judgment on thee : therefore *if* thou drive them away, thou wilt become *one* of the unjust. Thus have we proved some part of them by other part, that they may say, Are these *the people* among us unto whom GOD hath been gracious?[u] Doth not GOD most truly know *those who are* thankful? And when they who believe in our signs shall come unto thee, say, Peace *be* upon you. Your LORD hath prescribed unto himself mercy ; so that whoever among you worketh evil through ignorance, and afterwards repenteth and amendeth, *unto him will* he surely *be* gracious *and* merciful. Thus have we distinctly propounded *our* signs, that the path of the wicked might be made known Say, Verily I am forbidden to worship *the false deities* which ye invoke, besides GOD Say, I will not follow your desires ; for then should I err, neither should I be *one* of *those who are rightly* directed Say, I *behave* according to the plain declaration *which I have received* from my LORD , but ye have forged lies concerning him. That which ye desire should be hastened, is not in my power ;[x] judgment *belongeth* only unto GOD , he will determine the truth , and he is the best discerner. Say, if what ye desire should be hastened were in my power, the matter had been determined between me and you [y] but GOD well knoweth the unjust. With him are the keys of the secret *things*, none knoweth them besides himself. he knoweth that which is on the dry land and in the sea ; there falleth no leaf, but he knoweth it , neither *is there* a single grain in the dark parts of the earth, neither a green thing, nor a dry thing, but it is

[s] These words were occasioned when the Koreish desired Mohammed not to admit the poor or more inferior people, such as Ammâr, Soheib, Khobbâb and Salmân, into his company, pretending that then they would come and discourse with him , but he refusing to turn away any believers, they insisted at least that he should order them to rise up and withdraw when they came, which he agreed to do Others say that the chief men of Mecca expelled all the poor out of their city, bidding them go to Mohammed , which they did and offered to embrace his religion ; but he made some difficulty to receive them, suspecting their motive to be necessity, and not real conviction ,[1] whereupon this passage was revealed

[t] *i e* , Rashly to decide whether their intentions be sincere or not , since thou canst not know their heart, and their faith may possibly be more firm than that of those who would persuade thee to discard them

[u] That is to say, the noble by those of mean extraction, and the rich by the poor ; in that GOD chose to call the latter to the faith before the former [2]

[x] This passage is an answer to the audacious defiances of the infidels, who bad Mohammed, if he were a true prophet, to call for a shower of stones from heaven, or some other sudden and miraculous punishment, to destroy them [3]

[y] For I should ere now have destroyed you, out of zeal for GOD's honour had it been in my power [4]

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin [2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem. [4] Idem.

written in the perspicuous book.[z] It is he who causeth you to sleep by night, and knoweth what ye merit by day; he also awaketh you therein, that the prefixed term *of your lives* may be fulfilled; then unto him shall ye return, and he shall declare unto you that which ye have wrought. He is supreme over his servants, and sendeth the guardian *angel to watch* over you,[a] until, when death overtaketh one of you, our messengers[b] cause him to die; and they will not neglect *our commands*. Afterwards shall they return unto GOD, their true LORD: doth not judgment *belong* unto him? he is the most quick in taking an account.[c] Say, who delivereth you from the darkness[d] of the land, and of the sea, *when* ye call upon him humbly and in private, *saying*, Verily if thou deliver us[e] from these *dangers*, we will surely be thankful? Say, GOD delivereth you from them, and from every grief of mind; *yet* afterwards ye give *him* companions.[f] Say, He is able to send on you a punishment from above you,[g] or from under your feet,[h] or to engage you in dissension, and to make some of you taste the violence of others. Observe how variously we show forth *our* signs, that peradventure they may understand. This people hath accused the *revelation which thou hast brought* of falsehood, although it be the truth. Say, I am not a guardian over you: every prophecy hath its fixed time *of accomplishment*; and ye will hereafter know *it*. When thou seest those who are engaged in *cavilling at or ridiculing* our signs; depart from them, until they be engaged in some other discourse: and if Satan cause thee to forget *this precept*, do not sit with the ungodly people, after recollection. They who fear *God* are not at all accountable for them, but *their duty is* to remember, that they may take heed to themselves.[i] Abandon those who make their religion a sport and a jest; and whom the present life hath deceived: and admonish *them* by *the Korân*, that a soul becometh liable to destruction for that which it committeth: it shall have no patron nor intercessor besides GOD, and if it could pay the utmost price of redemption, it would not be accepted from it. They who are delivered over to perdition for that which they have committed, shall have boiling water to drink, and shall suffer a grievous punishment, because they have disbelieved. Say, Shall we call upon that, besides GOD, which can neither profit us nor hurt us? and shall we turn back on our heels, after that GOD hath directed us; like him whom the devils have infatuated,

[z] *i.e.*, The preserved table, or register of GOD's decrees.
[a] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV.
[b] That is, the angel of death and his assistants.[6]
[c] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV.
[d] That is, the dangers and distresses.
[e] The Cufic copies read it in the third person, *if he deliver us*, &c.
[f] Returning to your old idolatry.
[g] That is, by storms from heaven, as he destroyed the unbelieving people of Noah, and of Lot, and the army of Abraha, the lord of the elephant.[1]
[h] Either by drowning you, as he did Pharaoh and his host, or causing the earth to open and swallow you up, as happened to Korah, or (as the Mohammedans name him) Karun.[2]
[i] And therefore need not be troubled at the indecent and impious talk of the infidels, provided they take care not to be infected by them. When the preceding passage was revealed, the Moslems told their prophet that if they were obliged to rise up whenever the idolaters spoke irreverently of the Korân, they could never sit quietly in the temple, nor perform their devotions there; whereupon these words were added.[3]

[6] See the Prelim. Disc. Sec. IV. [1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

wandering amazedly in the earth, *and yet* having companions who call him to the *true* direction, *saying*, Come unto us? Say, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction: we are commanded to resign ourselves unto the LORD of all creatures; and *it is also commanded us, saying*, Observe the stated times of prayer, and fear him; for it is he before whom ye shall be assembled. It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in truth; and whenever he saith *unto a thing*, Be, it is. His word is the truth; and his will be the kingdom on the day whereon the trumpet shall be sounded.[k] he knoweth whatever is secret, and whatever is public. he is the wise, the knowing. *Call to mind* when Abraham said unto his father Azer,[l] Dost thou take images for gods?[m] Verily I perceive that thou and thy people *are* in a manifest error. And thus did we show unto Abraham the kingdom of heaven and earth, that he might become *one* of those who firmly believe.[n] And when the night overshadowed him, he saw a star, *and* he said, This is my LORD;[o] but when it set, he said, I like not *gods* which set. And when he saw the moon rising, he said, This is my LORD; but when he saw it set, he

[k] See the Prelim. Disc Sect IV

[l] This is the name which the Mohammedans give to Abraham's father, named in scripture Terah. However, some of their writers pretend that Azer was the son of Terah,[1] and D'Herbelot says that the Arabs always distinguish them in their genealogies as different persons, but that because Abraham was the son of Terah according to Moses, it is therefore supposed (by European writers) that Terah is the same with the Azer of the Arabs.[2] How true this observation may be in relation to some authors, I cannot say, but I am sure it cannot be true of all, for several Arab and Turkish writers expressly make Azer and Terah the same person.[3] Azer, in ancient times, was the name of the planet Mars, and the month of March was so called by the most ancient Persians, for the word originally signifying *fire* (as it still does), it was therefore given by them and the Chaldeans to that planet,[4] which partaking, as was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the Chaldeans and Assyrians as a god or planetary deity, whom in old times they worshipped under the form of a pillar whence Azer became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods,[5] and is found in the composition of several Babylonish names For these reasons a learned author supposes Azer to have been the heathen name of Terah, and that the other was given him on his conversion.[6] Al Beidâwi confirms this conjecture, saying that Azer was the name of the idol which he worshipped It may be observed that Abraham's father is also called Zarah in the Talmud, and Athar by Eusebius.

[m] That Azer, or Terah, was an idolater is allowed on all hands, nor can it be denied, since he is expressly said in scripture to have served strange gods.[7] The eastern authors unanimously agree that he was a statuary, or carver of idols, and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before,[8] and taught that they were to be adored as gods.[9] However, we are told his employment was a very honourable one,[10] and that he was a great lord, and in high favour with Nimrod, whose son-in-law he was,[11] because he made his idols for him, and was excellent in his art. Some of the Rabbins say Terah was a priest, and chief of the order.[12]

[n] That is, we gave him a right apprehension of the government of the world and of the heavenly bodies, that he might know them all to be ruled by GOD, by putting him on making the following reflections.

[o] Since Abraham's parents were idolaters, it seems to be a necessary consequence that himself was one also in his younger years, the scripture not obscurely intimates as much,[1] and the Jews themselves acknowledge it.[2] At what age he came to the knowledge of the true GOD and left idolatry, opinions are various Some Jewish writers tell us he was then but three years old,[3] and the Mohammedans likewise suppose him very young, and that he asked his father and mother several shrewd questions when a child.[4] Others, however, allow him to have been

[1] Tarikh Montakhab, apud D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 12 [2] D'Herbel ibid. [3] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, Ebn Shohnah, Mirat Kainat, &c Vide etiam Pharhang Jehanhiri, apud Hyde de Rel Vet Persar p 68 [4] Hyde, ibid p. 63 [5] Idem, ibid. p 64 [6] Idem, ibid p 62. [7] Josh. xxiv 2, 14. [8] Epiphan adv Hær l 1, p 7, 8. [9] Suidas in Lexico, voce Σερύχ. [10] Vide Hyde, ubi sup p 63. [11] D'Herbel ubi sup [12] Shalshel. hakkab p 94. [1] Vide Josh xxiv. 2, 14, and Hyde ubi sup. p. 59 [2] Joseph Ant. l. 1, c. 7 Maimon More Nev part iii c 29, et Yad Hazzak de Id c 1, &c [3] Tanchuma, Talmud, Nedarim, 32, 1, et apud Maimon. Yad Hazz. ubi sup. [4] Vide D'Herbel Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham.

said, Verily if my LORD direct me not, I shall become *one* of the people who go astray. And when he saw the sun rising, he said, This is my LORD, this is the greatest; but when it set, he said, O my people, verily I am clear of that which ye associate *with God*. I direct my face unto him who hath created the heavens and the earth, *I am* orthodox, and am not *one* of the idolaters. And his people disputed with him. *and* he said, Will ye dispute with me concerning GOD? since he hath now directed me, and I fear not that which ye associate *with him*, unless that my LORD willeth a thing; *for* my LORD comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge.[p] will ye not therefore consider? And how should I fear that which ye associate *with* GOD, since ye fear not to have associated with GOD that concerning which he hath sent down unto you no authority? which therefore of the two parties is the more safe, if ye understand *aright*? They who believe, and clothe not their faith with injustice,[q] they shall enjoy security, and they are *rightly* directed. And this is our argument wherewith we furnished Abraham *that he might make use of it* against his people: we exalt unto degrees *of wisdom and knowledge* whom we please; for thy LORD is wise *and* knowing. And we gave unto him Isaac and Jacob, we directed *them* both and Noah had we before directed, and of his posterity[r] David and Solomon, and Job,[s] and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron thus do we reward the righteous and Zacharias, and John, and Jesus, and Elias,[t] all *of them were* upright men and Ismael, and Elisha,[u] and Jonas,[x] and Lot,[y] all *these* have we favoured above *the rest of* the world; and *also divers* of their fathers, and their issue, and their brethren, and we chose them, and directed them into the right way.

a middle-aged man at that time [5] Maimonides, in particular, and R. Abraham Zacuth think him to have been forty years old, which age is also mentioned in the Koran. But the general opinion of the Mohammedans is that he was about fifteen or sixteen [6] As the religion wherein Abraham was educated was the Sabian, which consisted chiefly in the worship of the heavenly bodies,[7] he is introduced examining their nature and properties, to see whether they had a right to the worship which was paid them or not, and the first which he observed was the planet Venus, or, as others will have it, Jupiter [8] This method of Abraham's attaining to the knowledge of the supreme Creator of all things, is conformable to what Josephus writes, viz. That he drew his notions from the changes which he had observed in the earth and the sea, and in the sun and the moon, and the rest of the celestial bodies, concluding that they were subject to the command of a superior power, to whom alone all honour and thanks are due [9] The story itself is certainly taken from the Talmud [10] Some of the commentators, however, suppose this reasoning of Abraham with himself was not the first means of his conversion but that he used it only by way of argument to convince the idolaters among whom he then lived

p That is, I am not afraid of your false gods, which cannot hurt me, except GOD permitteth it, or is pleased to afflict me himself

q By injustice, in this place the commentators understand idolatry, or open rebellion against GOD

r Some refer the relative *his* to Abraham, the person chiefly spoken of in this passage, some to Noah, the next antecedent, because Jonas and Lot were not (say they) of Abraham's seed; and others suppose the persons named in this and the next verse are to be understood as the descendants of Abraham, and those in the following verse as those of Noah [11]

s The Mohammedans say he was of the race of Esau See chapters 21 and 38

t See chapter 37

u This prophet was the successor of Elias and as the commentators will have it, the son of Okhtûb, though the scripture makes him the son of Shaphat

x See chapters 10, 21, and 37

y See chapter 7, &c.

[5] Maimon. ubi sup R Abr Zacuth in Sefer Juchasin, Shalshel hakkab, &c [6] Vid Hyde, ubi sup p 60, 61, et Hotting Smegma Orient p 290, &c. Genebr in Chron [7] See the Prelim Disc. Sect I. p 17 [8] Al Beidâwi [9] Joseph Ant. l 1, c 7 [10] R. Bechai, in Midrash Vide Bartolocc Bibl Rabb part 1 p 640 [11] Al Beidâwi

This is the direction of GOD, he directeth thereby such of his servants as he pleaseth; but if they had been guilty of idolatry, that which they wrought would have become utterly fruitless unto them. Those *were the persons* unto whom we gave the scripture, and wisdom, and prophecy; but if these[a] believe not therein, we will commit the care of them to a people who shall not disbelieve the same. These *were the persons* whom GOD hath directed, therefore follow their direction. Say *unto the inhabitants of Mecca*, I ask of you no recompense for *preaching the Korân*; it is no other than an admonition unto *all* creatures. They make not a due estimation of GOD,[a] when they say, GOD hath not sent down unto man anything at all.[b] Say, Who sent down the book which Moses brought, a light and a direction unto men; which ye transcribe on papers, whereof ye publish *some part*, and great part *whereof* ye conceal? and ye have been taught *by Mohammed* what ye knew not, neither your fathers. Say, GOD *sent it down*: then leave them to amuse themselves with their vain discourse. This book which we have sent down *is* blessed, confirming that which was *revealed* before it; and *is delivered unto thee* that thou mayest preach *it* unto the metropolis *of Mecca* and to those who are round about it. And they who believe in the next life will believe therein, and they will diligently observe their *times of* prayer. Who is more wicked than he who forgeth a lie concerning GOD?[c] or saith, *This* was revealed unto me, when nothing hath been revealed unto him?[d] and who saith, I will produce a revelation like unto that which GOD hath sent down?[e] If thou didst see when the ungodly *are* in the pangs of death, and the angels[f] reach out their hands, *saying*, Cast forth your souls; this day shall ye receive an ignominious punishment for that which ye have falsely spoken concerning GOD, and because ye have proudly rejected his signs. And now are ye come unto us alone,[g] as we created you at first,[h] and ye have

[a] That is, the Koreish.[1]

[a] That is, they know him not truly, nor have just notions of his goodness and mercy towards man. The persons here meant, according to some commentators, are the Jews, and according to others, the idolaters.[2]

This verse and the two next, as Jallalo'ddin thinks, were revealed at Medina.

[b] By these words the Jews (if they were the persons meant) chiefly intended to deny the Korân to be of divine revelation, though they might in strictness insist that GOD never revealed, or *sent down*, as the Korân expresses it, any real composition or material writing from heaven in the manner that Mohammed pretended his revelations were delivered;[3] if we except only the Decalogue, GOD having left to the inspired penmen not only the labour of writing, but the liberty, in a great measure at least, of putting the truths into their own words and manner of expression.

[c] Falsely pretending to have received revelations from him, as did Moseilama, al Aswad al Ansi, and others.

[d] As did Abda'llah Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Sarah, who for some time was the prophet's amanuensis, and when these words were dictated to him as revealed, viz., *"We created man of a purer kind of clay,"* &c.,[4] cried out, by way of admiration, *Blessed be GOD the best Creator!* and being ordered by Mohammed to write these words down also, as part of the inspired passage, began to think himself as great a prophet as his master.[5] Whereupon he took upon himself to corrupt and alter the Korân according to his own fancy, and at length apostatizing, was one of the ten who were proscribed at the taking of Mecca,[6] and narrowly escaped with life on his recantation, by the interposition of Othmân Ebn Affân, whose foster-brother he was.[7]

[e] For some Arabs, it seems, had the vanity to imagine, and gave out, that, if they pleased, they could write a book nothing inferior to the Korân.

[f] See before, p. 94, note b.

[g] That is, without your wealth, your children, or your friends, which ye so much depended on in your lifetime.

[h] *i.e.*, Naked and helpless.

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. III. p. 50, &c. [4] Kor. c. 23. [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 43. [7] Vide Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 109.

left that which we had bestowed on you, behind your backs; neither do we see with you your intercessors,[j] whom ye thought to have been partners *with* GOD among you: now is *the relation* between you cut off, and what ye imagined hath deceived you.[k] GOD causeth the grain and the date-stone to put forth: he bringeth forth the living from the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead from the living.[l] This *is* GOD. Why therefore are ye turned away *from him?* He causeth the morning to appear; and hath ordained the night for rest, and the sun and the moon for the computing *of time.* This is the disposition of the mighty, the wise *God.* It is he who hath ordained the stars for you, that ye may be directed thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea. We have clearly shown forth *our* signs, unto people who understand. It is he who hath produced you from one soul; and *hath provided for you* a sure receptacle and a repository.[m] We have clearly shown forth *our* signs, unto people who are wise. It is he who sendeth down water from heaven, and we have thereby produced the springing buds of all things, and have thereout produced the green thing, from which we produce the grain growing in rows, and palm-trees from whose branches proceed clusters of dates *hanging* close together, and gardens of grapes, and olives, and pomegranates, *both* like and unlike to one another. Look on their fruits, when they bear fruit, and their growing to maturity. Verily herein are signs, unto people who believe. *Yet* they have set up the genii[n] as partners with GOD, although he created them: and they have falsely attributed unto him sons and daughters,[o] without knowledge. Praise be unto him; and far be that from him which they attribute *unto him!* *He is* the maker of heaven and earth: how should he have issue, since he hath no consort? he hath created all things, and he is omniscient. This is GOD your LORD, there is no GOD but he, the creator of all things: therefore serve him; for he taketh care of all things. The sight comprehendeth him not, but he comprehendeth the sight; he *is* the gracious,[p] the wise. Now have evident demonstrations come unto you from your LORD; whoso seeth *them, the advantage thereof will redound* to his own soul: and whoso is *wilfully* blind, *the consequence will be* to himself. I am not a keeper over you. Thus do we variously explain *our* signs, that they may say, Thou hast studied diligently,[q] and that we may declare them unto people of understanding. Follow that which hath

[j] Or false gods.

[k] Concerning the intercession of your idols, or the disbelief of future rewards and punishments.

[l] See chapter 3, p. 34.

[m] Namely, in the loins of your fathers, and the wombs of your mothers.[1]

[n] This word signifies properly the *genus* of rational, *invisible* beings, whether angels, devils, or that intermediate species usually called *genii*. Some of the commentators therefore, in this place, understand the angels, whom the pagan Arabs worshipped; and others the devils, either because they became their servants by adoring idols at their instigation, or else because, according to the Magian system, they looked on the devil as a sort of creator, making him the author and principle of all evil, and GOD the author of good only.[2]

[o] See the Prelim. Discourse, p. 14 and 30.

[p] Or, as the word may be translated, *the incomprehensible*.[3]

[q] That is, Thou hast been instructed by the Jews and Christians in these matters, and only retailest to us what thou hast learned of them. For this the infidels objected to Mohammed, thinking it impossible for him to discourse on subjects of so high a nature, and in so clear and pertinent a manner, without being well versed in the doctrines and sacred writings of those people.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem.

been revealed unto thee from thy LORD; there is no GOD but he: retire therefore from the idolaters. If GOD had *so* pleased, they had not been guilty of idolatry. We have not appointed thee a keeper over them; neither art thou a guardian over them. Revile not the *idols* which they invoke besides GOD, lest they maliciously revile GOD, without knowledge. Thus have we prepared for every nation their works: hereafter unto GOD shall they return, and he shall declare unto them that which they have done. They have sworn by GOD, by the most solemn oath, that if a sign came unto them, they would certainly believe therein. Say, Verily signs are in the power of GOD alone; and he permitteth you not to understand that when they come, they will not believe.[r] And we will turn aside their hearts and their sight *from the truth*, as they believed not therein[s] the first time; and we will leave them to wander in their error. (VIII.) And though we had sent down angels unto them, and the dead had spoken unto them, and we had gathered together before them all things in one view;[t] they would not have believed, unless GOD had so pleased: but the greater part of them know *it* not. Thus have we appointed unto every prophet an enemy; the devils of men, and of genii who privately suggest the one to the other specious discourses to deceive; but if thy LORD pleased, they would not have done it. Therefore leave them, and that which they have falsely imagined; and let the hearts of those be inclined thereto, who believe not in the life to come; and let them please themselves therein, and let them gain that which they are gaining. Shall I seek after any *other* judge besides GOD *to judge between us?* It is he who hath sent down unto you the book *of the Korân*, distinguishing *between good and evil;* and they to whom we gave the scripture know that it is sent down from thy LORD, with truth. Be not therefore *one* of those who doubt *thereof.* The words of thy LORD are perfect in truth and justice; there is none who can change his words.[u] he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. But if thou obey the greater part of them who are in the earth, they will lead thee aside from the path of GOD: they follow an *uncertain* opinion only,[x] and speak nothing but lies; verily thy LORD well knoweth those who go astray from his path, and well knoweth those who are *rightly* directed. Eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated,[y] if ye believe in his signs: and why do ye not eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated? since he hath plainly declared unto you what he hath forbidden you; except that which ye be compelled to *eat of* by neces-

[r] In this passage Mohammed endeavours to excuse his inability of working a miracle as had been demanded of him, declaring that GOD did not think fit to comply with their desires, and that if he had so thought fit, yet it had been in vain, because if they were not convinced by the Korân, they would not be convinced by the greatest miracle.[k]

[s] *i.e.*, In the Korân.

[t] For the Meccans required that Mohammed should either show them an angel descending from heaven in their sight, or raise their dead fathers, that they might discourse with them, or prevail on GOD and his angels to appear to them in a body.

[u] Some interpret this of the immutability of GOD's decree, and the certainty of his threats and promises; others, of his particular promise to preserve the Korân from any such alterations or corruptions as they imagine to have happened to the Pentateuch and the Gospel;[l] and others, of the unalterable duration of the Mohammedan law, which they hold is to last till the end of the world, there being no other prophet, law, or dispensation to be expected after it.

[x] Imagining that the true religion was that which their idolatrous ancestors professed.

[y] See chap. 2, p. 18, and chap. 5, p. 73.

[k] Confer Luke xvi. 31. [l] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 58, and Kor. c. 15.

sity: many lead *others* into error, because of their appetites, being void of knowledge; but thy LORD well knoweth *who are* the transgressors. Leave both the outside of iniquity, and the inside thereof:[z] for they who commit iniquity shall receive the reward of that which they shall have gained. Eat not therefore of that whereon the name of GOD hath not been commemorated; for this is certainly wickedness: but the devils will suggest unto their friends, that they dispute with you *concerning this precept;* but if ye obey them, ye *are* surely idolaters. Shall he who hath been dead, and whom we have restored unto life, and unto whom we have ordained a light, whereby he may walk among men, *be* as he whose similitude is in darkness, from whence he shall not come forth?[a] Thus was that which the infidels are doing, prepared for them. And thus have we placed in every city chief leaders of the wicked *men* thereof,[b] that they may act deceitfully therein; but they shall act deceitfully against their own souls only; and they know *it* not. And when a sign[c] cometh unto them, they say, We will by no means believe until *a revelation* be brought unto us, like unto that which hath been delivered unto the messengers of GOD.[d] GOD best knoweth whom he will appoint for his messenger.[e] Vileness in the sight of GOD shall fall upon those who deal wickedly, and a grievous punishment, for that they have dealt deceitfully. And whomsoever GOD shall please to direct, he will open his breast to *receive the faith of* Islâm: but whomsoever he shall please to lead into error, he will render his breast straight *and* narrow, as though he were climbing up to heaven.[f] Thus doth GOD inflict a terrible punishment on those who believe not. This is the right way of thy LORD. Now have we plainly declared *our* signs unto those people who will consider. They shall have a dwelling of peace with their LORD, and he shall be their patron, because of that which they have wrought. *Think on* the day *whereon* GOD shall gather them all together, *and shall say,* O company of genii,[g] ye have been much concerned with mankind;[h] and their friends from among mankind *shall* say, O LORD, the one of us hath received advantage from the other,[i] and we are arrived at our limited term[k] which thou hast appointed us. GOD will say, *Hell* fire *shall be* your habitation, therein shall ye remain *for ever,* unless as GOD shall please

[z] That is, both open and secret sins.

[a] The persons primarily intended in this passage, were Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, and Abu Jahl; others instead of Hamza, name Omar, or Ammâr.

[b] In the same manner as we have done in Mecca.

[c] *i. e.*, Any verse or passage of the Korân.

[d] These were the words of the Koreish, who thought that there were persons among themselves more worthy of the honour of being GOD's messenger than Mohammed.

[e] Literally, *Where he will place his commission.* GOD, says al Beidâwi, bestows not the gift of prophecy on any one on account of his nobility or riches, but for their spiritual qualifications; making choice of such of his servants as he pleases, and who he knows will execute their commissions faithfully.

[f] Or had undertaken the most impossible thing in the world. In like manner shall the heart of such a man be incapable of receiving the truth.

[g] That is, of devils.[1]

[h] In tempting and seducing them to sin.

[i] The advantage which men received from the evil spirits, was their raising and satisfying their lusts and appetites; and that which the latter received in return, was the obedience paid them by the former, &c.[2]

[k] viz. The day of resurrection, which we believed not in the other world.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

to mitigate your pains,[l] for thy LORD *is* wise *and* knowing. Thus do we set some of the unjust over others of them, because of that which they have deserved. O company of genii and men, did not messengers from among yourselves come unto you[m], rehearsing my signs unto you, and forewarning you of the meeting of this your day? They shall answer, We bear witness against ourselves. the present life deceived them: and they shall bear witness against themselves that they were unbelievers. This *hath been the method of* GOD'S *dealing with his creatures*, because thy LORD would not destroy the cities in *their* iniquity, while their inhabitants were careless[n] Every one shall *have* degrees *of recompense* of that which they shall do; for thy LORD is not regardless of that which they do, and thy LORD is self-sufficient *and* endued with mercy. If he pleaseth he can destroy you, and cause such as he pleaseth to succeed you, in like manner as he produced you from the posterity of other people. Verily that which is threatened you shall surely come to pass; neither shall ye cause *it* to fail. Say *unto those of Mecca*, O my people, act according to your power; verily I will act *according to my duty*.[o] and hereafter shall ye know whose will be the reward of paradise. The ungodly shall not prosper *Those of Mecca* set apart unto GOD a portion of that which he hath produced of the fruits of the earth, and of cattle; and say, This *belongeth* unto GOD (according to their imagination), and this unto our companions[p] And that which is *destined* for their companions cometh not unto GOD, yet that which *is set apart* unto GOD cometh unto their companions.[q] How ill do they judge! In like manner have their companions induced many of the idolaters to slay their children,[r] that they might bring them to perdition, and that they might render their religion obscure and confused unto them.[s] But if GOD had pleased, they had not done this. therefore leave them, and that which they falsely imagine. They also say, These cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred;

[l] The commentators tell us that this alleviation of the pains of the damned will be when they shall be taken out of the fire to drink the boiling water,[3] or to suffer the extreme cold, called al Zamharir, which is to be one part of their punishment, but others think the respite which GOD will grant to some before they are thrown into hell is here intended[4] According to the exposition of Ebn Abbas, these words may be rendered, *Unless him whom* GOD *shall please to deliver thence*[5]

[m] It is the Mohammedan belief that apostles were sent by GOD for the conversion both of *genii* and of men, being generally of humane race (as Mohammed in particular, who pretended to have a commission to preach to both kinds), according to this passage, it seems there must have been prophets of the race of *genii* also, though their mission be a secret to us

[n] Or considered not their danger, but GOD first sent some prophet to them to warn them of it, and to invite them to repentance

[o] That is, ye may proceed in your rebellion against GOD and your malice towards me, and be confirmed in your infidelity, but I will persevere to bear your insults with patience, and to publish those revelations which GOD has commanded me[1]

[p] *i.e.*, Our idols In which sense this word is to be taken through the whole passage

[q] As to this custom of the pagan Arabs, see the Prelim Disc Sect I p [illegible], To what is there said we may add, that the share set apart for GOD was employed chiefly in relieving the poor and strangers, and the share of the idols, for paying their priests, and providing sacrifices for them[2]

[r] Either by that inhuman custom, which prevailed among those of Kendah and some other tribes, of burying their daughters alive, so soon as they were born, if they apprehended they could not maintain them,[3] or else by offering them to their idols, at the instigation of those who had the custody of their temples[4]

[s] By corrupting with horrid superstitions that religion which Ismael had left to his posterity[5]

[3] Jallalo'ddin. [4] Al Beidâwi [5] See the Prelim. Disc Sect IV p 74, &c [1] Al Beidâwi [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [3] See cap. 81 [4] Al Beidâwi [5] Idem.

none shall eat thereof but who we please[t] (according to their imagination); and *there are* cattle whose backs are forbidden *to be rode on, or laden with burdens;*[u] and *there are* cattle on which they commemorate not the name of GOD *when they slay them,*[x] devising a lie against him: GOD shall reward them for that which they falsely devise. And they say, That which is in the bellies of these cattle,[y] *is* allowed our males *to eat,* and *is* forbidden to our wives: but if it prove abortive, then they are *both* partakers thereof[z] GOD shall give them the reward of their attributing *these things to him: he is* knowing *and* wise. They are utterly lost who have slain their children foolishly,[a] without knowledge;[b] and have forbidden that which GOD hath given them for food, devising a lie against GOD. They have erred, and were not *rightly* directed. He it is who produceth gardens of *vines, both those which are* supported on trails *of wood,* and *those which are* not supported,[c] and palm-trees, and the corn affording various food, and olives, and pomegranates, alike and unlike unto one another. Eat of their fruit, when they bear fruit, and pay the due thereof on the day whereon ye shall gather it;[d] but be not profuse,[e] for GOD loveth not those who are too profuse. And GOD *hath given you* some cattle fit for bearing of burdens, and *some* fit for slaughter only. Eat of what GOD hath given you for food; and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your declared enemy. Four pair[f] *of cattle hath* GOD *given you;* of sheep one pair, and of goats one pair. Say *unto them,* Hath GOD forbidden the two males, *of sheep and of goats,* or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Tell me with certainty, if ye speak truth. And of camels *hath* GOD *given you* one pair, and of oxen one pair Say, Hath he forbidden the two males *of these,* or the two females, or that which the wombs of the two females contain?[g] Were ye present when GOD commanded you this? And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against GOD,[h] that he may seduce

[t] That is, those who serve our idols, and are of the male sex; for the women were not allowed to eat of them[6]

[u] Which they superstitiously exempted from such services, in some particular cases, as they did the Bahira, the Sâiba, and the Hâmi[7]

[x] See c 5, p 73

[y] That is, the *fœtus* or embryos of the Bahira and the Sâiba, which shall be brought forth alive

[z] For if those cattle cast their young, the women might eat thereof as well as the men.

[a] See above, note [r]

[b] Not having a due sense of GOD's providence

[c] Or, as some choose to interpret the words, *Trees or plants which are planted by the labour of man, and those which grow naturally in the deserts and on mountains*

[d] That is, give alms thereof to the poor And these alms, as al Beidawi observes, were what they used to give before the Zacât, or legal alms, was instituted, which was done after Mohammed had retired from Mecca, where this verse was revealed Yet some are of another opinion, and for this very reason will have the verse to have been revealed at Medina.

[e] *i e*, Give not so much thereof in alms as to leave your own families in want, for charity begins at home

[f] Or, literally, eight males and females paired together, that is, four of each sex, and two of every distinct kind

[g] In this passage Mohammed endeavours to convince the Arabs of their superstitious folly in making it unlawful, one while, to eat the males of these four kinds of cattle, another while, the females, and at another time, their young[1]

[h] The person particularly intended here, some say, was Amru Ebn Lohai, king of Hejâz, a great introducer of idolatry and superstition among the Arabs.[2]

[6] Idem [7] See cap 5, p 86, and Prelim Disc Sect. V. See Prelim. Disc. p. 15, and Pocock Spec p 80. [1] Al Beidâwi [2] Idem

men without understanding? Verily GOD directeth not unjust people. Say, I find not in that which hath been revealed unto me, anything forbidden unto the eater, that he eat it not, except it be that which dieth of itself, or blood poured forth,[i] or swine's flesh · for this is an abomination: or *that which is* profane, having been slain in the name of some other than of GOD. But whoso shall be compelled by necessity *to eat of these things*, not lusting, nor *wilfully* transgressing, verily thy LORD *will be* gracious *unto him* and merciful. Unto the Jews did we forbid every *beast* having an *undivided* hoof; and of bullocks and sheep, we forbade them the fat of both; except that which should be on their backs, or their inwards,[k] or which should be intermixed with the bone.[l] This have we rewarded them with, because of their iniquity; and we are surely speakers of truth. If they accuse thee of imposture, say, Your LORD is endued with extensive mercy; but his severity shall not be averted from wicked people. The idolaters will say, If GOD had pleased, we had not been guilty of idolatry, neither our fathers; and *pretend that* we have not forbidden *them* anything. Thus did they who were before them accuse *the prophets* of imposture, until they tasted our severe punishment. Say, Is there with you any *certain* knowledge *of what ye allege*, that ye may produce it unto us? Ye follow only a *false* imagination, and ye only utter lies. Say, Therefore unto GOD *belongeth* the most evident demonstration, for if he had pleased, he had directed you all. Say, Produce your witnesses, who can bear testimony that GOD hath forbidden this. But if they bear testimony *of this*, do not thou bear testimony with them, nor do thou follow the desires of those who accuse our signs of falshood, and who believe not in the life to come, and equalize *idols* with their LORD Say, Come,[m] I will rehearse that which your LORD hath forbidden you; *that is to say*, that ye be not guilty of idolatry, and *that ye show* kindness to *your* parents, and that ye murder not your children *for fear* lest ye be reduced to poverty. we will provide for you and them, and draw not near unto heinous crimes,[n] neither openly nor in secret; and slay not the soul which GOD hath forbidden *you to slay*, unless for a just cause[o] This hath he enjoined you that ye may understand. And meddle not with the substance of the orphan, otherwise than for the improving *thereof*, until he attain his age of strength; and use a full measure and a just balance. We will not impose *a task* on *any* soul, beyond its ability And when ye pronounce *judgment* observe justice, although it be *for or against* one who is near of kin, and fulfil the covenant of GOD. This hath *God* commanded you, that ye may be admonished, and *that ye may know* that this is my right way: therefore follow it, and follow not the paths *of others*, lest ye be scattered from the path *of God*. This hath he com-

[i] That is, fluid blood, in opposition to what the Arabs suppose to be also blood, but not fluid, as the liver and the spleen [3]

[k] See Levit vii 23, and iii 16

[l] viz., The fat of the rumps or tails of sheep, which are very large in the east, a small one weighing ten or twelve pounds, and some no less than threescore

[m] This and the two following verses Jallalo ddin supposes to have been revealed at Medina.

[n] The original word signifies peculiarly fornication and avarice.

[o] As for murder, apostacy, or adultery [4]

[3] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo ddin. [4] Al Beidâwi.

manded you, that ye may take heed. We gave also unto Moses the book *of the Law;* a perfect rule unto him who should do right, and a determination concerning all things *needful,* and a direction, and mercy; that *the children of Israel* might believe the meeting of their LORD. And this book which we have *now* sent down, is blessed; therefore follow it and fear *God,* that ye may obtain mercy: lest ye should say, The scriptures were only sent down unto two people[p] before us, and we neglected to peruse them with attention[q] or lest ye should say, If a book *of divine revelations* had been sent down unto us, we would surely have been better directed than they[r] And now hath a manifest declaration come unto you from your LORD, and a direction and mercy and who is more unjust than he who deviseth lies against the signs of GOD, and turneth aside from them? We will reward those who turn aside from our signs with a grievous punishment, because they have turned aside. Do they wait for *any other* than that the angels should come unto them, *to part their souls from their bodies,* or that thy LORD should come *to punish them,* or that some of the signs of thy LORD should come to pass, *showing the day of judgment to be at hand?*[s] On the day whereon some of thy LORD'S signs shall come to pass, its faith shall not profit a soul which believed not before, or wrought not good in its faith[t] Say, Wait ye *for this day,* we surely do wait *for it* They who make a division in their religion,[u] and become sectaries, have thou nothing to do with them; their affair *belongeth* only unto GOD Hereafter shall he declare unto them that which they have done He who shall appear with good works, shall receive a tenfold recompense for the same, but he who shall appear with evil works, shall receive only an equal *punishment* for the same; and they shall not be treated unjustly Say, Verily my LORD hath directed me into a right way, a true religion, the sect of Abraham the orthodox, and he was no idolater Say, Verily my prayers, and my worship, and my life, and my death *are dedicated* unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures he hath no companion This have I been commanded I am the first Moslem[x] Say, shall I desire any other LORD besides GOD? since he is the LORD of all things, and no soul shall acquire *any merits or demerits* but for itself, and no burdened *soul* shall bear the

[p] That is, the Jews and the Christians.

[q] Either because we knew nothing of them, or did not understand the language wherein they were written

[r] Because of the acuteness of our wit, the clearness of our understanding, and our facility of learning sciences—as appears from our excelling in history, poetry and oratory, notwithstanding we are illiterate people[5]

[s] Al Beidâwi, from a tradition of Mohammed, says that ten signs will precede the last day, viz, the smoke the beast of the earth an eclipse in the east another in the west and a third in the peninsula of Arabia the appearance of Antichrist, the sun's rising in the west, the eruption of Gog and Magog, the descent of Jesus on earth and fire which shall break forth from Aden[1]

[t] For faith in the next life will be of no advantage to those who have not believed in this; nor yet faith in this life without good works

[u] That is, who believe in part of it, and disbelieve other parts of it, or who form schisms therein. Mohammed is reported to have declared that the Jews were divided into seventy one sects, and the Christians into seventy two and that his own followers would be split into seventy-three sects, and that all of them would be damned, except only one of each.[2]

[x] See before, p 90

[5] Idem. [1] See the Prelim Disc Sec IV p 62 &c [2] Al Beidâwi

burden of another.[y] Moreover unto your LORD shall ye return; and he shall declare unto you that concerning which ye *now* dispute. It is he who hath appointed you to succeed *your predecessors* in the earth, and hath raised some of you above others by *various* degrees *of worldly advantages*, that he might prove you by that which he hath bestowed on you. Thy LORD is swift in punishing, and he *is also* gracious *and* merciful.

CHAPTER VII

ENTITLED, AL ARAF;[z] REVEALED AT MECCA[a]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A. L. M. S.[b] A book hath been sent down unto thee: and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breast concerning it, that thou mayest preach the same, and *that it may be* an admonition unto the faithful. Follow that which hath been sent down unto you from your LORD, and follow no guides besides him. how little will ye be warned! How many cities have we destroyed; which our vengeance overtook by night,[c] or while they were reposing themselves at noonday![d] And their supplication when our punishment came upon them, was no other than that they said, Verily we have been unjust. We will surely call those to an account, unto whom *a prophet* hath been sent; and we will *also* call those to account who have been sent *unto them*. And we will declare *their actions* unto them with knowledge; for we are not absent *from them*. The weighing *of men's actions* on that day *shall be* just;[e] and they whose balances *laden with their good works* shall be heavy, are those who *shall be* happy; but they whose balances shall be light, are those who have lost their souls, because they injured our signs. And now have we placed you on the earth, and have provided you food therein: *but* how little are ye thankful! We created you, and afterwards formed you; and then said unto the angels, Worship Adam; and they *all* worshipped *him*, except Eblis, *who* was not one of those who worshipped.[f] *God* said *unto him*, What hindered thee from worshipping *Adam*, since I had commanded thee? He answered,

[y] This was revealed in answer to the pressing instances of the idolaters, who offered to take the crime upon themselves, if Mohammed would conform to their worship.

[z] Al Araf signifies the partition between paradise and hell, which is mentioned in this chapter.[1]

[a] Some, however, except five or eight verses, begin at these words, *And ask them concerning the city*, &c.

[b] The signification of these letters the more sober Mohammedans confess GOD alone knows. Some, however, imagine they stand for Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed, *on whom be peace*.

[c] As it did the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, to whom Lot was sent.

[d] As happened to the Midianites, to whom Shoaib preached.

[e] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 69.

[f] See chapter 2, p. 5, &c.

[1] Idem. ... see the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 74.

I am more excellent than he: thou hast created me of fire, and hast created him of clay. *God* said, Get thee down therefore from *paradise;* for it is not *fit* that thou behave thyself proudly therein: get thee *hence;* thou shalt *be* one of the contemptible. He answered, Give me respite until the day of resurrection. *God* said, Verily thou shalt be *one* of those *who are* respited.[g] *The devil* said, Because thou hast depraved me, I will lay wait for *men* in thy strait way; then will I come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hands, and from their left,[h] and thou shalt not find the greater part of them thankful. *God* said *unto him,* Get thee hence, despised, and driven *far away.* Verily whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you all: but *as for thee,* O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in paradise; and eat *of the fruit thereof* wherever ye will; but approach not this tree, lest ye become *of the number* of the unjust. And Satan suggested to them both, that he would discover unto them their nakedness, which was hidden from them, and he said, Your LORD hath not forbidden you this tree, *for any other reason* but lest ye should become angels, or lest ye become immortal. And he sware unto them, *saying,* Verily I am *one* of those who counsel you aright. And he caused them to fall through deceit.[1] And when they had tasted of the tree, their nakedness appeared unto them,[k] and they began to join together the leaves of paradise,[l] to cover themselves And their LORD called to them, *saying,* Did I not forbid you this tree; and *did I not* say unto you, Verily Satan is your declared enemy? They answered, O LORD, we have dealt unjustly with our own souls, and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we shall *surely* be of those who perish. *God* said, Get ye down, the one of you an enemy unto the other; and ye shall have a dwelling place upon earth, and a provision for a season. He said, Therein shall ye live, and therein shall ye die, and from thence shall ye be taken forth *at the resurrection.* O children of Adam, we have sent down unto you apparel,[m] to conceal your naked-

[g] As the time till which the devil is reprieved is not particularly expressed, the commentators suppose his request was not wholly granted, but agree that he shall die, as well as other creatures, at the second sound of the trumpet [2]

[h] *i e*, I will attack them on every side that I shall be able The other two ways, viz., from above and from under their feet, are omitted, say the commentators, to show that the devil's power is limited [3]

[i] The Mohammedan gospel of Barnabas tells us, that the sentence which GOD pronounced on the serpent for introducing the devil into paradise[4] was, that he should not only be turned out of paradise, but that he should have his legs cut off by the angel Michael, with the sword of GOD, and that the devil himself, since he had rendered our first parents unclean, was condemned to eat the excrements of them and all their posterity, which two last circumstances I do not remember to have read elsewhere The words of the manuscript are these *Y llamo [Dios] a la serpiente, y a Michael, aquel que tiene la espada de Dios, y le dixo, Aquesta sierpe es acelerada, echala la brimera del parayso, y cortale las piernas, y si quisiere caminar, arrastrara la vida por tierra Y llamó à Satanas, el qual vino riendo, y dixole, Porque tu reprobo has engañado a aquestos, y los has hecho immundos? Yo quiero que toda immundicia suya, y de todos sus hijos, en saliendo de sus cuerpos entre por tu boca, porque en verdad ellos haran penitencia, y tu quedaras harto de immundicia*

[k] Which they had not perceived before, being clothed, as some say, with light, or garments of paradise, which fell from them on their disobedience. Yahya imagines their nakedness was hidden by their hair [5]

[l] Which it is said were fig-leaves [6]

[m] Not only proper materials, but also ingenuity of mind and dexterity of hand to make use of them.[7]

[2] Al Beidâwi See the Prelim Disc Sect IV. p 65, and D'Herbelot, Bibl Orient. Art Eblis [3] Al Beidâwi [4] See the notes to cap 2, p 5 [5] Idem. [6] Idem [7] Idem

ness, and fair garments; but the clothing of piety is better. This is *one* of the signs of GOD; that peradventure ye may consider. O children of Adam, let not Satan seduce you, as he expelled your parents out of paradise, by stripping them of their clothing, that he might show them their nakedness: verily he seeth you, *both* he and his companions, whereas ye see not them.[n] We have appointed the devils *to be* the patrons of those who believe not: and when they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers *practising* the same; and GOD hath commandeth us *to do* it. Say, Verily GOD commandeth not filthy actions. Do ye speak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Say, My LORD hath commanded me *to observe* justice; therefore set your faces *to pray* at every place of worship, and call upon him, approving unto him the sincerity of *your* religion. As he produced you at first, *so unto him* shall ye return. A part *of mankind* hath he directed; and a part hath been justly led into error, because they have taken the devils for *their* patrons besides GOD, and imagine that they are *rightly* directed. O children of Adam, take your decent apparel at every place of worship,[o] and eat and drink,[p] but be not guilty of excess; for he loveth not those who are guilty of excess. Say, Who hath forbidden the decent apparel of GOD, which he hath produced for his servants, and the good things *which he hath provided* for food? Say, These things *are* for those who believe, in this present life, *but* peculiarly on the day of resurrection.[q] Thus do we distinctly explain *our* signs unto people who understand. Say, Verily my LORD hath forbidden filthy actions, both that which is discovered thereof, and that which is concealed, and also iniquity, and unjust violence; and *hath forbidden you* to associate with GOD that concerning which he hath sent you down no authority, or to speak of GOD that which ye know not. Unto every nation *there is* a prefixed term; therefore when their term is expired, they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall they be anticipated. O children of Adam, verily apostles from among you shall come unto you, who shall expound my signs unto you: whosoever therefore shall fear *God* and amend, there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. But they who shall accuse our signs of falsehood, and shall proudly reject them, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire; they shall remain therein for ever. And, who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie concerning GOD, or accuseth his signs of imposture? Unto these shall be given their portion *of worldly happiness*, according

[n] Because of the subtlety of their bodies, and their being void of all colour.[9]

[o] This passage was revealed to reprove an immodest custom of the pagan Arabs, who used to encompass the Caaba naked, because clothes, they said, were the signs of their disobedience to GOD.[1] The Sonna orders that, when a man goes to prayers, he should put on his better apparel, out of respect to the divine majesty before whom he is to appear. But as the Mohammedans think it indecent, on the one hand, to come into GOD's presence in a slovenly manner, so they imagine, on the other, that they ought not to appear before him in habits too rich or sumptuous, and particularly in clothes adorned with gold or silver, lest they should seem proud.

[p] The sons of Amer, it is said, when they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, used to eat no more than was absolutely necessary, and that not of the more delicious sort of food neither, which abstinence they looked upon as a piece of merit, but they are here told the contrary.[2]

[q] Because then the wicked, who also partook of the blessings of this life, will have no share in the enjoyments of the next.

[9] Jallalo'ddin. [1] Idem, al Beidâwi. [2] Idem.

to *what is written in* the book *of God's decrees*, until our messengers[r] come unto them, *and* shall cause them to die; saying, Where *are the idols* which ye called upon, besides GOD? They shall answer, They have disappeared from us And they shall bear witness against themselves, that they were unbelievers *God* shall say *unto them at the resurrection*, Enter ye with the nations which have preceded you, of genii and of men, into *hell* fire; so often as one nation shall enter, it shall curse its sister,[s] until they shall all have successively entered therein. The latter of them shall say of the former of them, O LORD, these have seduced us, therefore inflict on them a double punishment of the fire *of hell*. *God* shall answer, *It shall be* doubled unto all,[t] but ye know *it* not. And the former of them shall say unto the latter of them, Ye have not therefore any favour above us, taste the punishment for that which ye have gained. Verily they who shall charge our signs with falsehood, and shall proudly reject them, the gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them,[u] neither shall they enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle,[x] and thus will we reward the wicked doers Then couch shall be in hell, and over them shall be coverings *of fire*, and thus will we reward the unjust. But they who believe and do that which is right (we will not load any soul but according to its ability), they shall be the companions of paradise; they shall remain therein for ever And we will remove all grudges from their minds,[y] rivers shall run at their feet, and they shall say, Praised be GOD, who hath directed us unto this *felicity*! for we should not have been *rightly* directed, if GOD had not directed us: now *are we convinced by demonstration that* the apostles of our LORD came *unto us* with truth. And it shall be proclaimed unto them, This is paradise, whereof ye are made heirs, *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought And the inhabitants[z] of paradise shall call out to the inhabitants of *hell* fire, *saying*, Now have we found that which our LORD promised us *to be* true, have ye *also* found that which your LORD promised you *to be* true? They shall answer, Yea. And a crier[a] shall proclaim between them, The curse of GOD *shall be* on the wicked, who turn *men* aside from the way of GOD and seek *to render* it crooked, and who deny the life to come And betwen the *blessed and the damned* there shall be a veil, and men *shall stand* on al Arâf,[b] who shall know

[r] viz The angel of death and his assistants

[s] That is, the nation whose example betrayed them into their idolatry and other wickedness.

[t] Unto those who set the example, because they not only transgressed themselves, but were also the occasion of the others transgression, and unto those who followed them, because of their own infidelity and their imitation of an ill example [1]

[u] That is, when their souls shall, after death, ascend to heaven, they shall not be admitted, but shall be thrown down into the dungeon under the seventh earth [2]

[x] This expression was probably taken from our Saviour's words in the gospel,[3] though it be proverbial in the east.

[y] So that, whatever differences or animosities there had been between them in their lifetime, they shall now be forgotten, and give place to sincere love and amity This Ali is said to have hoped would prove true to himself and his inveterate enemies, Othmân, Telha, and al Zobeir [4]

[z] Literally, *the companions*

[a] This crier, some say, will be the angel Israfil

[b] Al Arâf is the name of the wall or partition which, as Mohammed taught, will separate paradise from hell [5] But as to the persons who are to be placed thereon the commentators differ, as has been elsewhere observed.[6]

[1] Idem [2] Jallalo'ddin See the Prelim Disc ubi sup p. 61 [3] Matth. xix. 24
[4] Al Beidâwi. [5] See the Prelim Disc. Sect IV p 74 [6] See ibid.

every one *of them* by their marks;[c] and shall call unto the inhabitants of paradise, *saying*, Peace be upon you *yet* they shall not enter therein, although they earnestly desire *it*.[d] And when they shall turn their eyes towards the companions of *hell* fire, they shall say, O LORD, place us not with the ungodly people! And those who stand on al Arâf shall call unto *certain* men,[e] whom they shall know by their marks, *and* shall say, What hath your gathering *of riches* availed you, and that ye were puffed up with pride? Are these the men on whom ye sware that GOD would not bestow mercy?[f] Enter ye into paradise, *there shall come* no fear on you, neither shall ye be grieved[g] And the inhabitants of *hell* fire shall call unto the inhabitants of paradise, *saying*, Pour upon us some water, or of those *refreshments* which GOD hath bestowed on you[h] They shall answer, Verily GOD hath forbidden them unto the unbelievers; who made a laughing-stock and a sport of their religion, and whom the life of the world hath deceived: therefore this day will we forget them, as they did forget the meeting of this day, and for that they denied our signs *to be from God*. And now we have brought unto those *of Mecca* a book *of divine revelations* we have explained it with knowledge; a direction and mercy unto people who shall believe. Do they wait *for any other* than the interpretation thereof?[i] On the day whereon the interpretation thereof shall come, they who had forgotten the same before, shall say, Now *are we convinced by demonstration that* the messengers of our LORD came *unto us* with truth shall we therefore have any intercessors, who will intercede for us? or shall we be sent back *into the world*, that we may do other *works* than what we did *in our lifetime?* But now have they lost their souls, and that which they impiously imagined, hath fled from them[k] Verily your LORD is GOD, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then ascended *his* throne. he causeth the night to cover the day, it succeedeth the same swiftly *he* also *created* the sun and the moon, and the stars, *which are* absolutely subject unto his command Is not the whole creation, and the empire *thereof*, his? Blessed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Call upon your LORD

[c] *i e*, Who shall distinguish the blessed from the damned by their proper characteristics, such as the whiteness and splendour of the faces of the former, and the blackness of those of the latter[1]

[d] From this circumstance, it seems that their opinion is the most probable who make this intermediate partition a sort of purgatory for those who, though they deserve not to be sent to hell, yet have not merits sufficient to gain them immediate admittance into paradise, and will be tantalized here for a certain time with a bare view of the felicity of that place

[e] That is, the chiefs and ringleaders of the infidels[2]

[f] These were the inferior and poorer among the believers, whom they despised in their lifetimes as unworthy of God's favour.

[g] These words are directed, by an apostrophe to the poor and despised believers above mentioned Some commentators, however, imagine these and the next preceding words are to be understood of those who will be confined in al Arâf, and that the damned will, in return for their reproachful speech, swear that they shall never enter paradise themselves, whereupon GOD of his mercy shall order them to be admitted by these words[3]

[h] *i e*, Of the other liquors or fruits of paradise Compare this passage with the parable of Dives and Lazarus

[i] That is, the event of the promises and menaces therein

[k] See chapter 6, p. 90, note [a]

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Idem [3] Idem

humbly and in secret; for he loveth not those who transgress.[l] And act not corruptly in the earth, after its reformation;[m] and call upon him with fear and desire: for the mercy of GOD is near unto the righteous. It is he who sendeth the winds, spread abroad[n] before his mercy,[o] until they bring a cloud heavy *with rain*, which we drive unto a dead country;[p] and we cause water to descend thereon, by which we cause all *sorts of* fruits to spring forth. Thus will we bring forth the dead *from their graves*,[q] that peradventure ye may consider. From a good country shall its fruit spring forth *abundantly*, by the permission of its LORD; but from the *land* which is bad, it shall not spring forth otherwise than scarcely. Thus do we explain the *signs of divine providence* unto people who are thankful. We formerly sent Noah[r] unto his people. and he said, O my people, worship GOD: ye have no other GOD than him.[s] Verily I fear for you the punishment of the great day[t] The chiefs of his people answered *him*, We surely perceive thee *to be* in a manifest error. He replied, O my people, there is no error in me; but I am a messenger from the LORD of all creatures I bring unto you the messages of my LORD, and I counsel you aright · for I know from GOD that which ye know not Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD by a man[u] from among you, to warn you, that ye may take heed to yourselves, and that peradventure ye may obtain mercy? And they accused him of imposture. but we delivered him and those who *were* with him in

[l] Behaving themselves arrogantly while they pray; or praying with an obstreperous voice, or a multitude of words and vain repetitions [1]

[m] *i e*, After that GOD hath sent his prophets, and revealed his laws, for the reformation and amendment of mankind

[n] Or ranging over a large extent of land. Some copies, instead of *noshran*, which is the reading I have here followed, have *boshran*, which signifies *good tidings*, the rising of the wind in such a manner being the forerunner of rain

[o] That is, rain For the east wind, says al Beidâwi, raises the clouds, the north wind drives them together, the south wind agitates them, so as to make the rain fall, and the west wind disperses them again [2]

[p] Or a dry and parched land

[q] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV

[r] Noah the son of Lamech, according to the Mohammedan writers, was one of the six principal prophets,[3] though he had no written revelations delivered to him,[4] and the first who appeared after his great-grandfather Edris or Enoch They also say he was by trade a carpenter, which they infer from his building the ark, and that the year of his mission was the fiftieth, or, as others say, the fortieth of his age [5]

That Noah was a preacher of righteousness unto the wicked antediluvians is testified by scripture [6] The eastern Christians say that when GOD ordered Noah to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of at this day in the east, instead of bells, to call the people to church, and named in Arabic Nâkûs, and in modern Greek Semandra; on which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the Deluge, which would certainly destroy them if they did not repent [7]

Some Mohammedan authors pretend Noah was sent to convert Zohâk, one of the Persian kings of the first race, who refused to hearken to him, and that he afterwards preached GOD's unity publicly [8]

[s] From these words, and other passages of the Korân where Noah's preaching is mentioned, it appears that, according to Mohammed's opinion, a principal crime of the antediluvians was idolatry [9]

[t] viz, Either the day of resurrection, or that whereon the Flood was to begin

[u] For, said they, if GOD had pleased, he would have sent an angel, and not a man; since we never heard of such an instance in the times of our fathers.[10]

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] See the Prelim. Disc p 59 [4] Vide Reland de Relig Moh. p. 34 [5] Al Zamakhshari [6] 2 Pet ii 5 [7] Eutych. Annal p. 37 [8] Vide D Herbel Bibl. Orient. p. 675 [9] See c. 71. and the Prelim. Disc. Sect I p. 14. [10] Al Beidâwi.

the ark,[x] and we drowned those who charged our signs with falsehood; for they were a blind people. And unto *the tribe of* Ad[y] *we sent* their brother Hûd.[z] He said, O my people worship GOD: ye have no other GOD than him; will ye not fear *him?* The chiefs of those among his people who believed not,[a] answered, Verily we perceive that thou *art guided* by folly; and we certainly esteem thee *to be one* of the liars. He replied, O my people, *I am* not *guided by* folly; but I am a messenger unto you from the LORD of all creatures: I bring unto you the messages of my LORD; and I am a faithful counsellor unto you. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD, by a man from among you, that he may warn you? Call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto the people of Noah,[b] and hath added unto you in stature largely.[c] Remember the benefits of GOD, that ye may prosper. They said, Art thou come unto us, that we should worship GOD alone, and leave *the deities* which our fathers worshipped? Now bring down that *judgment* upon us, with which thou threatenest us, if thou speakest truth. *Hûd* answered, Now shall there suddenly fall upon you from your LORD vengeance and indignation. Will ye dispute with me concerning the names which ye have named,[d] and your fathers; as to which GOD hath not revealed unto you any authority? Do ye wait therefore, and I will be *one* of those who wait with you. And we delivered him, and them who *believed* with him, by our mercy; and we cut off the uttermost part of those who charged our signs with falsehood, and were not believers.[e] And unto *the tribe of* Thamûd *we*

[x] That is, those who believed on him, and entered into that vessel with him Though there be a tradition among the Moha medans, said to have been received from the prophet himself, and conformable to the scripture, that eigh persons, and no more, were saved in the ark, yet some of them report the number variously One says they were but six, another ten another twelve, another seventy-eight, and another fourscore, half men and half women,[1] and that one of them was the elder Jorham,[2] the preserver, as some pretend, of the Arabian language [3]

[y] Ad was an ancient and potent tribe of Arabs [4] and zealous idolaters.[5] They chiefly worshipped four deities, Sâkia, Hâfedha, Râzeka and Sâlema, the first, as they imagined, supplying them with rain, the second preserving them from all dangers abroad, the third providing food for their sustenance, and the fourth restoring them to health when afflicted with sickness,[6] according to the signification of the several names

[z] Generally supposed to be the same person with Heber,[7] but others say he was the son of Abda'llah, the son of Ribâh, the son of Kholûd, the son of Ad, the son of Aws or Uz, the son of Aram, the son of Sem [8]

[a] These words were added because some of the principal men among them believed on Hûd one of whom was Morthed Ebn Saad.[9]

[b] Dwelling in the habitations of the antediluvians, who preceded them not many centuries, or having the chief sway in the earth after them For the kingdom of Shedâd, the son of Ad, is said to have extended from the sands of Alaj to the trees of Omân [10]

[c] See the Prelim Disc p 5

[d] That is, concerning the idols and imaginary objects of your worship, to which ye wickedly gave the names, attributes and honour due to the only true GOD

[e] The dreadful destruction of the Adites we have mentioned in another place,[1] and shall only add here some further circumstances of that calamity, and which differ a little from what is there said, for the Arab writers acknowledge many inconsistencies in the histories of these ancient tribes [2]

The tribe of Ad having been for their incredulity previously chastised with a three years' drought, sent Kail Ebn Ithar and Morthed Ebn Saad, with seventy other principal men, to the temple of Mecca to obtain rain Mecca was then in the hands of the tribe of Amalek

[1] Al Zamakhshari, Jallalo'ddin, Ebn Shohnah. [2] Idem. See the Prelim. Disc. Sect I p. 6. [3] Vide Pocock. Orat. Præfix Carm. Tograi. [4] See the Prelim Disc Sect. I. p 5. [5] Abulfeda. [6] Vide D'Herbel. Bibl Orient Art Houd [7] See the Prelim Disc. p 5. [8] Al Beidâwi. [9] [illegible] [10] Idem. [1] Prelim Disc. p. 5. [2] Al Beidâwi. Vide D'Herbelot. Bibl Orient Art. H[illegible]

sent[f] their brother Sâleh.[g] He said, O my people, worship GOD: ye have no GOD besides him Now hath a manifest proof come unto you from your LORD. This she-camel of GOD *is* a sign unto you [h] therefore dismiss her freely, that she may feed in GOD's earth; and do her no hurt, lest a painful punishment seize you. And call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto *the tribe of* Ad, and hath given you a habitation on earth; ye build *yourselves* castles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houses [i] Remember therefore the benefits of GOD, and commit not violence in the earth, acting corruptly. The chiefs among his people who were puffed up with pride, said unto those who were esteemed weak, *namely*, unto those who believed among them, Do ye know that Sâleh hath been sent from his LORD? They answered, We do surely believe in that wherewith he hath been sent. Those who were elated with pride replied, Verily we believe not in that wherein ye believe And they cut off the feet of the camel,[k] and inso-

whose prince was Moâwiyah Ebn Becr; and he, being without the city when the ambassadors arrived, entertained them there for a month in so hospitable a manner that they had forgotten the business they came about had not the king reminded them of it, not as from himself, lest they should think he wanted to be rid of them, but by some verses which he put into the mouth of a singing woman At which, being roused from their lethargy, Morthed told them the only way they had to obtain what they wanted would be to repent and obey their prophet, but this displeasing the rest, they desired Moâwiyah to imprison him, lest he should go with them, which being done Kail with the rest entering Mecca, begged of GOD that he would send rain to the people of Ad Whereupon three clouds appeared a white one, a red one, and a black one, and a voice from heaven ordered Kail to choose which he would Kail failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be laden with the most rain, but when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempest broke forth from it which destroyed them all [3]

[f] Thamûd was another tribe of the ancient Arabs who fell into idolatry See the Prelim Disc Sect 1 p 5

[g] Al Beidâwi deduces his genealogy thus Sâleh, the son of Obeid, the son of Asaf, the son of Masekh, the son of Obeid, the son of Hâdher, the son of Thamûd [4]

[h] The Thamûdites, insisting on a miracle, proposed to Sâleh that he should go with them to their festival, and that they should call on their gods, and he on his, promising to follow that deity which should answer But after they had called on their idols a long time to no purpose, Jonda Ebn Amru, their prince, pointed to a rock standing by itself, and bade Sâleh cause a she-camel big with young to come forth from it, solemnly engaging that, if he did, he would believe, and his people promised the same Whereupon Sâleh asked it of GOD, and presently the rock, after several throes as if in labour, was delivered of a she-camel answering the description of Jonda, which immediately brought forth a young one, ready weaned, and, as some say, as big as herself Jonda, seeing this miracle, believed on the prophet, and some few with him, but the greater part of the Thamûdites remained, notwithstanding, incredulous Of this camel the commentators tell several very absurd stories as that, when she went to drink, she never raised her head from the well or river till she had drunk up all the water in it, and then she offered herself to be milked, the people drawing from her as much milk as they pleased; and some say that she went about the town crying aloud, *If any wants milk let him come forth* [5]

[i] The tribe of Thamûd dwelt first in the country of the Adites, but their numbers increasing, they removed to the territory of Hejr for the sake of the mountains, where they cut themselves habitations in the rocks, to be seen at this day

[k] This extraordinary camel frighting the other cattle from their pasture, a certain rich woman named Oneiza Omm Ganem, having four daughters, dressed them out and offered one Kedâr his choice of them if he would kill the camel Whereupon he chose one, and with the assistance of eight other men, hamstrung and killed the dam, and pursuing the young one, which fled to the mountain, killed that also and divided his flesh among them.[1] Others tell the story somewhat differently, adding Sadaka Bint al Mokhtâr as a joint conspiratress with Oneiza, and pretending that the young one was not killed, for they say that having fled to a certain mountain named Kâra, he there cried three times, and Sâleh bade them catch him if they could, for then there might be hopes of their avoiding the divine vengeance; but this they were not able to do, the rock opening after he had cried, and receiving him within it.[2]

[3] See the Prelim Disc p 5 [4] Abulfeda, al Zamakhshari Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Sâleh [5] See the Prelim Disc p 6 [1] Abulfeda [2] Al Beidâwi Vide D'Herbel ubi supra.

lently transgressed the command of their LORD,[l] and said, O Sâleh, cause that to come upon us, with which thou hast threatened us, if thou art *one* of those who have been sent *by* GOD. Whereupon a terrible noise from heaven[m] assailed them; and in the morning they were found in their dwellings prostrate on their breasts *and dead*.[n] And Sâleh departed from them, and said,[o] O my people, now have I delivered unto you the message of my LORD, and I advised you well, but ye love not those who advise *you* well. And *remember* Lot,[p] when he said unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedness, wherein no creature hath set you an example? Do ye approach lustfully unto men, leaving the women? Certainly ye are people who transgress *all modesty*. But the answer of his people was no other than that they said *the one to the other*, Expel them[q] your city; for they are men who preserve themselves pure *from the crimes which ye commit*. Therefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife; she was *one* of those who stayed *behind*:[r] and we rained a shower *of stones* upon them.[s] Behold therefore what was the end of the wicked. And unto Madian[t] *we sent* their brother Shoaib.[u] He said *unto them*, O my people, worship GOD; ye

[l] Defying the vengeance with which they were threatened, because they trusted in their strong dwellings hewn in the rocks, saying that the tribe of Ad perished only because their houses were not built with sufficient strength.[3]

[m] Like violent and repeated claps of thunder, which some say was no other than the voice of the angel Gabriel,[4] and which rent their hearts.[5] It is said that after they had killed the camel, Sâleh told them that on the morrow their faces should become yellow, the next day red, and the third day black, and that on the fourth GOD's vengeance should light on them; and that the first three signs happening accordingly, they sought to put him to death, but GOD delivered him by sending him into Palestine.[6]

[n] Mohammed, in the expedition of Tabûc, which he undertook against the Greeks in the ninth year of the Hejra, passing by Hejr, where this ancient tribe had dwelt, forbade his army, though much distressed with heat and thirst, to draw any water there, but ordered them if they had drunk of that water to bring it up again, or if they had kneaded any meal with it, to give it to their camels;[7] and wrapping up his face in his garment, he set spurs to his mule, crying out, *Enter not the houses of these wicked men, but rather weep, lest that happen unto you which befell them*; and having so said, he continued galloping full speed with his face muffled up, till he had passed the valley.[8]

[o] Whether this speech was made by Sâleh to them at parting, as seems most probable, or after the judgment had fallen on them, the commentators are not agreed.

[p] The commentators say, conformably to the scripture, that Lot was the son of Haran, the son of Azer or Terah, and consequently Abraham's nephew, who brought him with him from Chaldea into Palestine, where they say he was sent by GOD to reclaim the inhabitants of Sodom and the other neighbouring cities which were overthrown with it, from the unnatural vice to which they were addicted.[9] And this Mohammedan tradition seems to be countenanced by the words of the apostle, that this *righteous man dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds*;[10] whence it is probable that he omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation. The story of Lot is told with further circumstances in the eleventh chapter.

[q] viz., Lot, and those who believe on him.

[r] See chap. 11.

[s] See ibid.

[t] Or Midian, was a city of Hejâz, and the habitation of a tribe of the same name, the descendants of Midian, the son of Abraham by Keturah,[1] who afterwards coalesced with the Ismaelites, as it seems; Moses naming the same merchants who sold Joseph to Potiphar, in one place Ismaelites,[2] and in another Midianites.[3]

This city was situated on the Red Sea, south-east of Mount Sinai, and is doubtless the same with the Modiana of Ptolemy; what was remaining of it in Mohammed's time was soon after demolished in the succeeding wars,[4] and it remains desolate to this day. The people of the country pretend to show the well whence Moses watered Jethro's flocks.[5]

[u] Some Mohammedan writers make him the son of Mikail, the son of Yashjar, the son of

[3] Al Kassai. [4] See the Prelim. Disc. p. [illegible] [5] Abulfeda, al Beidâwi. [6] Al Beidâwi. [7] Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 124. [8] Al Bokhari. [9] Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Loth. [10] 2 Pet. ii. 8. [1] Gen. xxv. 2. [2] Gen. xxxvii. [illegible] [3] Gen. xxxvii. 36. [4] Vide Golius in Alfrag. p. 143. [5] Abulfed. Descr. Arab. p. 42. Geogr. Nub. p. 110.

have no GOD besides him. Now hath an evident demonstration[x] come unto you from your LORD. Therefore give full measure and just weight, and diminish not unto men *ought of* their matters;[y] neither act corruptly in the earth, after its reformation.[z] This will be better for you, if ye believe. And beset not every way, threatening *the passenger*,[a] and turning aside from the path of GOD him who believeth in him, and seeking to make it crooked. And remember, when ye were few, and GOD multiplied you; and behold, what hath been the end of those who acted corruptly. And if part of you believeth that wherewith I am sent, and part believe not, wait patiently until GOD judge between us; for he is the best judge. (IX.) The chiefs of his people, who were elated with pride, answered, We will surely cast thee, O Shoaib, and those who believe with thee, out of our city; or else thou shalt certainly return unto our religion. He said, What, though we be averse *thereto*? We shall surely imagine a lie against GOD, if we return unto your religion, after that GOD hath delivered us from the same; and we have no *reason* to return unto it, unless GOD our LORD shall please *to abandon us*. Our LORD comprehendeth everything by *his* knowledge. In GOD do we put our trust. O LORD, do thou judge between us and our nation with truth; for thou art the best judge. And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, said, If ye follow Shoaib, ye shall surely perish. Therefore a storm from heaven[b] assailed them, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and* prostrate. They who accused Shoaib of imposture *became* as though they had never dwelt therein; they who accused Shoaib of imposture perished themselves. And he departed from them, and said, O my people, now have I performed unto you the messages of my LORD; and I advised you aright; but why should I be grieved for an unbelieving people? We have never sent any prophet unto a city, but we afflicted the inhabitants thereof with calamity and adversity, that they might humble themselves. Then we gave *them* in exchange good in lieu of evil, until they abounded, and said, Adversity and prosperity formerly happened unto our fathers, *as unto us*. Therefore we took

Madian,[6] and they generally supppose him to be the same person with the father-in-law of Moses, who is named in scripture Reuel or Raguel, and Jethro.[7] But Ahmed Ebn Abd'alhalim charges those who entertain this opinion with ignorance. Al Kessâi says that his father's name was Sanûn, and that he was first called Boyûn, and afterwards Shoaib; and adds that he was a comely person, but spare and lean, very thoughtful and of few words. Doctor Prideaux writes this name, after the French translation, Chaib.[8]

[x] This demonstration the commentators suppose to have been a power of working miracles, though the Korân mentions none in particular. However, they say (after the Jews) that he gave his son-in-law that wonder-working rod,[9] with which he performed all those miracles in Egypt and the desert, and also excellent advice and instructions,[10] whence he had the surname of Khatib al anbiyâ, or the *preacher to the prophets*.[11]

[y] For one of the great crimes which the Midianites were guilty of was the using of diverse measures and weights, a great and a small, buying by one and selling by another.[12]

[z] See before, p. 110, note [m].

[a] Robbing on the highway, it seems, was another crying sin frequent among these people. But some of the commentators interpret this passage figuratively, of their besetting the way of truth, and threatening those who gave ear to the remonstrances of Shoaib.[13]

[b] Like that which destroyed the Thamûdites. Some suppose it to have been an earthquake, for the original word signifies either or both; and both these dreadful calamities may well be supposed to have jointly executed the divine vengeance.

[6] Al Beidâwi, Tarikh Montakhab. [7] Exod. ii. 18; iii. 1. [8] Life of Mah. p. 24. [9] Al Beidâwi. Vide Shalshel hakkab. p. 12. [10] Exod. xviii. 13, &c. [11] Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Schoaib. [12] Vide ibid. al Beidâwi. See Deut. xxv. 13, 14. [13] Idem.

vengeance on them suddenly, and they perceived it not *beforehand*. But if the inhabitants of *those* cities had believed and feared *God*, we would surely have opened to them blessings both from heaven and earth. But they charged *our apostles* with falsehood; wherefore we took vengeance on them, for that which they had been guilty of. Were the inhabitants therefore of *those* cities secure that our punishment should not fall on them by night, while they slept? Or were the inhabitants of *those* cities secure that our punishment should not fall on them by day, while they sported? Were they therefore secure from the stratagem of GOD?[c] But none will think himself secure from the stratagem of GOD, except the people who perish. And hath it not manifestly appeared unto those who have inherited the earth after the *former* inhabitants thereof, that, if we please, we can afflict them for their sins? But we will seal up their hearts; and they shall not hearken. We will relate unto thee some stories of these cities Their apostles had come unto them with evident miracles, but they were not *disposed* to believe in that which they had before gainsaid Thus will GOD seal up the hearts of the unbelievers. And we found not in the greater part of them any *observance* of *their* covenant, but we found the greater part of them wicked doers. Then we sent, after the *above-named apostles*, Moses with our signs unto Pharaoh[d] and his princes, who treated them unjustly:[e] but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers. And Moses said, O Pharaoh, verily I am an apostle *sent* from the LORD of all creatures. It is just that I should not speak of GOD other than the truth. Now am I come unto you with an *evident* sign from your LORD: send therefore the children of Israel away with me. Pharaoh answered, If thou comest with a sign, produce it, if thou speakest truth. Wherefore he cast down his rod; and behold, it *became* a visible serpent.[f] And he drew forth his

[c] Hereby is figuratively expressed the manner of GOD's dealing with proud and ungrateful men, by suffering them to fill up the measure of their iniquity, without vouchsafing to bring them to a sense of their condition by chastisements and afflictions till they find themselves utterly lost, when they least expect it.[1]

[d] This was the common title or name of the kings of Egypt (signifying king in the Coptic tongue), as Ptolemy was in after times; and as Cæsar was that of the Roman emperors, and Khosrû that of the kings of Persia. But which of the kings of Egypt this Pharaoh of Moses was, is uncertain. Not to mention the opinions of the European writers, those of the east generally suppose him to have been al Walid, who, according to some, was an Arab of the tribe of Ad, or, according to others, the son of Masáb, the son of Riyân, the son of Walid[2] the Amalekite[3] There are historians, however, who suppose Kabûs, the brother and predecessor al Walid, was the prince we are speaking of, and pretend he lived six hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred Which is more reasonable, at least, than the opinion of those who imagine it was his father Masáb, or grandfather Riyân[4] Abulfeda says that Masáb being one hundred and seventy years old, and having no child, while he kept the herds saw a cow calve, and heard her say, at the same time, O Masáb, *be not grieved, for thou shalt have a wicked son, who will be at length cast into hell* And he accordingly had this Walid, who afterwards coming to be king of Egypt, proved an impious tyrant

[e] By not believing therein

[f] The Arab writers tell enormous fables of this serpent or dragon For they say that he was hairy, and of so prodigious a size, that when he opened his mouth, his jaws were fourscore cubits asunder, and when he laid his lower jaw on the ground, his upper reached to the top of the palace, that Pharaoh seeing this monster make towards him, fled from it, and was so terribly frightened that he befouled himself; and that the whole assembly also betaking themselves to their heels, no less than twenty-five thousand of them lost their lives in the press. They add that Pharaoh upon this adjured Moses by GOD who had sent him, to take away the

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] See Prelim. Disc. p. 7. [3] Abulfeda, &c. [4] Kitâb tafsir lebâb, and al Kashâf.

hand *out of his bosom;* and behold, it *appeared* white unto the spectators.[g] The chiefs of the people of Pharaoh said, This *man* is certainly an expert magician: he seeketh to dispossess you of your land; what therefore do ye direct? They answered, Put off him and his brother *by fair promises for some time,* and *in the meanwhile* send unto the cities persons who may assemble and bring unto thee every expert magician. So the magicians[h] came unto Pharaoh; *and* they said, Shall we surely receive a reward, if we do overcome? He answered, Yea; and ye shall certainly be of those who approach near *unto my throne.* They said, O Moses, either do thou cast down *thy rod first,* or we will cast down *ours. Moses* answered, Do ye cast down *your rods first.* And when they had cast *them* down, they enchanted the eyes of the men *who were present,* and terrified them; and they performed a great enchantment.[i] And we spake by revelation unto Moses, *saying,* Throw down thy rod. And behold, it swallowed up *the rods* which they had *caused falsely to appear* changed *into serpents.*[k] Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought vanished. And *Pharaoh and his magicians* were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible. And the magicians prostrated themselves, worshipping, *and* they said, We believe in the LORD of all creatures, the LORD of Moses and Aaron.[l] Pharaoh said, Have ye believed on him, before I have given you permission? Verily this is a plot which ye have contrived in the city, that ye might cast forth from thence

serpent, and promised he would believe on him, and let the Israelites go; but when Moses had done what he requested, he relapsed, and grew as hardened as before.[5]

[g] There is a tradition that Moses was a very swarthy man; and that when he put his hand into his bosom, and drew it out again, it became extremely white and splendid, surpassing the brightness of the sun.[6] Marracci[7] says we do not read in scripture that Moses showed this sign before Pharaoh. It is true, the scripture does not expressly say so, but it seems to be no more than a necessary inference from that passage where GOD tells Moses that if they will not hearken to the first sign, they will believe the latter sign, and if they will not believe these two signs, then directs him to turn the water into blood.[8]

[h] The Arabian writers name several of these magicians, besides their chief priest Simeon, viz., Sadûr and Ghadûr, Jaath and Mosfa, Warân and Zamân, each of whom came attended with their disciples, amounting in all to several thousands.[9]

[i] They provided themselves with a great number of thick ropes and long pieces of wood, which they contrived, by some means, to move, and make them twist themselves one over the other, and so imposed on the beholders, who at a distance took them to be true serpents.[1]

[k] The expositors add, that when this serpent had swallowed up all the rods and cords, he made directly towards the assembly, and put them into so great a terror that they fled, and a considerable number were killed in the crowd; then Moses took it up, and it became a rod in his hand as before. Whereupon the magicians declared that it could be no enchantment, because in such case their rods and cords would not have disappeared.

[l] It seems probable that all the magicians were not converted by this miracle, for some writers introduce Sadûr and Ghadûr only, acknowledging Moses's miracle to be wrought by the power of GOD. These two, they say, were brothers, and the sons of a famous magician, then dead; but on their being sent for to court on this occasion, their mother persuaded them to go to their father's tomb to ask his advice. Being come to the tomb, the father answered their call; and when they had acquainted him with the affair, he told them that they should inform themselves whether the rod of which they spoke became a serpent while its masters slept, or only when they were awake; for, said he, enchantments have no effect while the enchanter is asleep, and therefore if it be otherwise in this case, you may be assured that they act by a divine power. These two magicians then, arriving at the capital of Egypt, on inquiry found, to their great astonishment, that when Moses and Aaron went to rest, their rod became a serpent, and guarded them while they slept.[8] And this was the first step towards their conversion.

[5] Al Beidâwi. [6] Idem. [7] In Alc. p. 284. [8] Exod. iv. 8, 9. [9] Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Mousa, p. 643, &c. Al Kessâi. [1] Al Beidâwi. Vide D'Herbelot, ubi sup. and Kor. c. 20. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Vide D'Herbel. ubi sup.

the inhabitants thereof.[m] But ye shall surely know *that I am your master; for* I will cause your hands and your feet to be cut off on the opposite sides,[n] then will I cause you all to be crucified.[o] The *magicians* answered, We shall certainly return unto our LORD, *in the next life;* for thou takest vengeance on us only because we have believed in the signs of our LORD, when they have come unto us. O LORD pour on us patience, and cause us to die Moslems.[p] And the chiefs of Pharaoh's people said, Wilt thou let Moses and his people go, that they may act corruptly in the earth, and leave thee and thy gods?[q] *Pharaoh* answered, We will cause their male children to be slain and we will suffer their females to live;[r] and *by that means* we shall prevail over them. Moses said unto his people, Ask assistance of GOD, and suffer patiently; for the earth is GOD'S, he giveth it for an inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth: and the *prosperous* end *shall be* unto those who fear *him.* They answered, We have been afflicted *by having our male children slain,* before thou camest unto us, and also since thou hast come unto us. *Moses* said, Peradventure it may happen that your LORD will destroy your enemy, and will cause you to succeed *him* in the earth, that he may see how ye will act *therein.* And we formerly punished the people of Pharaoh with dearth and scarcity of fruits, that they might be warned. Yet when good happened unto them, they said, This *is owing* unto us: but if evil befell them, they attributed *the same* to the ill luck of Moses, and those who *were* with him.[s] Was not their ill luck with GOD?[t] but most of them knew *it* not. And they said *unto Moses,* Whatever sign thou show unto us, to enchant us therewith, we will not believe on thee. Wherefore we sent upon them a flood,[u] and locusts, and lice,[x] and frogs, and blood, dis-

[m] *i. e.*, This is a confederacy between you and Moses, entered into before ye left the city to go to the place of appointment, to turn out the Copts, or native Egyptians, and establish the Israelites in their stead.[4]

[n] That is, your right hands and your left feet.

[o] Some say Pharaoh was the first inventor of this ignominious and painful punishment.

[p] Some think these converted magicians were executed accordingly: but others deny it, and say that the king was not able to put them to death, insisting on these words of the Koran,[5] *You two, and they who follow you, shall overcome.*

[q] Which were the stars, or other idols. But some of the commentators, from certain impious expressions of this prince, recorded in the Korân,[1] whereby he sets up himself as the only god of his subjects, suppose that he was the object of their worship, and therefore instead of *alihataca, thy gods,* read *ilahataca, thy worship.*[2]

[r] That is, we will continue to make use of the same cruel policy to keep the Israelites in subjection, as we have hitherto done. The commentators say that Pharaoh came to this resolution because he had either been admonished in a dream, or by the astrologers or diviners, that one of that nation should subvert his kingdom.[3]

[s] Looking on him and his followers as the occasion of those calamities. The original word properly signifies to *take an ominous and sinister presage* of any future event, from the flight of birds, or the like.

[t] By whose will and decree they were so afflicted, as a punishment for their wickedness.

[u] This inundation, they say, was occasioned by unusual rains, which continued eight days together, and the overflowing of the Nile, and not only covered their lands, but came into their houses, and rose as high as their backs and necks, but the children of Israel had no rain in their quarters.[4] As there is no mention of any such miraculous inundation in the Mosaic writings, some have imagined this plague to have been either a pestilence, or the small pox, or some other epidemical distemper.[5] For the word *tufân,* which is used in this place, and is generally rendered a *deluge,* may also signify any other universal destruction or mortality.

[x] Some will have these insects to have been a larger sort of tick, others, the young locusts before they have wings.[6]

[4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Cap. 28. [1] Ibid. and c. 26, &c. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. Jallalo'ddin. [4] Idem, Abulfed. [5] Al Beidawi. [6] Idem.

tinct miracles: but they behaved proudly, and became a wicked people. And when the plague[y] fell on them, they said, O Moses, entreat thy LORD for us, according to that which he hath covenanted with thee: verily if thou take the plague from off us, we will surely believe thee, and we will let the children of Israel go with thee. But when we had taken the plague from off them, until the term *which God had granted them* was expired, behold, they broke their promise. Wherefore we took vengeance on them, and drowned them in the *Red* Sea;[z] because they charged our signs with falsehood, and neglected them. And we caused the people who had been rendered weak, to inherit the eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof,[a] which we blessed *with fertility*; and the gracious word of thy LORD was fulfilled on the children of Israel, for that they had endured with patience: and we destroyed the *structures* which Pharaoh and his people had made, and that which they had erected.[b] And we caused the children of Israel to pass through the sea, and they came unto a people who gave themselves up to *the worship of* their idols;[c] *and* they said, O Moses, make us a god in like manner as these *people* have gods. *Moses* answered, Verily ye are an ignorant people: for *the religion* which these follow *will be* destroyed, and that which they do is vain. He said, Shall I seek for you any other god than GOD; since he hath preferred you to the *rest of the* world? And *remember* when we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh, who grievously oppressed you; they slew your male children, and let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD. And we appointed unto Moses *a fast of* thirty nights *before we gave him the law*,[d] and we completed them by *adding of* ten *more;* and the stated time of his LORD was fulfilled in forty nights. And Moses said unto his brother Aaron, Be thou my deputy among my people *during my absence*, and behave uprightly, and follow not the way of the corrupt doers. And when Moses came at our appointed time, and his LORD spake unto him,[e] he said, O LORD, Show me *thy glory*, that I may behold thee. *God* answered, Thou shalt in no wise behold me;

[y] viz., Any of the calamities already mentioned, or the pestilence which GOD sent upon them afterwards.

[z] See this wonderful event more particularly described in the tenth and twentieth chapters.

[a] That is, the land of Syria, of which the eastern geographers reckon Palestine a part, and wherein the commentators say the children of Israel succeeded the kings of Egypt and the Amalekites.[1]

[b] Particularly the lofty tower which Pharaoh caused to be built, that he might attack the GOD of Moses.[2]

[c] These people some will have to be of the tribe of Amalek, whom Moses was commanded to destroy, and others of the tribe of Lakhm. Their idols, it is said, were images of oxen, which gave the first hint to the making of the golden calf.[3]

[d] The commentators say that GOD, having promised Moses to give him the law, directed him to prepare himself for the high favour of speaking with GOD in person by a fast of thirty days, and that Moses accordingly fasted the whole month of Dhu'lkaada; but not liking the savour of his breath, he rubbed his teeth with a dentifrice, upon which the angels told him that his breath before had the odour of musk,[4] but that his rubbing his teeth had taken it away. Whereupon GOD ordered him to fast ten days more, which he did; and these were the first ten days of the succeeding month Dhu'lhajja. Others, however, suppose that Moses was commanded to fast and pray thirty days only, and that during the other ten GOD discoursed with him.[5]

[e] Without the mediation of any other, and face to face, as he speaks unto the angels.[6]

[1] Idem. [2] Vide Kor. c. 28 and 40. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. [5] Al Beidâwi. Jallalo'ddin. [6] Al Beidâwi. Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 610.

but look towards the mountain,[f] and if it stand firm in its place, then shalt thou see me. But when his LORD appeared with glory in the mount,[g] he reduced it to dust. And Moses fell down in a swoon. And when he came to himself, he said, Praise be unto thee! I turn unto thee with repentance, and I *am* the first of true believers.[h] *God* said *unto him*, O Moses, I have chosen thee above *all* men, *by honouring thee* with my commissions, and by my speaking *unto thee:* receive therefore that which I have brought thee, and be *one* of those who give thanks.[i] And we wrote for him on the tables[k] an admonition concerning every matter, and a decision in every case,[l] *and said*, Receive this with reverence; and command thy people that they live according to the most excellent *precepts* thereof. I will show you the dwelling of the wicked.[m] I will turn aside from my signs those who behave themselves proudly in the earth, without justice: and although they see every sign, yet they shall not believe therein; and although they see the way of righteousness, yet they shall not take that way; but if they see the way of error, they shall take that way. This *shall come to pass* because they accuse our signs of imposture, and neglect the same. But as for them who deny the truth of our signs and the meeting of the life to come, their works shall be vain. shall they be rewarded otherwise than *according to* what they shall have wrought? And the people of Moses, after his *departure*, took a corporeal calf,[n] *made* of their ornaments,[o] which lowed.[p] Did they not see that it spake not unto them, neither directed them in the way? *yet* they took it *for their god*, and acted wickedly. But when they repented with sorrow,[q] and saw that they had gone astray, they said, Verily if our LORD have not mercy upon us, and forgive us not, we shall certainly become *of the number* of those who perish. And when Moses returned unto his people, full of wrath and indignation, he said, An evil thing is it that ye have committed after my *departure;* have ye hastened the command

[f] This mountain the Mohammedans name al Zabir

[g] Or, as it is literally, *unto the mount* For some of the expositors pretend that GOD endued the mountain with life and the sense of seeing

[h] This is not to be taken strictly See the like expression in chapter 6, p 90

[i] The Mohammedans have a tradition that Moses asked to see GOD on the day of Arafat, and that he received the law on the day they slay the victims at the pilgrimage of Mecca, which days are the ninth and tenth of Dhu'lhajja.

[k] These tables, according to some, were seven in number, and according to others ten Nor are the commentators agreed whether they were cut out of a kind of lote-tree in paradise called al Sedra, or whether they were chrysolites, emeralds, rubies, or common stone [1] But they say that they were each ten or twelve cubits long, for they suppose that not only the ten commandments but the whole law was written thereon and some add that the letters were cut quite through the tables, so that they might be read on both sides[2]—which is a fable of the Jews

[l] That is, a perfect law comprehending all necessary instructions, as well in regard to religious and moral duties, as the administration of justice

[m] viz, The desolate habitations of the Egyptians, or those of the impious tribes of Ad and Thamûd, or perhaps hell, the dwelling of the ungodly in the other world

[n] That is, as some understand it, consisting of flesh and blood, or, as others, being a mere body or mass of metal, without a soul [3]

[o] Such as their rings and bracelets of gold and silver [4]

[p] See chapter 20, and the notes to chapter 2, p 6

[q] Father Marracci seems not to have understood the meaning of this phrase, having literally translated the Arabic words, *wa lamma sokita fi eidhim*, without any manner of sense, *Et cum cadere factus fuisset in manibus eorum*

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Vide D'Herbel ubi sup [3] Al Beidâwi. See cap 20, and the notes to cap. 2, p. 6. [4] Vide ibid.

of your LORD?[r] And he threw down the tables,[s] and took his brother by the *hair of the* head, and dragged him unto him. *And Aaron* said unto him, Son of my mother, Verily the people prevailed against me,[t] and it wanted little but they had slain me: make not *my* enemies therefore to rejoice over me, neither place me with the wicked people. *Moses* said, O LORD, forgive me and my brother, and receive us into thy mercy, for thou art the most merciful of those who exercise mercy. Verily as for them who took the calf *for their god*, indignation shall overtake them from their LORD,[u] and ignominy in this life. thus will we reward those who imagine falsehood. But unto them who do evil, and afterwards repent and believe *in God*, verily thy LORD *will* thereafter *be* clement *and* merciful. And when the anger of Moses was appeased, he took the tables,[x] and in what was written thereon was a direction and mercy unto those who feared their LORD. And Moses chose out of his people seventy men, *to go up with him to the mountain* at the time appointed by us. and when a storm of thunder and lightning had taken them away,[y] he said, O LORD, if thou hadst pleased, thou hadst destroyed them before, and me *also*, wilt thou destroy us for that which the foolish *men* among us have committed? This is only thy trial; thou wilt thereby lead into error whom thou pleasest, and thou wilt direct whom thou pleasest. Thou art our protector, therefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us; for thou art the best of those who forgive. And write down for us good in this world, and in the life to come; for unto thee are we directed. *God* answered, I will inflict my punishment on whom I please, and my mercy extendeth over all things and I will write down *good* unto those who shall fear *me*, and give alms, and who shall believe in our signs, who shall follow the apostle, the illiterate prophet,[z] whom they shall find written down[a] with them in the law and the gospel: he will command them that which is just, and will forbid them that which is evil; and will allow unto them as lawful the good things *which were before forbidden*,[b] and will prohibit those which are bad,[c] and he will ease them of their heavy burden, and of the yokes which were upon them.[d] And those who believe on him, and honour him, and assist him, and follow the light which hath been sent down with him, *shall be* happy. Say, O men, Verily I am the messenger of GOD unto you all[e] unto him *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth; there is no GOD but he; he giveth life, and he causeth to die. Believe therefore in GOD and his apostle, the illiterate prophet, who believeth in GOD and his word, and follow him, that ye may be *rightly*

[r] By neglecting his precepts, and bringing down his swift vengeance on you

[s] Which were all broken and taken up to heaven, except one only, and this, they say, contained the threats and judicial ordinances, and was afterwards put into the ark [1]

[t] Literally, *rendered me weak*

[u] See chapter 2, p 6

[x] Or the fragments of that which was left

[y] See chapter 2, p 6, and chapter 4, p 70

[z] That is, Mohammed See the Prelim Disc Sect II

[a] *i e*, Both foretold by name and certain description

[b] See chapter 3, p. 37

[c] As the eating of blood and swine's flesh, and the taking of usury, &c.

[d] See chapter 2, p. 31

[e] That is, to all mankind in general, and not to one particular nation, as the former prophets were sent.

[1] Al Beidâwi Vide D'Herbel ubi sup p 649

directed. Of the people of Moses *there is* a party[f] who direct *others* with truth, and act justly according to the same. And we divided them into twelve tribes, *as into so many* nations And we spake by revelation unto Moses, when his people asked drink of him, *and we said*, Strike the rock with thy rod; and there gushed thereout twelve fountains,[g] and men knew their *respective* drinking-place. And we caused clouds to overshadow them, and manna and quails[h] to descend upon them, *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food; and they injured not us, but they injured their own souls. And *call to mind* when it was said unto them, Dwell in this city,[i] and eat *of the provisions* thereof wherever ye will, and say, Forgiveness! and enter the gate worshipping: we will pardon you your sins, *and* will give increase unto the well-doers. But they who were ungodly among them changed the expression into another,[k] which had not been spoken unto them. Wherefore we sent down upon them indignation from heaven, because they had transgressed. And ask them concerning the city,[l] which was situate on the sea, when they transgressed on the sabbath day · when their fish came unto them on their sabbath day, *appearing* openly *on the water*, but on the day whereon they celebrated no sabbath, they came not unto them. Thus did we prove them, because they were wicked doers. And when a party of them[m] said *unto the others*, Why do ye warn a people whom GOD will destroy, or will punish with a grievous punishment? They answered, *This is* an excuse *for us* unto your LORD,[n] and peradventure they will beware. But when they had forgotten the admonitions which had been given them, we delivered those who forbade *them* to do evil; and we inflicted on those who had transgressed, a severe punishment, because they had acted wickedly. And when they proudly refused *to desist* from what had been forbidden them, we said unto them, Be ye *transformed into* apes, driven away *from the society* of men. And *remember* when thy LORD declared that he would surely send against *the Jews*, until the day of resurrection,

[f] viz, Those Jews who seemed better disposed than the rest of their brethren to receive Mohammed's law, or perhaps such of them as had actually received it. Some imagine they were a Jewish nation dwelling somewhere beyond China, which Mohammed saw the night he made his journey to heaven, and who believed on him.[1]

[g] See chapter 2, p 7

To what is said in the notes there, we may add that, according to a certain tradition, the stone on which this miracle was wrought was thrown down from paradise by Adam, and came into the possession of Shoaib, who gave it with the rod to Moses; and that, according to another, the water issued thence by three orifices on each of the four sides of the stone, making twelve in all, and that it ran in so many rivulets to the quarter of each tribe in the camp [2]

[h] See chapter 2, p 7

[i] See this passage explained, ibid.

[k] Professor Sike says, that being prone to leave spiritual for worldly matters, instead of Hittaton they said Hintaton, which signifies wheat,[3] and comes much nearer the true word than the expression I have in the last place quoted, set down from Jalloddin. Whether he took this from the same commentator or not does not certainly appear, though he mentions him just before; but if he did, his copy must differ from that which I have followed

[l] This city was Ailah or Elath, on the Red Sea, though some pretend it was Midian, and others Tiberias. The whole story is already given in the notes to chapter 2, p 8. Some suppose the following five or eight verses to have been revealed at Medina

[m] viz, The religious persons among them, who strictly observed the Sabbath, and endeavoured to reclaim the others, till they despaired of success. But some think these words were spoken by the offenders, in answer to the admonitions of the others

[n] That we have done our duty in dissuading them from their wickedness.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem [3] Sike, in not. ad Evang Infant p. 71

some nation who should afflict them with a grievous oppression:[o] for thy LORD is swift in punishing, and he *is* also ready to forgive *and* merciful: and we dispersed them among the nations in the earth. *Some* of them are upright persons, and *some* of them are otherwise. And we proved them with prosperity and with adversity, that they might return *from their disobedience*, and a succession *of their posterity* hath succeeded after them, who have inherited the book *of the law*, who receive the temporal *goods* of this world,[p] and say, It will surely be forgiven us: and if a temporal *advantage* like the former be offered them, they accept it *also*. Is not the covenant of the book *of the law* established with them, that they should not speak of GOD *ought* but the truth?[q] Yet they diligently read that which is therein. But the enjoyment of the next life *will be* better for those who fear *God than the wicked gains of these people* (Do ye not therefore understand?) and for those who hold fast the book *of the law*, and are constant at prayer: for we will by no means suffer the reward of the righteous to perish. And when we shook the mountain *of Sinai* over them,[r] as though it had been a covering, and they imagined that it was falling upon them; *and we said*, Receive the *law* which we have brought you, with reverence; and remember that which is *contained* therein, that ye may take heed. And when thy LORD drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam,[s] and took them to witness against themselves, *saying*, Am not I your LORD? They answered, Yea: we do bear witness. *This was done* lest ye should say, at the day of resurrection, Verily we were negligent as to this *matter, because we were not apprised thereof*: or lest ye should say, Verily our fathers were formerly guilty of idolatry, and we are *their* posterity who have succeeded them; wilt thou therefore destroy us for that which vain men have committed? Thus do we explain *our* signs, that they may return *from their vanities*. And relate unto *the Jews* the history of him unto whom we brought our signs,[t] and he departed from them; wherefore Satan followed him,

[o] See chapter 5, p. 82, note g.

[p] By accepting of bribes for wresting judgment, and for corrupting the copies of the Pentateuch, and by extorting of usury, &c.[1]

[q] Particularly by giving out that GOD will forgive their corruption without sincere repentance and amendment.

[r] See chapter 2, p. 8, note s.

[s] This was done in the plain of Dahia in India, or, as others imagine, in a valley near Mecca. The commentators tell us that GOD stroked Adam's back, and extracted from his loins his whole posterity, which should come into the world until the resurrection, one generation after another; that these men were actually assembled all together in the shape of small ants, which were endued with understanding; and that after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence on GOD, they were again caused *to return into the loins of their great ancestor*.[2] From this fiction it appears that the doctrine of pre-existence is not unknown to the Mohammedans, and there is some little conformity between it and the modern theory of generation *ex animalculis in semine virorum*.

[t] Some suppose the person here intended to be a Jewish rabbi, or one Ommeya Ebn Abi'lsalt, who read the scriptures, and found thereby that GOD would send a prophet about that time, and was in hopes that he might be the man; but when Mohammed declared his mission, believed not on him through envy. But according to the more general opinion, it was Balaam, the son of Beor, of the Canaanitish race, well acquainted with part at least of the scripture, having even been favoured with some revelations from GOD; who being requested by his nation to curse Moses and the children of Israel, refused it at first, saying, *How can I curse those who are protected by the angels?* But afterwards he was prevailed on by gifts; and he had no sooner done it, than he began to put out his tongue like a dog, and it hung down upon his breast.[3]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya. Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 54.
[3] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari. Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Balaam.

and he became *one* of those who were seduced. And if we had pleased, we had surely raised him thereby *unto wisdom*; but he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own desire.[u] Wherefore his likeness is as the likeness of a dog, which, if thou drive him away, putteth forth his tongue, or, if thou let him alone, putteth forth his tongue *also*. This is the likeness of the people who accuse our signs of falsehood. Rehearse therefore *this* history *unto them*, that they may consider. Evil is the similitude of those people who accuse our signs of falsehood and injure their own souls. Whomsoever GOD shall direct, he *will be rightly* directed; and whomsoever he shall lead astray, they shall perish. Moreover we have created for hell many of the genii and of men; they have hearts by which they understand not, and they have eyes by which they see not, and they have ears by which they hear not. These are like the brute beasts; yea, they go more astray: these are the negligent. GOD hath most excellent names:[x] therefore call on him by the same; and withdraw from those who use his names perversely:[y] they shall be rewarded for that which they shall have wrought. And of those whom we have created there are a people who direct *others* with truth, and act justly according thereto.[z] But those who devise lies against our signs, we will suffer them to fall gradually into ruin, by a *method* which they know not:[a] and I will grant them to enjoy a long and prosperous life; for my stratagem is effectual. Do they not consider that there is no devil in their companion?[b] He is no other than a public preacher. Or do they not contemplate the kingdom of heaven and earth, and the things which GOD hath created, and *consider* that peradventure it may be that their end draweth nigh? And in what new declaration will they believe, after this?[c] He whom GOD shall cause to err, shall have no director; and he shall leave them in their impiety, wandering in confusion. They will ask thee concerning the *last* hour; at what time its coming is fixed? Answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with my LORD; none shall declare the fixed time thereof, except he. *The expectation thereof* is grievous in heaven and on earth;[d] it shall come upon you no otherwise than suddenly. They will ask thee, as though thou wast well acquainted therewith. Answer, Verily the knowledge

[u] Loving the wages of unrighteousness, and running greedily after error for reward.[4]

[x] Expressing his glorious attributes. Of these the Mohammedan Arabs have no less than ninety-nine, which are reckoned up by Marracci.[5]

[y] As did Walid Ebn al Mogheira, who hearing Mohammed give GOD the title of al Rahmân, or *the merciful*, laughed aloud, saying he knew none of that name, except a certain man who dwelt in Yamama;[1] or as the idolatrous Meccans did, who deduced the names of their idols from those of the true GOD, deriving, for example, Allât from Allah, al Uzza from al Aziz, *the mighty*, and Manât from al Mannân, *the bountiful*.[2]

[z] As it is said a little above that GOD hath created many to eternal misery, so here he is said to have created others to eternal happiness.[3]

[a] By flattering them with prosperity in this life, and permitting them to run in an uninterrupted security, till they find themselves unexpectedly ruined.[4]

[b] viz., in Mohammed, whom they gave out to be possessed when he went up to Mount Safâ, and from thence called to the several families of each respective tribe in order, to warn them of GOD's vengeance if they continued in their idolatry.[5]

[c] *i.e.*, After they have rejected the Korân. For what more evident revelation can they hereafter expect?[6]

[d] Not only to men and genii, but to the angels also.

[4] 2 Peter ii. 15, Jude 11. [5] In Alc. p. 414. [1] Marrac. Vit. Moh. p. 19. [2] Al Beidâwi. Jallalo'ddin. See the Prelim. Disc. p. –. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. [5] Idem. [6] Idem.

thereof is with GOD alone: but the greater part of men know it not. Say, I am able neither to procure advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief *from me*, but as GOD pleaseth. If I knew the secrets *of* GOD, I should surely enjoy abundance of good, neither should evil befall me. Verily I am no other than a denouncer of threats, and a messenger of good tidings unto people who believe. It is he who hath created you from one person, and out of him produced his wife, that he might dwell with her; and when he had known her, she carried a light burden *for a time*, wherefore she walked *easily* therewith. But when it became more heavy,[e] they called upon GOD, their LORD, *saying*, If thou give us *a child* rightly shaped, we will surely be thankful. Yet when he had given them *a child* rightly shaped, they attributed companions unto him, for that which he had given them.[f] But far be that from GOD, which they associated *with him*! Will they associate *with him false gods* which create nothing, but are themselves created; and can neither give them assistance, nor help themselves? And if ye invite them to the *true* direction, they will not follow you: it will be equal unto you, whether ye invite them, or whether ye hold your peace. Verily the *false deities* whom ye invoke besides GOD, are servants like unto you.[g] Call therefore upon them, and let them give you an answer, if ye speak truth. Have they feet, to walk with? Or have they hands, to lay hold with? Or have they eyes, to see with? Or have they ears, to hear with? Say, Call upon your companions, and then lay a snare for me, and defer *it* not, for GOD *is* my protector, who sent down the book *of the Korân*; and he protecteth the righteous. But they whom ye invoke besides him, cannot assist you, neither do they help themselves; and if ye call on them to direct you, they will not hear. Thou seest them look towards thee, but they see not. Use indulgence,[h] and

[e] That is, when the child grew bigger in her womb.

[f] For the explaining of this whole passage, the commentators tell the following story:—

They say, that when Eve was big with her first child, the devil came to her and asked her whether she knew what she carried within her, and which way she should be delivered of it, suggesting that possibly it might be a beast. She, being unable to give an answer to this question, went in a fright to Adam, and acquainted him with the matter, who, not knowing what to think of it, grew sad and pensive. Whereupon the devil appeared to her again (or, as others say, to Adam), and pretended that he by his prayers would obtain of GOD that she might be safely delivered of a son in Adam's likeness, provided they would promise to name him Abd'alhareth, or the *servant of al Hareth* (which was the devil's name among the angels), instead of Abd'allah, or *the servant of* GOD, as Adam had designed. This proposal was agreed to, and accordingly, when the child was born, they gave it that name, upon which it immediately died.[1] And with this Adam and Eve are here taxed, as an act of idolatry. The story looks like a rabbinical fiction, and seems to have no other foundation than Cain's being called by Moses Obed adâmah, that is, *a tiller of the ground*, which might be translated into Arabic by Abd'alhareth.

But al Beidâwi, thinking it unlikely that a prophet (as Adam is, by the Mohammedans, supposed to have been) should be guilty of such an action, imagines the Korân in this place means Kosai, one of Mohammed's ancestors, and his wife, who begged issue of GOD, and having four sons granted them, called their names Abd Menâf, Abd Shams, Abd al Uzza, and Abd al Dâr, after the names of four principal idols of the Koreish. And the following words also he supposes to relate to their idolatrous posterity.

[g] Being subject to the absolute command of GOD. For the chief idols of the Arabs were the sun, moon, and stars.[2]

[h] Or, as the words may also be translated, *Take the superabundant, or surplus*—meaning that Mohammed should accept such voluntary alms from the people as they could spare. But the passage, if taken in this sense, was abrogated by the precept of legal alms, which was given at Medina.

[1] Idem, Yahya. Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 437. et Selden de Jure Nat. Sec. Hebr. l. 5, c. 8.
[2] See the Prelim. Disc. p. [illegible]

command that which is just, and withdraw far from the ignorant. And if an evil suggestion from Satan be suggested unto thee, *to divert thee from thy duty*, have recourse unto GOD; for he heareth *and* knoweth. Verily they who fear GOD, when a temptation from Satan assaileth them, remember *the divine commands*, and behold, they clearly see *the danger of sin, and the wiles of the devil.* But as for the brethren *of the devils*, they shall continue them in error, and afterwards they shall not preserve themselves *therefrom.* And when thou bringest not a verse *of the Korân* unto them, they say, Hast thou not put it together?[i] Answer, I follow that only which is revealed unto me from my LORD. This *book containeth* evident proofs from your LORD, and *is* a direction and mercy unto people who believe. And when the Korân is read, attend thereto, and keep silence; that ye may obtain mercy. And meditate on thy LORD in thine own mind, with humility and fear, and without loud speaking, evening and morning; and be not *one* of the negligent. Moreover *the angels* who are with my LORD, do not proudly disdain his service, but they celebrate his praise and worship him.

CHAPTER VIII

ENTITLED, THE SPOILS,[k] REVEALED AT MEDINA.[l]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THEY will ask thee concerning the spoils: Answer, The *division of the* spoils *belongeth* unto God and the apostle.[m] Therefore fear GOD, and compose the matter amicably among you and obey GOD and his apostle, if ye are true believers. Verily the true believers *are those* whose hearts fear when GOD is mentioned, and whose faith increaseth when his signs are rehearsed unto them, and *who* trust in

[i] *i.e.*, Hast thou not yet contrived what to say; or canst thou obtain no revelation from GOD?

[k] This chapter was occasioned by the high disputes which happened about the division of the spoils taken at the battle of Bedr,[1] between the young men who had fought, and the old men who had stayed under the ensigns; the former insisting they ought to have the whole, and the latter that they deserved a share.[2] To end the contention Mohammed pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty among them equally, having first taken thereout a fifth part for the purposes which will be mentioned hereafter.

[l] Except seven verses, beginning at these words, *And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee*, &c. Which some think were revealed at Mecca.

[m] It is related that Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, one of the companions, whose brother Omair was slain in this battle, having killed Said Ebn al As, took his sword, and carrying it to Mohammed, desired that he might be permitted to keep it; but the prophet told him that it was not his to give away, and ordered him to lay it with the other spoils. At this repulse, and the loss of his brother, Saad was greatly disturbed; but in a very little while this chapter was revealed, and thereupon Mohammed gave him the sword, saying, You asked this sword of me when I had no power to dispose of it, but now I have received authority from GOD to distribute the spoils you may take it.[3]

[1] See cap. 2. p. 33. [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [3] Al Beidâwi.

their LORD; who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms out of that which we have bestowed on them. These are really believers: they shall have *superior* degrees of *felicity* with their LORD, and forgiveness, and an honourable provision. As thy LORD brought thee forth from thy house[n] with truth; and part of the believers were averse *to thy directions*:[o] they disputed with thee concerning the truth, after it had been made known unto them,[p] no otherwise than as if they had been led forth to death, and had seen *it with their eyes*.[q] And *call to mind* when GOD promised you one of the two parties, that it should be *delivered* unto you;[r] and ye desired that the *party* which was not furnished with arms[s] should be *delivered* unto you; but GOD purposed to make known the truth in his words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers,[t] that he might verify the truth, and destroy falsehood, although the wicked were averse *thereto*. When ye asked assistance of your LORD,[u] and he answered you, Verily I will assist

[n] *i.e.*, From Medina. The particle *as* having nothing in the following words to answer it, al Beidâwi supposes the connection to be that the division of the spoils belonged to the prophet, notwithstanding his followers were averse to it, as they had been averse to the expedition itself.

[o] For the better understanding of this passage, it will be necessary to mention some further particulars relating to the expedition of Bedr.

Mohammed having received private information (for which he pretended he was obliged to the angel Gabriel) of the approach of a caravan belonging to the Koreish, which was on its return from Syria with a large quantity of valuable merchandise, and was guarded by no more than thirty, or, as others say, forty men, set out with a party to intercept it. Abu Sofiân, who commanded the little convoy, having notice of Mohammed's motions, sent to Mecca for succours; upon which Abu Jahl, and all the principal men of the city, except only Abu Laheb, marched to his assistance, with a body of nine hundred and fifty men. Mohammed had no sooner received advice of this, than Gabriel descended with a promise that he should either take the caravan or beat the succours; whereupon he consulted with his companions which of the two he should attack. Some of them were for setting upon the caravan, saying that they were not prepared to fight such a body of troops as were coming with Abu Jahl: but this proposal Mohammed rejected, telling them that the caravan was at a considerable distance by the seaside, whereas Abu Jahl was just upon them. The others, however, insisted so obstinately on pursuing the first design of falling on the caravan, that the prophet grew angry, but by the interposition of Abu Becr, Omar, Saad Ebn Obadah, and Mokdâd Ebn Amru, they at length acquiesced in his opinion. Mokdâd in particular assured him they were all ready to obey his orders, and would not say to him, as the children of Israel did to Moses, *Go thou and thy* LORD *to fight, for we will sit here*;[1] but, *Go thou and thy* LORD *to fight, and we will fight with you*. At this Mohammed smiled, and again sat down to consult with them, applying himself chiefly to the Ansârs or *helpers*, because they were the greater part of his forces, and he had some apprehension lest they should not think themselves obliged by the oath they had taken to him at al Akaba,[2] to assist him against any other than such as should attack him in Medina. But Saad Ebn Moâdh, in the name of the rest, told him that they had received him as the apostle of GOD, and had promised him obedience, and were therefore all to a man ready to follow him where he pleased, though it were into the sea. Upon which the prophet ordered them in GOD's name to attack the succours, assuring them of the victory.[3]

[p] That is, concerning their success against Abu Jahl and the Koreish; notwithstanding they had GOD's promise to encourage them.

[q] The reason of this great backwardness was the smallness of their number, in comparison of the enemy, and their being unprepared; for they were all foot, having but two horses among them, whereas the Koreish had no less than a hundred horse.[4]

[r] That is, either the caravan or the succours from Mecca. Father Marracci mistaking *al îr* and *al nafîr*, which are appellatives and signify *the caravan* and *the troop* or body of succours, for proper names, has thence coined two families of the Koreish never heard of before, which he calls Airenses and Naphirenses.[5]

[s] *viz.*, The caravan, which was guarded by no more than forty horse, whereas the other party was strong and well appointed.

[t] As if he had said, Your view was only to gain the spoils of the caravan, and to avoid danger; but God designed to exalt his true religion by extirpating its adversaries.[6]

[u] When Mohammed's men saw they could not avoid fighting, they recommended themselves

[1] Kor. c. 5, p. 76. [2] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 37. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 56. [5] Marracc. in Alc. p. 297. [6] Al Beidâwi.

you with a thousand[x] angels, following one another *in order.* And this GOD designed only as good tidings[y] for you, and that your hearts might thereby rest secure: for victory *is* from GOD alone; and GOD is mighty *and* wise. When a sleep fell on you as a security from him, and he sent down upon you water from heaven, that he might thereby purify you, and take from you the abomination of Satan,[z] and that he might confirm your hearts, and establish *your* feet thereby. *Also* when thy LORD spake unto the angels, *saying*, Verily I am with you; wherefore confirm those who believe. I will cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike off *their* heads, and strike off all the ends of their *fingers*.[a] This *shall they suffer*, because they have resisted GOD and his apostle: and whosoever shall oppose GOD and his apostle, verily GOD *will be* severe in punishing *him*. This *shall be your punishment*; taste it therefore: and the infidels shall *also* suffer the torment of *hell* fire. O true believers, when ye meet the unbelievers marching *in great numbers against you*, turn not *your* backs unto them: for whoso shall turn his back unto them on that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to *another* party *of the faithful*,[b] shall draw on himself the indignation of GOD, and his abode shall be hell; an ill journey *shall it be thither!* And ye slew not those *who were slain at Bedr yourselves*, but GOD slew them.[c] Neither didst thou, *O Mohammed*, cast *the gravel into their eyes*, when thou didst *seem to* cast *it*; but GOD cast *it*,[d] that he might prove the true believers by a gracious trial from himself; for GOD heareth *and* knoweth. This *was done* that GOD might also weaken the crafty devices of the unbelievers. If ye desire a decision *of the matter between us*, now hath a decision come unto you.[e] and if ye desist *from opposing the apostle*, it *will be* better for you. But if ye return *to attack him*, we will also return *to his assistance*; and your forces shall not be of advantage unto

to GOD's protection; and their prophet prayed with great earnestness, crying out, *O* GOD, *fulfil that which thou hast promised me O* GOD, *if this party be cut off, thou wilt no more be worshipped on earth.* And he continued to repeat these words till his cloak fell from off his back[7]

[x] Which were afterwards reinforced with three thousand more[8] Wherefore some copies instead of a *thousand*, read *thousands* in the plural

[y] See chap 3, p 45

[z] It is related, that the spot where Mohammed's little army lay was a dry and deep sand, into which their feet sank as they walked, the enemy having the command of the water, and that having fallen asleep, the greater part of them were disturbed with dreams, wherein the devil suggested to them that they could never expect GOD's assistance in the battle, since they were cut off from the water, and besides suffering the inconvenience of thirst, must be obliged to pray without washing, though they imagined themselves to be the favourites of GOD, and that they had his apostle among them But in the night rain fell so plentifully that it formed a little brook, and not only supplied them with water for all their uses, but made the sand between them and the infidel army firm enough to bear them, whereupon the diabolical suggestions ceased[1]

[a] This is the punishment expressly assigned the enemies of the Mohammedan religion, though the Moslems did not inflict it on the prisoners they took at Bedr, for which they are reprehended in this chapter.

[b] That is, if it be not downright running away, but done either with design to rally and attack the enemy again, or by way of feint or stratagem, or to succour a party which is hard pressed, &c.[9]

[c] See c 3, p 32, note [n].

[d] See ibid

[e] These words are directed to the people of Mecca, whom Mohammed derides, because the

[7] Idem Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moh p 58 [8] See cap 3, p 33 and 45 [1] Al Beidâwi.
[9] Idem.

you at all, although they be numerous; for GOD is with the faithful. O true believers, obey GOD and his apostle, and turn not back from him, since ye hear *the admonitions of the Korân* And be not as those who say, We hear, when they do not hear Verily the worst *sort of* beasts in the sight of GOD, are the deaf *and* the dumb, who understand not If GOD had known any good in them, he would certainly have caused them to hear [f] and if he had caused them to hear, they would surely have turned back, and have retired afar off. O true believers, answer GOD and *his* apostle, when he inviteth you unto that which giveth you life, and know that GOD goeth between a man and his heart,[g] and that before him ye shall be assembled Beware of sedition;[h] it will not affect those who are ungodly among you particularly, *but all of you in general,* and know that GOD is severe in punishing And remember when ye were few, *and* reputed weak in the land;[i] ye feared lest men should snatch you away, but *God* provided you a place of refuge, and he strengthened you with his assistance, and bestowed on you good things, that ye might give thanks O true believers, deceive not GOD and *his* apostle;[k] neither violate your faith, against your own knowledge And know that your wealth, and your children *are* a temptation *unto you*;[l] and that with GOD is a great reward O true believers, if ye fear GOD, he will grant you a distinction,[m] and will expiate your sins from you, and will forgive you; for GOD is endued with great liberality. And *call to mind* when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might either detain thee *in bonds*, or put thee to death, or expel thee *the city*,[n] and they plotted

Koreish, when they were ready to set out from Mecca took hold of the curtains of the Caaba, saying, O GOD *grant the victory to the superior army, the party that is most rightly directed, and the most honourable*[1]

[f] That is, to hearken to the remonstrances of the Korân Some say that the infidels demanded of Mohammed that he should raise Kosai, one of his ancestors, to life, to bear witness to the truth of his mission, saying he was a man of honour and veracity, and they would believe his testimony but they are here told that it would have been in vain[2]

[g] Not only knowing the innermost secrets of his heart, but overruling a man's designs, and *disposing him either to belief or infidelity*

[h] The original word signifies any epidemical crime, which involves a number of people in its guilt, and the commentators are divided as to its particular meaning in this place

[i] *viz. At Mecca The persons here spoken to are the Mohajerin or refugees who fled from* thence to Medina

[k] Al Beidawi mentions an instance of such treacherous dealing in Abu Lobâba, who was sent by Mohammed to the tribe of Koreidha, then besieged by that prophet for having broken their league with him and perfidiously gone over to the enemies at the war of the ditch,[3] to persuade them to surrender at the discretion of Saad Ebn Moadh, prince of the tribe of Aws, their confederates, which proposal they had refused But Abu Lobâba's family and effects being in the hands of those of Koreidha, he acted directly contrary to his commission, and instead of persuading them to accept Saad as their judge, when they asked his advice about it, drew his hand across his throat, signifying that he would put them all to death However, he had no sooner done this than he was sensible of his crime, and going into a mosque, tied himself to a pillar, and remained there seven days without meat or drink, till Mohammed forgave him

[l] As they were to Abu Lobâba

[m] *i e*, A direction that you may distinguish between truth and falsehood; or success in battle to distinguish the believers from the infidels, or the like

[n] When the Meccans heard of the league entered into by Mohammed with those of Medina, being apprehensive of the consequence, they held a council, whereat they say the devil assisted in the likeness of an old man of Najd The point under consideration being what they should do with Mohammed, Abu'lbakhtari was of opinion that he should be imprisoned, and the

[1] Idem [2] Idem. See c 6, p 99 [3] See Prid Life of Mah p 85 Abulf Vit Moh p 76, and the notes to c 33.

against thee: but GOD laid a plot *against them*;[o] and GOD is the best layer of plots. And when our signs are repeated unto them, they say, We have heard; if we pleased we could certainly pronounce a *composition* like unto this: this is nothing but fables of the ancients.[p] And when they said, O GOD, if this be the truth from thee, rain down stones upon us from heaven, or inflict on us some *other* grievous punishment.[r] But GOD was not *disposed* to punish them, while thou wast with them; nor was GOD *disposed* to punish them when they asked pardon.[s] But they have nothing *to offer in excuse* why GOD should not punish them, since they hindered *the believers* from *visiting* the holy temple,[t] although they are not the guardians thereof.[u] The guardians thereof are those only who fear *God*, but the greater part of them know it not. And their prayer at the house *of God* is no other than whistling and clapping of the hands.[x] Taste therefore the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers. They who believe not, expend their wealth to obstruct the way of GOD:[y] they shall expend it, but afterwards it shall become *matter of* sighing *and regret* unto them, and at length they shall be overcome, and the unbelievers shall be gathered together into hell; that GOD may distinguish the wicked from the good, and may throw the wicked one upon the other, and may gather them all in a heap, and cast them into hell. These are they who shall perish. Say unto the unbelievers, that if they desist *from opposing thee*, what is already past shall be forgiven them; but if they return *to attack thee*, the exemplary punishment of the former *opposers of the prophets* is already past, *and the like shall be inflicted on them*. Therefore fight against them until there be no opposition *in favour of idolatry*, and the religion be wholly GOD'S. If they desist, verily GOD seeth that which they do: but if

room walled up, except a little hole, through which he should have necessaries given him, till he died. This the devil opposed, saying that he might probably be released by some of his own party. Hesham Ebn Amru was for banishing him; but his advice also the devil rejected, insisting that Mohammed might engage some other tribes in his interest, and make war on them. At length Abu Jahl gave his opinion for putting him to death, and proposed the manner, which was unanimously approved.[1]

[o] Revealing their conspiracy to Mohammed, and miraculously assisting him to deceive them and make his escape,[2] and afterwards drawing them to the battle of Bedr.

[p] See chapter 6, p. 90.

[r] This was the speech of Al Nodar Ebn al Hareth.[3]

[s] Saying, GOD *forgive us!* Some of the commentators, however, suppose the persons who asked pardon were certain believers who stayed among the infidels; and others think the meaning to be, that GOD would not punish them, *provided they asked pardon*.

[t] Obliging them to fly from Mecca, and not permitting them so much as to approach the temple, in the expedition of al Hodeibiya.[4]

[u] Because of their idolatry and indecent deportment there. For otherwise the Koreish had a right to the guardianship of the Caaba, and it was continued in their tribe and in the same family even after the taking of Mecca.[5]

[x] It is said that they used to go round the Caaba naked,[6] both men and women, whistling at the same time through their fingers, and clapping their hands. Or, as others say, they made this noise on purpose to disturb Mohammed when at his prayers, pretending to be at prayers also themselves.[7]

[y] The persons particularly meant in this passage were twelve of the Koreish, who gave each of them ten camels every day to be killed for provisions for their army in the expedition of Bedr; or, according to others, the owners of the effects brought by the caravan, who gave great part of them to the support of the succours from Mecca. It is also said that Abu Sofián, in the expedition of Ohod, hired two thousand Arabs, who cost him a considerable sum, besides the auxiliaries which he had obtained *gratis*.[8]

[1] Al Beidâwi. See the Prelim. Disc. p. 30. [2] See ibid. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 41. [5] See c. 4, p. 60, note x. [6] See c. 7, p. 107. [7] Al Beidâwi. [8] Idem.

they turn back, know that GOD is your patron; *he is* the best patron and the best helper. (X.) And know that whenever ye gain any *spoils* a fifth part thereof belongeth unto GOD, and to the apostle, and *his* kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller;[a] if ye believe in GOD, and that which we have sent down unto our servant on the day of distinction,[a] on the day whereon the two armies met and GOD is almighty. When ye were *encamped* on the hithermost side of the valley,[b] and they were *encamped* on the further side, and the caravan *was* below you;[c] and if ye had mutually appointed *to come to a battle*, ye would certainly have declined the appointment;[d] but *ye were brought to an engagement without any previous appointment*, that GOD might accomplish the thing which was *decreed to be* done,[e] that he who perisheth *hereafter* may perish after demonstrative evidence, and that he who liveth may live by *the same* evidence; GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth When thy LORD caused *the enemy* to appear unto thee in thy sleep, few *in number*,[f] and if he had caused them to appear numerous unto thee, ye would have been disheartened and would have disputed concerning the matter[g] but GOD preserved *you from this*; for he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts *of men*. And when he caused them to appear unto you, when ye met, *to be* few in your eyes,[h] and diminished your *numbers* in their eyes,[i] that GOD might accomplish the thing which *was decreed to be* done, and unto GOD shall *all* things return. O true believers, when ye meet a party *of the infidels*, stand firm, and remember GOD frequently, that ye may prosper: and obey GOD and his apostle, and be not refractory, lest ye be discouraged, and your success depart from you; but persevere with patience, for GOD *is* with those who persevere And be not as those who went out of their houses in an insolent manner, and to appear with ostentation unto men,[k] and

[a] According to this law, a fifth part of the spoils is appropriated to the particular uses here mentioned, and the other four-fifths are to be equally divided among those who were present at the action but in what manner or to whom the first fifth is to be distributed, the Mohammedan doctors differ, as we have elsewhere observed[1] Though it be the general opinion that this verse was revealed at Bedr, yet there are some who suppose it was revealed in the expedition against the Jewish tribe of Kainokâ, which happened a little above a month after[2]

[a] *i e*, Of the battle of Bedr; which is so called because it *distinguished* the true believers from the infidels

[b] Which was much more inconvenient than the other, because of the deep sand and want of water

[c] By the seaside, making the best of their way to Mecca

[d] Because of the great superiority of the enemy, and the disadvantages ye lay under

[e] By granting a miraculous victory to the faithful, and overthrowing their enemies, for the conviction of the latter, and the confirmation of the former[3]

[f] With which vision Mohammed acquainted his companions for their encouragement

[g] Whether ye should attack the enemy or fly

[h] It is said that Ebn Masúd asked the man who was next him whether he did not see them to be about seventy, to which he replied that he took them to be a hundred[4]

[i] This seeming contradictory to a passage in the third chapter,[5] where it is said that the Moslems appeared to the infidels to be twice their own number, the commentators reconcile the matter by telling us that, just before the battle began, the prophet's party seemed fewer than they really were, to draw the enemy to an engagement, but that so soon as the armies were fully engaged, they appeared superior, to terrify and dismay their adversaries It is related that Abu Jahl at first thought them so inconsiderable a handful, that he said one camel would be as much as they could all eat[6]

[k] These were the Meccans, who, marching to the assistance of the carava , and being come as far as Johfa, were there met by a messenger from Abu Sofiân, to acquaint them that he

[1] See the Prelim Disc Sect VI [2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem [4] Idem [5] Page 33
[6] Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin, Yahya

turned aside from the way of GOD; for GOD comprehendeth that which they do. And *remember* when Satan prepared their works for them,[l] and said, No man shall prevail against you to-day; and I will surely be near *to assist* you. But when the two armies appeared in sight of each other, he turned back on his heels, and said, Verily I am clear of you: I certainly see that which ye see not; I fear GOD, for GOD is severe in punishing[m] When the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts *there was* an infirmity, said, Their religion hath deceived these *men*:[n] but whosoever confideth in GOD *cannot be deceived;* for GOD *is* mighty *and* wise. ☪ And if thou didst behold when the angels cause the unbelievers to die: they strike their faces and their backs,[o] and *say unto them,* Taste ye the pain of burning: this *shall ye suffer* for that which your hands have sent before you,[p] and because GOD is not unjust towards *his* servants. *These have acted* according to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them, who disbelieved in the signs of GOD therefore GOD took them away in their iniquity; for GOD *is* mighty, *and* severe in punishing This *hath come to pass* because GOD changeth not *his* grace, wherewith he hath favoured any people, until they change that which is in their souls; and for that GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth. According to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them, who charged the signs of their LORD with imposture, *have they acted* wherefore we destroyed them in their sins, and we drowned the people of Pharaoh, for they were all unjust persons. Verily the worst cattle in the sight of GOD are those who are *obstinate* infidels, and will not believe. As to those who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league at every

thought himself out of danger, and therefore they might return home, upon which, Abu Jahl, to give the greater opinion of the courage of himself and his comrades, and of their readiness *to assist their friends,* swore that they would not return till they had been at Bedr, and had there drunk wine and entertained those who should be present, and diverted themselves with singing women.[1] The event of which bravado was very fatal, several of the principal Koreish, and Abu Jahl in particular, losing their lives in the expedition.

[l] By inciting them to oppose the prophet

[m] Some understand this passage figuratively, of the private instigation of the devil, and of the defeating of his designs and the hopes with which he had inspired the idolaters. But others take the whole literally, and tell us that when the Koreish, on their march, bethought themselves of the enmity between them and the tribe of Kenâna, who were masters of the country about Bedr, that consideration would have prevailed on them to return, had not the devil appeared in the likeness of Sorâka Ebn Malec, a principal person of that tribe, and promised them that they should not be molested, and that himself would go with them. But when they came to join battle, and the devil saw the angels descending to the assistance of the Moslems, he retired; and al Hareth Ebn Heshâm, who had him then by the hand, asking him whither he was going, and if he intended to betray them at such a juncture, he answered, in the words of this passage *I am clear of you, for I see that which ye see not,* meaning the celestial succours They say further, that when the Koreish, on their return, laid the blame of their overthrow on Sorâka, he swore that he did not so much as know of their march till he heard they were routed and afterwards, when they embraced Mohammedism, they were satisfied it was the devil[2]

[n] In tempting them to so great a piece of folly, as to attack so large a body of men with such a handful

[o] This passage is generally understood of the angels who slew the infidels at Bedr, and who fought (as the commentators pretend) with iron maces, which shot forth flames of fire at every stroke[3] Some, however, imagine that the words hint, at least, at the examination of the sepulchre, which the Mohammedans believe every man must undergo after death, and will be very terrible to the unbelievers.[4]

[p] See chapter 2, p. 11, note [r]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [3] Idem. [4] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV

convenient opportunity,[q] and fear not GOD; if thou take them in war, disperse, by *making* them *an example*, those *who shall come* after them, that they may be warned; or if thou apprehend treachery from any people, throw back *their league* unto them, with like treatment; for GOD loveth not the treacherous. And think not[r] that the unbelievers have escaped GOD'S *vengeance*,[s] for they shall not weaken *the power of* GOD. Therefore prepare against them what force ye are able, and troops of horse, whereby ye may strike a terror into the enemy of GOD, and your enemy, and into other *infidels* besides them, whom ye know not, *but* GOD knoweth them. And whatsoever ye shall expend in the defence of the religion of GOD, it shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly. And if they incline unto peace, do thou *also* incline thereto, and put thy confidence in GOD, for it is he who heareth *and* knoweth. But if they seek to deceive thee, verily GOD *will be* thy support. It is he who hath strengthened thee with his help, and with *that of* the faithful; and hath united their hearts. If thou hadst expended whatever *riches are* in the earth, thou couldst not have united their hearts,[t] but GOD united them, for he *is* mighty *and* wise. O prophet, GOD is thy support, and such of the true believers who followeth thee.[u] O prophet, stir up the faithful to war. if twenty of you persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred, and if there be one hundred of you, they shall overcome a thousand of those who believe not, because they are a people which do not understand. Now hath GOD eased you, for he knew that ye were weak. If there be a hundred of you who persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred; and if there be a thousand of you, they shall overcome two thousand,[x] by the permission of GOD; for GOD is with those who persevere. It hath not been *granted* unto any prophet, that he should possess captives, until he had made a great slaughter *of the infidels* in the earth.[y] Ye seek the accidental *goods* of this world, but GOD regardeth the life to come, and GOD *is* mighty *and* wise. Unless a revelation had been previously delivered from GOD, verily a severe punishment had been inflicted on you, for *the ransom* which ye took *from the captives at Bedr*.[z] Eat therefore of what ye have acquir-

[q] As did the tribe of Koreidha.[1]

[r] Some copies read it in the third person, *Let not the unbelievers think*, &c.

[s] viz., Those who made their escape from Bedr.

[t] Because of the inveterate enmity which reigned among many of the Arab tribes, and therefore this reconciliation is reckoned by the commentators as no inconsiderable miracle, and a strong proof of their prophet's mission.

[u] This passage, as some say, was revealed in a plain called al Beidâ, between Mecca and Medina, during the expedition of Bedr, and, as others, in the sixth year of the prophet's mission, on the occasion of Omar's embracing Mohammedism.

[x] See Levit. xxvi. 8, Josh. xxiii. 10.

[y] Because severity ought to be used where circumstances require it, though clemency be more preferable where it may be exercised with safety. While the Mohammedans, therefore, were weak, and their religion in its infancy, GOD'S pleasure was that the opposers of it should be cut off, as is particularly directed in this chapter. For which reason, they are here upbraided with their preferring the lucre of the ransom to their duty.

[z] That is, had not the ransom been, in strictness, lawful for you to accept, by GOD'S having in general terms allowed you the spoil and the captives, ye had been severely punished.

Among the seventy prisoners which the Moslems took in this battle were Al Abbâs, one of Mohammed's uncles, and Okail, the son of Abu Tâleb and brother of Ali. When they were brought before Mohammed, he asking the advice of his companions what should be done with

[1] See before, p. 128, and c. 33.

ed,[a] *that which is* lawful *and* good; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. O prophet, say unto the captives who are in your hands, If GOD shall know any good *to be* in your hearts, he will give you better than what hath been taken from you;[b] and he will forgive you, for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. But if they seek to deceive thee,[c] verily they have deceived GOD before, wherefore he hath given *thee* power over them. and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. Moreover they who have believed, and have fled their country, and employed their substance and their persons in fighting for the religion of GOD, and they who have given *the prophet* a refuge *among them*, and have assisted *him*, these *shall be deemed* the one nearest of kin to the other.[d] But they who have believed, but have not fled their country, shall have no *right of* kindred at all with you, until they *also* fly. Yet if they ask assistance of you on account of religion, *it belongeth* unto you *to give them* assistance; except against a people between whom and yourselves *there shall be* a league *subsisting*. and GOD seeth that which ye do. And as to the infidels, let them be *deemed* of kin the one to the other. Unless ye do this, there will be a sedition in the earth, and grievous corruption. But as for them who have believed, and left their country, and have fought for GOD'S true religion, and who have allowed *the prophet* a retreat *among* them, and have assisted *him*, these are really believers: they shall receive mercy, and an honourable provision. And they who

them, Abu Becr was for releasing them on their paying ransom, saying, that they were near relations to the prophet, and GOD might possibly forgive them on their repentance; but Omar was for striking off their heads, as professed patrons of infidelity. Mohammed did not approve of the latter advice, but observed that Abu Becr resembled Abraham, who interceded for offenders, and that Omar was like Noah, who prayed for the utter extirpation of the wicked antediluvians, and thereupon it was agreed to accept a ransom from them and their fellow-captives. Soon after which, Omar, going into the prophet's tent found him and Abu Becr weeping, and, asking them the reason of their tears, Mohammed acquainted him that this verse had been revealed, condemning their ill-timed lenity towards their prisoners, and that they had narrowly escaped the divine vengeance for it, adding that, if GOD had not passed the matter over, they had certainly been destroyed to a man, excepting only Omar and Saad Ebn Moadh, a person of as great severity, and who was also for putting the prisoners to death.[1] Yet did not this crime go absolutely unpunished neither: for in the battle of Ohod the Moslems lost seventy men, equal to the number of prisoners taken at Bedr,[2] which was so ordered by GOD, as a retaliation or atonement for the same.

[a] *i.e.*, Of the ransom which ye have received of your prisoners. For it seems, on this rebuke, they had some scruple of conscience whether they might convert it to their own use or not.[3]

[b] That is, if ye repent and believe, GOD will make you abundant retribution for the ransom ye have now paid. It is said that this passage was revealed on the particular account of al Abbâs, who, being obliged by Mohammed, though his uncle, to ransom both himself and his two nephews, Okail and Nawfal Ebn al Hareth, complained that he should be reduced to beg alms of the Koreish as long as he lived. Whereupon Mohammed asked him what was become of the gold which he delivered to Omm al Fadl when he left Mecca, telling her that he knew not what might befall him in the expedition, and therefore, if he lost his life, she might keep it herself for the use of her and her children? Al Abbâs demanded who told him this, to which Mohammed replied that GOD had revealed it to him. And upon this al Abbâs immediately professed Islâmism, declaring that none could know of that affair except GOD, because he gave her the money at midnight. Some years after, al Abbâs reflecting on this passage, confessed it to be fulfilled, for he was then not only possessed of a large substance, but had the custody of the well Zemzem, which, he said, he preferred to all the riches of Mecca.[4]

[c] By not paying the ransom agreed on.

[d] And shall consequently inherit one another's substance, preferably to their relations by blood. And this they say, was practised for some time, the Mohâjerin and Ansârs being judged heirs to one another, exclusive of the deceased's other kindred, till this passage was abrogated by the following: *Those who are related by blood shall be deemed the nearest of kin to each other.*

[1] Idem. [2] See c. 3, p. 46. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Abbâs.

have believed since, and have fled their country, and have fought with you, these *also* are of you. And those who are related by consanguinity *shall be deemed* the nearest of kin to each other, *preferably to strangers*, according to the book of GOD; GOD knoweth all things.

CHAPTER IX.

ENTITLED, THE DECLARATION OF IMMUNITY;[e] REVEALED AT MEDINA.

A DECLARATION of immunity from GOD and his apostle, unto the idolaters with whom ye have entered into league.[f] Go to and fro in the earth *securely* four months;[g] and know that ye shall not weaken GOD, and that GOD will disgrace the unbelievers. And a declaration from GOD and his apostle unto the people, on the day of the greater pilgrimage,[h] that GOD is clear of the idolaters, and his

[e] The reason why the chapter had this title appears from the first verse Some, however, give it other titles, and particularly that of *Repentance*, which is mentioned immediately after It is observable that this chapter alone has not the auspiciatory form, *In the name of the most merciful* GOD, prefixed to it, the reason of which omission, as some think, was, because these words imply a concession of security, which is utterly taken away by this chapter, after a fixed time, wherefore some have called it the chapter of *Punishment*, others say that Mohammed (who died soon after he had received this chapter), having given no direction where it should be placed, nor for the prefixing the Bismillah to it, as had been done to the other chapters, and the argument of this chapter bearing a near resemblance to that of the preceding, his companions differed about it, some saying that both chapters were but one, and together made the seventh of the seven long ones, and others that they were two distinct chapters; whereupon, to accommodate the dispute, they left a space between them, but did not interpose the distinction of the Bismillah [1]

It is agreed that this chapter was the last which was revealed; and the only one, as Mohammed declared, which was revealed entire and at once, except the hundred and tenth

Some will have the two last verses to have been revealed at Mecca

[f] Some understand this sentence of the *immunity* or *security* therein granted to the infidels for the space of four months; but others think that the words properly signify that Mohammed is here declared by GOD to be absolutely *free* and *discharged* from all truce or league with them, after the expiration of that time,[2] and this last seems to be the truest interpretation

Mohammed's thus renouncing all league with those who would not receive him as the apostle of GOD, or submit to become tributary, was the consequence of the great power to which he was now arrived But the pretext he made use of was the treachery he had met with among the Jewish and idolatrous Arabs—scarce any keeping faith with him, except Banu Damra, Banu Kenâna, and a few others [3]

[g] These months were Shawâl, Dhu'lkaada, Dhu'lhajja, and Moharram, the chapter being revealed in Shawâl Yet others compute them from the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, when the chapter was published at Mecca, and consequently make them expire on the tenth of the former Rabi [4]

[h] viz, The tenth of Dhu'lhajja, when they slay the victims at Mina; which day is their great feast, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage Some suppose the adjective *greater* is added here to distinguish the pilgrimage made at the appointed time from *lesser pilgrimages*, as they may be called, or *visitations* of the Caaba, which may be performed at any time of the year, or else because the concourse at the pilgrimage this year was greater than ordinary, both Moslems and idolaters being present at it.

The promulgation of this chapter was committed by Mohammed to Ali, who rode for that purpose on the prophet's slit-eared camel from Medina to Mecca; and on the day above mentioned, standing up before the whole assembly at al Akaba, told them that he was the

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, &c. [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Idem, al Zamakah., Jallalo'ddin.

apostle *also*. Wherefore if ye repent, this will be better for you; but if ye turn back, know that ye shall not weaken GOD, and denounce unto those who believe not, a painful punishment. Except such of the idolaters with whom ye shall have entered into a league, and who afterwards shall not fail you in any instance, nor assist any *other* against you.[i] Wherefore perform the covenant *which ye shall have made* with them, until their time *shall be elapsed*, for GOD loveth those who fear *him*. And when the months *wherein ye are* not allowed *to attack them* shall be past, kill the idolaters wheresoever ye shall find them,[k] and take them *prisoners*, and besiege them, and lay wait for them in every convenient place. But if they shall repent, and observe the appointed times of prayer, and pay the legal alms, dismiss them freely; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. And if any of the idolaters shall demand protection of thee, grant him protection, that he may hear the word of GOD, and afterwards let him reach the place of his security.[l] This *shalt thou do*, because they are people which know not *the excellency of the religion thou preachest*. How shall the idolaters be admitted into a league with GOD and with his apostle; except those with whom ye entered into a league at the holy temple?[m] So long as they behave with fidelity towards you, do ye *also* behave with fidelity towards them; for GOD loveth those who fear *him*. How *can they be admitted into a league with you*, since, if they prevail against you, they will not regard in you *either* consanguinity or faith? They will please you with their mouths, but their hearts will be averse *from you*, for the greater part of them are wicked doers. They sell the signs of GOD for a small price, and obstruct his way; it is certainly evil which they do. They regard not in a believer *either* consanguinity or faith; and these are the transgressors. Yet if they repent, and observe the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, *they shall be deemed* your brethren in religion. We distinctly propound *our* signs unto people who understand. But if they violate their oaths, after their league, and revile your religion, oppose the leaders of infidelity (for there is no trust in them), that they may desist *from their treachery*. Will ye not fight against people who have violated their oaths, and conspired to expel the apostle *of God*, and who of their own accord assaulted you the first time?[n] Will ye fear them? But it is more just that ye should fear GOD, if ye are true believers. Attack them *therefore*; GOD shall punish them by your

messenger of the apostle of GOD unto them. Whereupon they asking him what was his errand, he read twenty or thirty verses of the chapter to them, and then said, *I am commanded to acquaint you with four things*: 1. *That no idolater is to come near the temple of Mecca after this year*; 2. *That no man presume to compass the Caaba naked for the future*;[5] 3. *That none but true believers shall enter paradise*; and 4. *That public faith is to be kept*.[6]

[i] So that notwithstanding Mohammed renounces all league with those who had deceived him, he declares himself ready to perform his engagements to such as had been true to him.

[k] Either within or without the sacred territory.

[l] That is, you shall give him a safe-conduct, that he may return home again securely, in case he shall not think fit to embrace Mohammedism.

[m] These are the persons before excepted.

[n] As did the Koreish in assisting the tribe of Becr against those of Khozâah,[7] and laying a design to ruin Mohammed, without any just provocation; and as several of the Jewish tribes did, by aiding the enemy, and endeavouring to oblige the prophet to leave Medina, as he had been obliged to leave Mecca.[8]

[5] See before, cap. 7, p. 107.
[6] Al Beidâwi. Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 129. &c.
[7] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 42.
[8] Al Beidâwi.

hands, and will cover them with shame, and will give you the victory over them; and he will heal the breasts of the people who believe,[o] and will take away the indignation of their hearts. for GOD will be turned unto whom he pleaseth; and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. Did ye imagine that ye should be abandoned, whereas GOD did not yet know those among you who sought *for his religion*, and took not *any* besides GOD, and his apostle, and the faithful *for their* friends? GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. It is not *fitting* that the idolaters should visit the temples of GOD, being witnesses against their own souls of *their* infidelity. The works of these *men* are vain, and they shall remain in *hell* fire for ever. But he only shall visit the temples of GOD, who believeth in GOD and the last day, and is constant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth GOD alone. These perhaps may become of *the number of* those who are rightly directed.[p] Do ye reckon the giving drink to the pilgrims, and the visiting of the holy temple, *to be actions as meritorious as those performed by* him who believeth in GOD and the last day, and fighteth for the religion of GOD?[q] They shall not be held equal with GOD: for GOD directeth not the unrighteous people. They who have believed, and fled their country, and employed their substance and their persons in the defence of GOD'S true religion, shall be in the highest degree *of honour* with GOD; and these are they who shall be happy. Their LORD sendeth them good tidings of mercy from him, and goodwill, and of gardens wherein they shall enjoy lasting pleasure; they shall continue therein for ever: for GOD is a great reward. O true believers, take not your fathers or your brethren for friends, if they love infidelity above faith; and whosoever among you shall take them for *his* friends, they will be unjust doers. Say, If your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and *your* substance which ye have acquired, and *your* merchandise which ye apprehend may not be sold off, and *your* dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than GOD, and his apostle, and the advancement of his religion, wait, until GOD shall send his command:[r] for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Now hath GOD assisted you in many engagements, and *particularly* at the battle of Honein,[s] when ye pleased yourselves in

[o] viz., Those of Khozâah, or, as others say, certain families of Yaman and Saba, who went to Mecca, and there professed Mohammedism, but were very injuriously treated by the inhabitants; whereupon they complained to Mohammed, who bade them take comfort, for that joy was approaching.[1]

[p] These words are to warn the believers from having too great a confidence in their own merits, and likewise to deter the unbelievers; for if the faithful will but *perhaps* be saved, what can the others hope for?[2]

[q] This passage was revealed on occasion of some words of al Abbâs, Mohammed's uncle, who, when he was taken prisoner, being bitterly reproached by the Moslems, and particularly by his nephew Ali, answered, *You rip up our ill actions, but take no notice of our good ones; we visit the temple of Mecca, and adorn the Caaba with hangings, and give drink to the pilgrims* (of Zemzem water, I suppose), *and free captives.*[3]

[r] Or shall punish you. Some suppose the taking of Mecca to be here intended.[4]

[s] This battle was fought in the eighth year of the Hejra, in the valley of Honein, which lies about three miles from Mecca towards Tayef, between Mohammed, who had an army of twelve thousand men, and the tribes of Hawâzen and Thakif, whose forces did not exceed four thousand. The Mohammedans, seeing themselves so greatly superior to their enemies, made sure of the victory; a certain person, whom some suppose to have been the prophet himself, crying out, *These can never be overcome by so few.* But GOD was so highly displeased with this con-

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Idem.

your multitude, but it was no manner of advantage unto you, and the earth became too strait for you,[t] notwithstanding it was spacious; then did ye retreat and turn your backs. Afterwards GOD sent down his security[u] upon his apostle and upon the faithful, and sent down troops *of angels*[x] which ye saw not; and he punished those who disbelieved: and this was the reward of the unbelievers. Nevertheless GOD will hereafter be turned unto whom he pleaseth;[y] for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. O true believers, verily the idolaters are unclean; let them not therefore come near unto the holy temple after this year.[z] And if ye fear want, *by the cutting off trade and communication with them,* GOD will enrich you of his abundance,[a] if he pleaseth; for GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. Fight against them who believe not in GOD, nor in the last day,[b] and forbid not that which GOD and his apostle have forbidden, and profess not the true religion, of those unto whom the scriptures have been delivered, until they pay tribute by right of subjection,[c] and they be reduced low. The Jews say, Ezra is the son of

fidence, that in the first encounter the Moslems were put to flight,[5] some of them running away quite to Mecca, so that none stood their ground except Mohammed himself, and some few of his family; and they say the prophet's courage was so great, that his uncle al Abbâs, and his cousin Abu Sofiân Ebn al Hareth, had much ado to prevent his spurring his mule into the midst of the enemy, by laying hold of the bridle and stirrup. Then he ordered al Abbâs, who had the voice of a Stentor, to recall his flying troops; upon which they rallied, and the prophet throwing a handful of dust against the enemy, they attacked them a second time, and by the divine assistance gained the victory.[6]

[t] For the valley being very deep, and encompassed by craggy mountains, the enemy placed themselves in ambush on every side, attacking them in the straits and narrow passages, and from behind the rocks, with great advantage.[1]

[u] The original word is Sakinat, which the commentators interpret in this sense; but it seems rather to signify the *divine presence*, or Shechinah, appearing to aid the Moslems.[2]

[x] As to the number of these celestial auxiliaries, the commentators differ; some say they were five thousand, some eight thousand, and others sixteen thousand.[3]

[y] Besides a great number of proselytes who were gained by this battle, Mohammed, on their request, was so generous as to restore the captives (which were no less than six thousand) to their friends, and offered to make amends himself to any of his men who should not be willing to part with his prisoners; but they all consented to it.[4]

[z] Which was the ninth year of the Hejra. In consequence of this prohibition, neither Jews nor Christians, nor those of any other religion, are suffered to come near Mecca to this day.

[a] This promise, says al Beidâwi, was fulfilled by GOD's sending plenty of rain, and disposing the inhabitants of Tebâla and Jorash, two towns in Yaman, to embrace Islâm, who thereupon brought sufficient provisions to Mohammed's men; and also by the subsequent coming in of the Arabs from all quarters to him.

[b] That is, who have not a just and true faith in these matters; but either believe a plurality of gods, or deny the eternity of hell torments, &c., the delights of paradise as described in the Korân. For as it appears by the following words, the Jews and Christians are the persons here chiefly meant.

[c] This I think the true meaning of the words *an yadin*, which literally signify *by* or *out of hand*, and are variously interpreted: some supposing they mean that the tribute is to be paid *readily*, or by their *own hands* and not by another; or that tribute is to be exacted of the *rich* only, or those who are able to pay it, and not of the poor; or else that it is to be taken as a *favour* that the Mohammedans are satisfied with so small an imposition, &c.[6]

That the Jews and Christians are, according to this law, to be admitted to protection on payment of tribute, there is no doubt; though the Mohammedan doctors differ as to those of other religions. It is said that Omar at first refused to accept tribute from a Magian, till Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf assured him that Mohammed himself had granted protection to a Magian, and ordered that the professors of that religion should be included among *the people of the book*, or those who found their religion on some book which they suppose to be of divine original. And it is the more received opinion that these three religions only ought to be tolerated on the condition of paying tribute; others, however, admit the Sabians also. Abu Hanifa

[5] See Prid. Life of Mahomet, p. 96, &c. Hotting. Hist. Orient. p. 271, &c. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 601. [6] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 112, &c. [1] Ebn Ishak. [2] See cap. 2, p. 27, note [k]. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. [5] See cap. 2, p. 10, and cap. 3, p. 34. [6] Vide al Beidâwi.

GOD:[d] and the Christians say, Christ is the son of GOD. This is their saying in their mouths: they imitate the saying of those who were unbelievers in former times. May GOD resist them. How are they infatuated! They take their priests and their monks for *their* lords, besides GOD,[e] and Christ the son of Mary; although they are commanded to worship one GOD only: there is no GOD but he; far be that from him, which they associate *with him!* They seek to extinguish the light of GOD with their mouths, but GOD willeth no other than to perfect his light, although the infidels be averse *thereto.* It is he who hath sent his apostle with the direction, and true religion: that he may cause it to appear superior to every *other* religion; although the idolaters be averse *thereto.* O true believers, verily many of the priests and monks devour the substance of men in vanity,[f] and obstruct the way of GOD. But unto those who treasure up gold and silver, and employ it not for the advancement of GOD'S true religion, denounce a grievous punishment. On the day *of judgment their treasures* shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads, and their sides, and their backs shall be stigmatized therewith, *and their tormentors shall say,* This is what ye have treasured up for your souls; taste therefore that which ye have treasured up. Moreover, the *complete* number

supposed people of any religion might be suffered, except the idolatrous Arabs, and Malec excepted only apostates from Mohammedism.

The least tribute that can be taken from every such person, is generally agreed to be a *dinâr*, or about ten shillings, a year; nor can he be obliged to pay more unless he consent to it; and this, they say, ought to be laid as well on the poor as on the rich.[1] But Abu Hanifa decided that the rich should pay forty-eight *dirhems* (twenty, and sometimes twenty-five, of which made a *dinâr*) a year; one in middling circumstances half that sum; and a poor man, who was able to get his living, a quarter of it: but that he who was not able to support himself should pay nothing.[2]

[d] This grievous charge against the Jews the commentators endeavour to support by telling us that it is meant of some ancient heterodox Jews, or else of some Jews of Medina; who said so for no other reason than for that the law being utterly lost and forgotten during the Babylonish captivity, Ezra, having been raised to life after he had been dead one hundred years,[3] dictated the whole anew to the scribes, out of his own memory; at which they greatly marvelled, and declared that he could not have done it unless he were the son of GOD.[4] Al Beidâwi adds that the imputation must be true, because this verse was read to the Jews, and they did not contradict it; which they were ready enough to do in other instances.

That Ezra did thus restore not only the Pentateuch, but also the other books of the Old Testament, by divine revelation, was the opinion of several of the Christian fathers, who are quoted by Dr. Prideaux,[5] and of some other writers;[6] which they seem to have first borrowed from a passage in that very ancient apocryphal book, called (in our English Bible) the *second book* of Esdras.[7] Dr. Prideaux[8] tells us that herein the fathers attributed more to Ezra than the Jews themselves, who suppose that he only collected and set forth a correct edition of the scriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. It is not improbable, however, that the fiction came originally from the Jews though they be now of another opinion, and I cannot fix it upon them by any direct proof. For, not to insist on the testimony of the Mohammedans (which yet I cannot but think of some little weight in a point of this nature), it is allowed by the most sagacious critics that the second book of Ezra was written by a Christian indeed,[9] but yet one who had been bred a Jew, and was intimately acquainted with the fables of the Rabbins;[10] and the story itself is perfectly in the taste and way of thinking of those men.

[e] See chap. 3, p. 39, note [e].

[f] By taking of bribes, says al Beidâwi; meaning, probably, the money they took for dispensing with the commands of GOD, and by way of commutation.

[1] Vide Reland. de Jure Militari Mohammedanor. p. 17 and 50. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] See cap. 2, p. 28. [4] Al Beidâwi, al Zamakhshari, &c. [5] Connect. part 1. l. 5, p. 329. [6] Athanasius junior, in Synopsi S. Script. tom. ii. p. 86. Leontius Byzantin. de Sectis, p. 428. [7] Cap. xiv. 20, &c. [8] Loco citat. [9] See 2 Esdras ii. 43—47; and vii. 28, &c. [10] Vide Dodwelli Dissert. Cyprian. Dissert. 4, § 2. Whiston's Essay on the Apostolical Constit. p. 34, 76, and 304, &c.; et Fabricii Codic. Apocryph. Novi Test. part ii. p. 936, &c.

of months with GOD, is twelve months,[g] *which were ordained* in the book of GOD,[h] on the day whereon he created the heavens and the earth: of these, four are sacred.[i] This is the right religion: therefore deal not unjustly with yourselves therein. But attack the idolaters in all *the months*, as they attack you in all;[k] and know that GOD is with those who fear *him*. Verily the transferring *of a sacred month to another month*, is an additional infidelity.[l] The unbelievers are led into an error thereby: they allow a *month* to be violated one year, and declare it sacred *another* year,[m] that they may agree in the number of *months* which GOD hath commanded to be kept sacred, and they allow that which GOD hath forbidden. The evil of their actions hath been prepared for them: for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. O true believers, what ailed you, that, when it was said unto you, Go forth *to fight* for the religion of GOD, ye inclined heavily towards the earth?[n] Do ye prefer the present life to that which is to come? But the provision of this life, *in respect of* that which is to come, is but slender. Unless ye go forth *when ye are summoned to war*, *God* will punish you with a grievous punishment; and he will place another people in your stead,[o] and ye shall not hurt him at all, for GOD is almighty. If ye assist not *the prophet*, verily GOD *will assist him, as he* assisted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him out *of Mecca*, the second of two,[p] when they *were* both in the cave; when he said unto his companion, Be not grieved, for GOD is with us.[q] And GOD sent down his security[r] upon him, and strengthened him with armies *of angels*, whom ye saw not.[s] And he made the word of those who believed not to be

[g] According to this passage, the intercalation of a month every third or second year, which the Arabs had learned of the Jews, in order to reduce their lunar years to solar years, is absolutely unlawful. For by this means they fixed the time of the pilgrimage and of the fast of Ramadân to certain seasons of the year which ought to be ambulatory.[1]

[h] viz., The preserved table.

[i] See the Prelim. Discourse, Sect. VII.

[k] For it is not reasonable that you should observe the sacred months with regard to those who do not acknowledge them to be sacred, but make war against you therein.[2]

[l] This was an invention or innovation of the idolatrous Arabs, whereby they avoided keeping a sacred month, when it suited not their conveniency, by keeping a profane month in its stead; transferring, for example, the observance of Moharram to the succeeding month Safar. The first man who put this in practice, they say, was Jonâda Ebn Awf, of the tribe of Kenâna.[3] These ordinances relating to the months were promulgated by Mohammed himself at the pilgrimage of *valediction*.[4]

[m] As did Jonâda, who made public proclamation at the assembly of pilgrims, that their gods had allowed Moharram to be profane, whereupon they observed it not; but the next year he told *them that the gods had ordered it to be kept sacred*.[5]

[n] viz., In the expedition of Tabûc, a town situate about half way between Medina and Damascus, which Mohammed undertook against the Greeks with an army of thirty thousand men, in the ninth year of the Hejra. On this expedition the Moslems set out with great unwillingness, because it was undertaken in the midst of the summer heats, and at a time of great drought and scarcity; whereby the soldiers suffered so much, that this army was called the *distressed army*; besides, their fruits were just ripe, and they had much rather have stayed to have gathered them.[6]

[o] See chap. 5, p. 80.

[p] That is, having only Abu Becr with him.

[q] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. II. p. 39.

[r] See before, p. 137, note u.

[s] Who, as some imagine, guarded him in the cave. Or the words may relate to the succours

[1] See Prid. Life of Mahomet, p. 65, &c., and the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. and VII. [2] See cap. 2, p. 20. [3] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. Vide Poc. Spec. p. 323, and the Prelim. Disc. Sect. VII. [4] Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 132. [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. Vide Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 123.

abased, and the word of GOD was exalted; for GOD *is* mighty *and* wise. Go forth *to battle*, both light and heavy,[t] and employ your substance and your persons for the advancement of GOD'S religion. This will be better for you, if ye know it. If it had been a near advantage and a moderate journey, they had surely followed thee,[u] but the way seemed tedious unto them: and yet they will swear by GOD, *saying*, If we had been able, we had surely gone forth with you. They destroy their own souls; for GOD knoweth that they are liars. GOD forgive thee! why didst thou give them leave *to stay at home*,[x] until they who speak the truth, *when they excuse themselves*, had become manifested unto thee, and thou hadst known the liars? They who believe in GOD and the last day, will not ask leave of thee to be excused from employing their substance and their persons for the advancement of GOD'S true religion; and GOD knoweth those who fear *him*. Verily they only will ask leave of thee *to stay behind*, who believe not in GOD and the last day, and whose hearts doubt *concerning the faith*: wherefore they are tossed to and fro in their doubting. If they had been willing to go forth *with thee*, they had certainly prepared for that *purpose* a provision *of arms and necessaries*: but GOD was averse to their going forth; wherefore he rendered them slothful, and it was said *unto them*, Sit ye still with those who sit still.[y] If they had gone forth with you, they had only been a burden unto you, and had run to and fro between you, stirring you up to sedition; and *there would have been some* among you who would have given ear unto them: and GOD knoweth the wicked. They formerly sought to raise a sedition,[z] and they disturbed thy affairs, until the truth came, and the decree of GOD was made manifest; although they were averse thereto. There is of them who saith *unto thee*, Give me leave *to stay behind*, and expose me not to temptation.[a] Have they not fallen into temptation *at home*?[b] But hell will surely encompass the unbelievers. If good happen unto thee, it grieveth them: but if a misfortune befall thee, they say, We ordered our business before;[c] and they turn their backs, and rejoice *at thy mishap*. Say, Nothing shall befall us, but what GOD hath decreed for us: he is our patron: and on GOD let the faithful trust. Say, Do ye expect *any other should befall* us than one of the two most excellent things; *either*

from heaven which Mohammed pretended to have received in several encounters, as at Bedr, the war of the ditch, and the battle of Honein.

[t] *i.e.*, Whether the expedition be agreeable or not, or whether ye have sufficient arms and provisions or not, or whether ye be on horseback or on foot, &c.

[u] That is, had there been no difficulties to surmount in the expedition of Tabûc, and the march thither had been short and easy, so that the plunder might have cost them little or no trouble, they would not have been so backward.

[x] For Mohammed excused several of his men on their request, from going on this expedition, as Abda'llah Ebn Obba and his hypocritical adherents, and also three of the Ansârs, for which he is here reprehended.

[y] *i.e.*, With the women and children, and other impotent people.

[z] As they did at the battle of Ohod.[1]

[a] By obliging me to go, against my will, on an expedition, the hardships of which may tempt me to rebel or to desert. It is related that one Jadd Ebn Kais said that the Ansârs well knew he was much given to women, and he dared not trust himself with the Greek girls; wherefore he desired he might be left behind, and he would assist them with his purse.[2]

[b] Discovering their hypocrisy by their backwardness to go to war for the promotion of the true religion.

[c] That is, we took care to keep out of harm's way by staying at home.

[1] See cap. 3, p. 45, &c. [2] Al Beidâwi.

victory or martyrdom? But we expect concerning you, that GOD inflict a punishment on you, *either* from himself, or by our hands.[d] Wait therefore *to see what will be the end of both;* for we will wait with you. Say, Expend *your money in pious uses, either* voluntarily or by constraint; it shall not be accepted of you, because ye are wicked people. And nothing hindereth their contributions from being accepted of them, but that they believe not in GOD and his apostle, and perform not the *duty of* prayer, otherwise than sluggishly, and expend not *their money for God's service*, otherwise than unwillingly. Let not therefore their riches or their children cause thee to marvel. Verily GOD intendeth only to punish them by these things in this world, and that their souls may depart while they are unbelievers. They swear by GOD that they are of you,[e] yet they are not of you, but are people who stand in fear.[f] If they find a place of refuge, or caves, or a retreating hole, they surely turn towards the same, and in a headstrong manner haste *thereto.* There is of them also who spreadeth ill reports of thee, in relation to *thy distribution of* the alms: yet if they receive *part* thereof, they are well pleased; but if they receive not *a part* thereof, behold, they are angry.[g] But if they had been pleased with that which GOD and his apostle had given them, and had said, GOD is our support; GOD will give unto us of his abundance and his prophet *also;* verily unto GOD do we make our supplications: *it would have been more decent.* Alms *are to be distributed*[h] only unto the poor and the needy,[i] and those who are employed in *collecting and distributing* the same, and unto those whose hearts *are* reconciled,[k] and for *the redemption of* captives, and unto those who are in debt *and insolvent*, and for the advancement of GOD'S religion, and unto the traveller. *This is an* ordinance from GOD: and GOD is knowing *and* wise. There are some of them who injure the prophet, and say, He is an ear.[l] Answer, He is an ear of good unto you:[m] he believeth in GOD, and giveth credit to the faithful, and *is* a mercy unto such of you who believe. But they

[d] *i. e.*, Either by some signal judgment from heaven, or by remitting their punishment to the true believers.

[e] *viz.*, Staunch Moslems.

[f] Hypocritically concealing their infidelity, lest ye should chastise them as ye have done the professed infidels and apostates, and yet ready to avow their infidelity, when they think they may do it with safety.

[g] This person was Abu'l Jowâdh the hypocrite, who said Mohammed gave them away among the keepers of sheep only; or, as others suppose, Ebn Dhi'lkhowaisara, who found fault with the prophet's distribution of the spoils taken at Honein, because he gave them all among the Meccans, *to reconcile and gain them over to his religion and interest.*[3]

[h] See what is said as to this point in the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV.

[i] The commentators make a distinction between these two words in the original, *fakîr* and *meskîn;* one, they say, signifies him who is utterly destitute both of money and means of livelihood; the other, one who is in want indeed, but is able to get something towards his own support. But to which of the two words either of these different significations properly belongs, the critics differ.

[k] That is, who were lately enemies to the faithful, but have now embraced Mohammedism and entered into amity with them. For Mohammed, to gain their hearts and confirm them in his religion, made large presents to the chief of the Koreish out of the spoils at Honein, as has been just now mentioned.[4] But this law they say became of no obligation when the Mohammedan faith was established and stood not in need of such methods for its support.

[l] *i. e.*, He hears everything that we say, and gives credit to all the stories that are carried to him.

[m] Giving credit to nothing that may do you hurt.

[3] Idem. Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 118, 110. [4] Abulfeda, ibid.

who injure the apostle of GOD, shall suffer a painful punishment. They swear unto you by GOD, that they may please you; but it is more just that they should please GOD and his apostle, if they are true believers. Do they not know that he who opposeth GOD and his apostle, shall without doubt *be punished with* the fire of hell; *and* shall remain therein for ever? This will be great ignominy. The hypocrites are apprehensive lest a Sura[n] should be revealed concerning them, to declare unto them that which *is* in their hearts. Say *unto them*, Scoff ye; *but* GOD will surely bring to light that which ye fear *should be discovered.* And if thou ask them *the reason of this scoffing*, they say, Verily we were only engaged in discourse, and jesting *among ourselves.*[o] Say, Do ye scoff at GOD and his signs, and at his apostle? offer not an excuse: now are ye become infidels, after your faith. If we forgive a part of you, we will punish a part, for that they have been wicked doers. Hypocritical men and women are the one of them or the other: they command that which is evil, and forbid that which is just, and shut their hands *from giving alms.* They have forgotten GOD, wherefore he hath forgotten them verily the hypocrites are those who act wickedly. GOD denounceth unto the hypocrites, both men and women, and to the unbelievers the fire of hell, they shall remain therein *for ever:* this will be their sufficient *reward;* GOD hath cursed them, and they shall endure a lasting torment As they who have been before you, *so are ye.* They were superior to you in strength, and had more abundance of wealth and of children; and they enjoyed their portion *in this world, and ye* also enjoy your portion *here*, as they who have preceded you enjoyed their portion. And ye engage yourselves in vain discourses, like unto those wherein they engaged themselves. The works of these are vain *both* in this world and that which is to come; and these are they who perish. Have they not been acquainted with the history of those who have been before them? of the people of Noah, and of Ad, and of Thamûd, and of the people of Abraham, and of the inhabitants of Madian, and of the *cities which were* overthrown?[p] Their apostles came unto them with evident demonstrations. and GOD was not disposed to treat them unjustly, but they dealt unjustly with their own souls. And the faithful men and the faithful women are friends one to another they command that which is just, and they forbid that which is evil, and they are constant at prayer, and pay their appointed alms, and they obey GOD and his apostle unto these will GOD be merciful for he *is* mighty *and* wise GOD promiseth unto the true believers, both men and women, gardens through which rivers flow wherein they shall remain for ever, and delicious dwellings in gardens

[n] So the Mohammedans call a chapter of the Korân [5]

[o] It is related that in the expedition of Tabûc, a company of hypocrites passing near Mohammed, said to one another, *Behold that man! he would take the strongholds of Syria Away! away!*—which being told the prophet, he called them to him, and asked them why they had said so? Whereto they replied with an oath that they were not talking of what related to him or his companions, but were only diverting themselves with indifferent discourse to beguile the tediousness of the way [6]

[p] Namely, Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other cities which shared their fate, and are thence called al Motakifât, or *the subverted* [7]

[5] See the Prelim Disc. Sect. III [6] Al Beidâwi [7] See cap. 11.

of perpetual abode:[q] but goodwill from GOD *shall be their* most excellent *reward*. This *will be* great felicity. O prophet, wage war against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be severe unto them for their dwelling shall be hell; an unhappy journey *shall it be thither* They swear by GOD that they said not *what they are charged with:* yet they spake the word of infidelity, and became unbelievers, after they had embraced Islâm.[r] And they designed that which they could not effect;[s] and they did not disapprove *the design for any other reason*, than because GOD and his apostle had enriched them, of his bounty.[t] If they repent, it will be better for them; but if they relapse, GOD will punish them with a grievous torment, in this world and in the next; and they shall have no patron on earth, nor any protector. There are some of them who made a covenant with GOD, *saying*, Verily if he give us of his abundance, we will give alms, and become righteous people.[u] Yet when he had given unto them of his abundance, they became covetous thereof, and turned back, and retired afar off. Wherefore he hath caused hypocrisy to succeed in their hearts, until the day whereon they shall meet him; for that they failed to perform unto GOD that which they had promised him, and for that they prevaricated. Do they not know that GOD knoweth whatever they conceal, and their private discourses; and that GOD is the knower of secrets? They who traduce such of the believers as are liberal in *giving* alms *beyond what they are obliged*, and those who find nothing *to give* but *what they gain by* their industry;[x] and therefore scoff at them: GOD

[q] Literally, *gardens* of Eden; but the commentators do not take the word Eden in the sense which it bears in Hebrew, as has been elsewhere observed [8]

[r] It is related that al Jallâs Ebn Soweid hearing some passages of this chapter, which sharply reprehend those who refused to go on the above mentioned expedition of Tabûc, declared that if what Mohammed said of his brethren was true, they were worse than asses, which coming to the prophet's ear, he sent for him, and he denied the words upon oath But on the immediate revelation of this passage, he confessed his fault, and his repentance was accepted [9]

[s] The commentators tell us that fifteen men conspired to kill Mohammed in his return from Tabûc by pushing him from his camel into a precipice, as he rode by night over the highest part of al Akaba But when they were going to execute their design, Hodheifa, who followed and drove the prophet's camel, which was led by Ammâr Ebn Yâser, hearing the tread of camels and the clashing of arms, gave the alarm, upon which they fled Some, however, suppose the design here meant was a plot to expel Mohammed from Medina [10]

[t] For Mohammed's residing at Medina was of great advantage to the place, the inhabitants being generally poor, and in want of most conveniences of life, but on the prophet's coming among them, they became possessed of large herds of cattle and money also Al Beidâwi says that the above-named al Jallâs in particular, having a servant killed, received by Mohammed's order no less than ten thousand *dirhems*, or about three hundred pounds, as a fine for the redemption of his blood

[u] An instance of this is given in Thalaba Ebn Hateb, who came to Mohammed and desired him to beg of GOD that he would bestow riches on him The prophet at first advised him rather to be thankful for the little he had than to covet more, which might become a temptation to him; but on Thalaba's repeated request and solemn promise that he would make a good use of his riches, he was at length prevailed on, and preferred the petition to GOD Thalaba in a short time grew vastly rich, which, Mohammed being acquainted with, sent two collectors to gather the alms. Other people readily paid them, but, when they came to Thalaba, and read the injunction to him out of the Korân, he told them that it was not alms, but tribute, or next kin to tribute, and bid them go back till he had better considered of it. Upon which this passage was revealed; and when Thalaba came afterwards and brought his alms, Mohammed told him that GOD had commanded him not to accept it, and threw dust upon his head, saying, *This is what thou hast deserved* He then offered his alms to Abu Becr, who refused to accept them, as did Omar some years after, when he was Khalif [1]

[x] Al Beidâwi relates that Mohammed, exhorting his followers to voluntary alms, among others, Abda'lrahmân Ebn Awf gave four thousand *dirhems*, which was one half of what he

[8] See the Prelim Disc p. 75. [9] Al Beidâwi. [10] Idem. [1] Idem.

shall scoff at them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. Ask forgiveness for them, or do not ask forgiveness for them, *it will be equal.* If thou ask forgiveness for them seventy times, GOD will by no means forgive them.[y] This *is the divine pleasure*, for that they believe not in GOD and his apostle; and GOD directeth not the ungodly people. They who were left at home *in the expedition of Tabûc*, were glad of their staying behind the apostle of GOD, and were unwilling to employ their substance and their persons for the advancement of GOD's true religion; and they said, Go not forth in the heat.[z] Say, The fire of hell will be hotter; if they understood *this*. Wherefore let them laugh little, and weep much, as a reward for that which they have done. If GOD bring thee back unto some of them,[a] and they ask thee leave to go forth *to war with thee*, say, Ye shall not go forth with me for the future, neither shall ye fight an enemy with me; ye were pleased with sitting *at home* the first time; sit ye *at home* therefore with those who stay behind. Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who shall die,[b] neither stand at his grave,[c] for that they believed not in GOD or his apostle, and die in their wickedness. Let not their riches or their children cause thee to marvel: for GOD intendeth only to punish them therewith in this world, and that their souls may depart while they are infidels. When a Sura[d] is sent down, *wherein it is said*, Believe in GOD, and go forth to war with his apostle, those who are in plentiful circumstances among them ask leave of thee *to stay behind*, and say, Suffer us to be *of the number* of those who sit *at home*. They are well pleased to be with those who stay behind, and their hearts are sealed up; wherefore they do not understand. But the apostle, and

had, Asem Ebn Adda gave a hundred beasts' loads of dates, and Abu Okail a saâ, which is no more than a sixtieth part of a load, of the same fruit, but was the half of what he had earned by a night's hard work. This Mohammed accepted: whereupon the hypocrites said that Abda'lrahmân and Asem gave what they did out of ostentation, and that GOD and his apostle might well have excused Abu Okail's mite, which occasioned this passage.

I suppose this collection was made to defray the charge of the expedition of Tabûc, towards which, as another writer tells us, Abu Becr contributed all that he had, and Othmân very largely; viz., as it is said, three hundred camels for slaughter, and a thousand *dinars* of gold.[2]

[y] In the last sickness of Abda'llah Ebn Obba, the hypocrite (who died in the ninth year of the Hejra), his son, named also Abda'llah, came and asked Mohammed to beg pardon of GOD for him, which he did, and thereupon the former part of this verse was revealed. But the prophet, not taking that for a repulse, said he would *pray seventy times* for him; upon which the latter part of the verse was revealed, declaring it would be absolutely in vain. It may be observed that the numbers *seven* and *seventy*, and *seven hundred*, are frequently used by the eastern writers, to signify not so many precisely, but only an indefinite number, either greater or lesser,[3] several examples of which are to be met with in the scripture.[4]

[z] This they spoke in a scoffing manner to one another, because, as has been observed, the expedition of Tabûc was undertaken in a very hot and dry season.

[a] That is, if thou return in safety to Medina to the hypocrites, who are here called some of them who stayed behind, because they were not all hypocrites. The whole number is said to have been twelve.[1]

[b] This passage was also revealed on account of Abda'llah Ebn Obba. In his last illness he desired to see Mohammed, and, when he was come, asked him to beg forgiveness of GOD for him, and requested that his corpse might be wrapped up in the garment that was next his body (which might have the same efficacy with the habit of a Franciscan), and that he would pray over him when dead. Accordingly, when he was dead, the prophet sent his shirt, or inner vestment, to shroud the corpse, and was going to pray over it, but was forbidden by these words. Some say they were not revealed till he had actually prayed for him.[2]

[c] Either by assisting at his funeral, or visiting his sepulchre.

[d] See before, p. 142, note [n].

[2] Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 123. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Matth. xviii. 22. [1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem.

those who have believed with him, expose their fortunes and their lives *for God's service;* they shall enjoy the good things *of either life*, and they shall be happy. GOD hath prepared for them gardens through which rivers flow; they shall remain therein *for ever*. This will be great felicity. And certain Arabs of the desert came to excuse themselves,[e] *praying* that they might be permitted *to stay behind;* and they sat *at home* who had renounced GOD and his apostle. But a painful punishment shall be inflicted on such of them as believe not. In those who are weak, or are afflicted with sickness, or in those who find not wherewith to contribute *to the war*,[f] it shall be no crime *if they stay at home*, provided they behave themselves faithfully towards GOD and his apostle. There is no room *to lay blame* on the righteous, for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful: nor on those unto whom, when they came unto thee, *requesting* that thou wouldest supply them with necessaries for travelling, thou didst answer, I find not wherewith to supply you, returned, their eyes shedding tears for grief, that they found not wherewith to contribute *to the expedition*.[g] But there is reason *to blame* those who ask leave of thee *to sit at home*, when they are rich. They are pleased to be with those who stay behind, and GOD hath sealed up their hearts; wherefore they do not understand. (XI.) They will excuse themselves unto you, when ye are returned unto them. Say, Excuse not yourselves; we will by no means believe you. GOD hath acquainted us with your behaviour, and GOD will observe your actions, and his apostle *also*: and hereafter shall ye be brought before him who knoweth that which is hidden and that which is manifest, and he will declare unto you that which ye have done. They will swear unto you by GOD, when ye are returned unto them, that ye may let them alone.[h] Let them alone therefore, for they are an abomination, and their dwelling *shall be* hell, a reward for that which they have deserved. They will swear unto you, that ye may be well pleased with them; but if ye be well pleased with them, verily GOD will not be well pleased with people who prevaricate. The Arabs of the desert are more obstinate in *their* unbelief and hypocrisy; and it is easier for them to be ignorant of the ordinances of that which GOD hath sent down unto his apostle:[i] and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. Of the Arabs of the desert there is who reckoneth that which he expendeth *for the service of God, to be as* tribute;[k] and waiteth that some change *of fortune*[l] *may befall* you

[e] These were the tribes of Asad and Ghatfân, who excused themselves on account of the necessities of their families, which their industry only maintained. But some write they were the family of Amer Ebn al Tofail, who said that if they went with the army, the tribe of Tay would take advantage of their absence, and fall upon their wives and children, and their cattle.[3]

[f] By reason of their extreme poverty, as those of Joheina, Mozeina, and Banu Odhra.[4]

[g] The persons here intended were seven men of the Ansârs, who came to Mohammed and begged he would give them some patched boots and soled shoes, it being impossible for them to march so far barefoot in such a season; but he told them he could not supply them; whereupon they went away weeping. Some, however, say these were the Banu Mokren, and others, Abu Musa and his companions.[5]

[h] And not chastise them.

[i] Because of their wild way of life, the hardness of their hearts, their not frequenting people of knowledge, and the few opportunities they have of being instructed.[6]

[k] Or a contribution exacted by force, the payment of which he can in no wise avoid.

[l] Hoping that some reverse may afford a convenient opportunity of throwing off the burden

[3] Idem. [4] Idem. [5] Idem. [6] Idem. See the Prelim. Disc. p. 10 and 23.

A change for evil *shall happen* unto them; for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. And of the Arabs of the desert there is who believeth in GOD and in the last day; and esteemeth that which he layeth out *for the service of God* to be the *means of* bringing him near unto GOD and the prayers of the apostle. Is it not unto them *the means of* a near approach? GOD shall lead them into his mercy; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful.[m] *As for* the leaders *and* the first of the Mohâjerín, and the Ansârs,[n] and those who have followed them in well doing; GOD is well pleased with them, and they are well pleased in him: and he hath prepared for them gardens watered by rivers, they shall remain therein for ever. This shall be great felicity. And of the Arabs of the desert who *dwell* round about you, *there are* hypocritical persons;[o] and of the inhabitants of Medina *there are some* who are obstinate in hypocrisy. Thou knowest them not, *O prophet, but* we know them: we will surely punish them twice;[p] afterwards shall they be sent to a grievous torment. And others have acknowledged their crimes.[q] They have mixed a good action with another *which is* bad.[r] peradventure GOD will be turned unto them; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. Take alms of their substance, that thou mayest cleanse them and purify them thereby;[s] and pray for them: for thy prayers shall be a security *of mind* unto them; and GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Do they not know that GOD accepteth repentance from his servants, and accepteth alms; and that GOD is easy to be reconciled *and* merciful? Say *unto them*, Work *as ye will*, but GOD will behold your work, and his apostle *also*, and the true believers: and ye shall be brought before him who knoweth that which is kept secret, and that which is made public; and he will declare unto you whatever ye have done. And *there are* others *who* wait with suspense the decree of GOD; whether he will punish them, or whether he will be turned unto

[m] The Arabs meant in the former of these two passages, are said to have been the tribes of Asad, Ghatfân, and Banu Tamim, and those intended in the latter, Abdallah, surnamed Dhu'lbajâdin, and his people.[1]

[n] The Mohâjerín, or *refugees*, were those of Mecca, who fled thence on account of their religion, and the Ansârs, or *helpers*, were those of Medina, who received Mohammed and his followers into their protection, and assisted them against their enemies. By the leaders of the Mohâjerín are meant those who believed on Mohammed before the Hejra, or early enough to pray towards Jerusalem, from which the Kebla was changed to the temple of Mecca in the second year of the Hejra, or else such of them as were present at the battle of Bedr. The leaders of the Ansârs were those who took the oath of fidelity to him at al Akaba, either the first or the second time.[2]

[o] *i. e.*, In the neighbourhood of Medina. These were the tribes of Joheina, Mozeina, Aslam, Ashja, and Ghifâr.[3]

[p] Either by exposing them to public shame, and putting them to death, or by either of those punishments and the torment of the sepulchre, or else by exacting alms of them by way of fine, and giving them corporal punishment.[4]

[q] Making no hypocritical excuses for them. These were certain men, who, having stayed at home instead of accompanying Mohammed to Tabûc, as soon as they heard the severe reprehensions and threats of this chapter against those who had stayed behind, bound themselves to the pillars of the mosque, and swore that they would not loose themselves till they were loosed by the prophet. But when he entered the mosque to pray, and was informed of the matter, he also swore that he would not loose them without a particular command from GOD, whereupon this passage was revealed, and they were accordingly dismissed.[5]

[r] Though they were backward in going to war, and held with the hypocrites, yet they confessed their crime and repented.

[s] When these persons were loosed, they prayed Mohammed to take their substance, for the sake of which they had stayed at home, as alms, to cleanse them from their transgression; but he told them he had no orders to accept anything from them, upon which this verse was sent down, allowing him to take their alms.[6]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Idem. [5] Idem. [6] Idem.

them :[t] but GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. *There are some* who have built a temple to hurt *the faithful*, and to *propagate* infidelity, and to *foment* division among the true believers,[u] and for a lurking-place for him who hath fought against GOD and his apostle in time past ;[x] and they swear, *saying*, Verily we intended no other than *to do* for the best : but GOD is witness that they do certainly lie. Stand not *up to pray* therein for ever. *There is* a temple founded on piety,[y] from the first day *of its building*. *It is* more just that thou stand *up to pray* therein : therein *are* men who love to be purified ;[z] for GOD loveth the clean. Whether therefore is he better, who hath founded his building on the fear of GOD and *his* goodwill ; or he who hath founded his building on the brink of a bank of earth which is washed away by waters, so that it falleth with him into the fire of hell ? GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Their building which they have built will not cease *to be an occasion of* doubting in their hearts, until their hearts be cut in pieces ;[a] and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. Verily GOD hath purchased of the true believers their souls and their substance, *promising* them the enjoyment of paradise ; *on condition that* they fight for the cause of GOD : whether they slay or be slain, the promise for

[t] The persons here intended were the three Ansârs whose pardon is granted a little below

[u] When Banu Amru Ebn Awf had built the temple or mosque of Kobâ, which will be mentioned by-and-bye, they asked Mohammed to come and pray in it, and he complied with their request This exciting the envy of their brethren, Banu Ganem Ebn Awf, they also built a mosque, intending that the Imâm or priest who should officiate there should be Abu Amer, a Christian monk ; but he dying in Syria, they came to Mohammed and desired he would consecrate, as it were, their mosque by praying in it The prophet accordingly prepared himself to go with them but was forbidden by the immediate revelation of this passage, discovering their hypocrisy and ill design ; whereupon he sent Malec Ebn al Dokhshom, Maan Ebn Addi, Amer Ebn al Sacan, and al Wahsha the Ethiopian, to demolish and burn it, which they performed, and made it a dunghill According to another account, this mosque was built a little before the expedition of Tabûc, with a design to hinder Mohammed's men from engaging therein ; and when he was asked to pray there, he answered that he was just setting out on a journey, but that when he came back, with GOD's leave, he would do what they desired ; but when they applied to him again on his return, this passage was revealed [1]

[x] That is, Abu Amer, the monk, who was a declared enemy to Mohammed, having threatened him at Ohod, that no party should appear in the field against him, but he would make one of them and, to be as good as his word, he continued to oppose him till the battle of Honein, at which he was present, and being put to flight with those of Hawâzen, he retreated into Syria, designing to obtain a supply of troops from the Grecian emperor to renew the war, but he died at Kinnisrîn. Others say that this monk was a confederate at the war of the ditch, and that he fled thence into Syria [2]

[y] viz., That of Kobâ, a place about two miles from Medina, where Mohammed rested four days before he entered that city, in his flight from Mecca, and where he laid the foundation of a mosque,[3] which was afterwards built by Banu Amru Ebn Awf But according to a different tradition, the mosque here meant was that which Mohammed built at Medina.

[z] Al Beidâwi says, that Mohammed walking once with the Mohâjerin to Kobâ, found the Ansârs sitting at the mosque door, and asked them whether they were believers ; and, on their being silent, repeated the question whereupon Omar answered, that they were believers ; and Mohammed demanding whether they acquiesced in the judgment Omar had made of them, they said yes He then asked them whether they would be patient in adversity and thankful in prosperity ; to which they answering in the affirmative he swore by the LORD of the Caaba that they were true believers. Afterwards he examined them as to their manner of performing the legal washings, and, particularly, what they did after easing themselves ; they told him that in such a case they used three stones, and after that washed with water ; upon which he repeated these words of the Korân to them

[a] Some interpret these words of their being deprived of their judgment and understanding ; and others of the punishment they are to expect, either of death in this world, or of the rack of the sepulchre, or the pains of hell

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin [2] Idem [3] Idem, Ebn Shohnah. Vide Abulfed Vit Moh p 52. Where the translator, taking this passage of the Korân, which is there cited for the words of his author has missed the true sense

the same is assuredly due by the law, and the gospel, and the Korân. And who performeth his contract more faithfully than GOD? Rejoice therefore in the contract which ye have made. This shall be great happiness. The penitent, *and* those who serve GOD, and praise *him, and* who fast, and bow down, and worship, *and* who command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil, and keep the ordinances of GOD, *shall likewise be rewarded with paradise*. wherefore bear good tidings unto the faithful. It is not *allowed* unto the prophet, nor those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters,[b] although they be of kin, after it is become known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell.[c] Neither did Abraham ask forgiveness for his father, otherwise than in pursuance of a promise which he had promised unto him.[d] but when it became known unto him, that he was an enemy unto God, he declared himself clear of him.[e] Verily Abraham was pitiful and compassionate. Nor is GOD *disposed* to lead people into error,[f] after that he hath directed them, until that which they ought to avoid is become known unto them, for GOD knoweth all things. Verily unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth, he giveth life, and he causeth to die; and ye have no patron or helper besides GOD. GOD is reconciled unto the prophet, and unto the Mohâjerîn, and the Ansârs,[g] who followed him in the hour of distress,[h] after that it had wanted little but that the hearts of a part of them had swerved *from their duty*. afterwards was he turned unto them, for he *was* compassionate *and* merciful towards them. And *he is* also *reconciled* unto the three who were left behind,[i] so that the

[b] This passage was revealed, as some think, on account of Abu Taleb, Mohammed's uncle and great benefactor, who, on his death-bed, being pressed by his nephew to speak a word which might enable him to plead his cause before GOD, that is, to profess Islâm, absolutely refused. Mohammed, however, told him that he would not cease to pray for him, till he should be forbidden by GOD, which he was by these words. Others suppose the occasion to have been Mohammed's visiting his mother Amena's sepulchre at al Abwa, soon after the taking of Mecca. for they say that while he stood at the tomb he burst into tears, and said, *I asked leave of* GOD *to visit my mother's tomb, and he granted it me, but when I asked leave to pray for her, it was denied me*.[1]

[c] By their dying infidels. For otherwise it is not only lawful, but commendable, to pray for unbelievers, while there are hopes of their conversion.

[d] viz., To pray that GOD would dispose his heart to repentance. Some suppose this was a promise made to Abraham by his father, that he would believe in GOD. For the words may be taken either way.

[e] *Desisting to pray for him, when he was assured by inspiration that he was not to be converted*, or after he actually died an infidel. See c. 6, p. 96.

[f] *i.e.*, To consider or punish them as transgressors. This passage was revealed to excuse those who had prayed for such of their friends as had died idolaters, before it was forbidden; or else to excuse certain people who had ignorantly prayed towards the first Kebla, and drank wine, &c.

[g] Having forgiven the crime they committed, in giving the hypocrites leave to be absent from the expedition to Tabûc; or for the other sins which they might, through inadvertence, have been guilty of. For the best men have need of repentance.[2]

[h] viz., In the expedition of Tabûc, wherein Mohammed's men were driven to such extremities that (besides what they endured by reason of the excessive heat) ten men were obliged to ride by turns on one camel. and provisions and water were so scarce that two men divided a date between them, and they were obliged to drink the water out of the camels' stomachs.[3]

[i] Or, as it may be translated, *who were left in suspense* whether they should be pardoned, or not.[4] These were three Ansârs, named Caab Ebn Malec, Helâl Ebn Omeyya, and Merâra Ebn Rabî, who went not with Mohammed to Tabûc, and were therefore, on his return, secluded from the fellowship of the other Moslems. the prophet forbidding any to salute them, or to *hold discourse with them*. Under which interdiction they continued fifty days, till, on their sincere repentance, they were at length discharged from it, by the revelation of this passage.[5]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See before, p. 147, note [1]. [5] Al Beidâwi. Jallalo'ddin. Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 122, 126.

earth became too strait for them, notwithstanding its spaciousness, and their souls became straitened within them, and they considered that there was no refuge from GOD, otherwise than *by having recourse* unto him. Then was he turned unto them, that they might repent; for GOD *is* easy to be reconciled *and* merciful. O true believers, fear GOD, and be with the sincere. There was no *reason* why the inhabitants of Medina, and the Arabs of the desert who dwell around them, should stay behind the apostle of GOD, or should prefer themselves before him.[k] This *is unreasonable*. because they are not distressed either by thirst, or labour, or hunger, for the defence of GOD'S true religion; neither do they stir a step, which may irritate the unbelievers, neither do they receive from the enemy any damage, but a good work is written down unto them for the same; for GOD suffereth not the reward of the righteous to perish. And they contribute not any sum either small or great, nor do they pass a valley, but it is written down unto them, that GOD may reward them with a recompense exceeding that which they have wrought. The believers are not *obliged* to go forth *to war* all together if a part of every band of them go not forth, *it is* that they may diligently instruct themselves in *their* religion,[l] and may admonish their people. when they return unto them, that they may take heed to themselves. O true believers, wage war against such of the infidels as are near you,[m] and let them find severity[n] in you: and know that GOD is with those who fear *him* Whenever a Sura is sent down, there are some of them who say, Which of you hath this caused to increase in faith? It will increase the faith of those who believe, and they shall rejoice · but unto those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, it will add *farther* doubt unto their *present* doubt; and they shall die in their infidelity. Do they not see that they are tried every year once or twice?[o] yet they repent not, neither are they warned. And whenever a Sura is sent down, they look at one another, *saying*, Doth anyone see you?[p] then do they turn aside. GOD shall

[k] By not caring to share with him the dangers and fatigues of war Al Beidâwi tells us, that after Mohammed had set out for Tabûc, one Abu Khaithama sitting in his garden, where his wife, a very beautiful woman, had spread a mat for him in the shade, and had set new dates and fresh water before him, after a little reflection, cried out *This is not well that I should thus take my ease and pleasure, while the apostle of* GOD *is exposed to the scorching of the sunbeams and the inclemencies of the air*, and immediately mounting his camel took his sword and lance, and went to join the army

[l] That is, if some of every tribe or town be left behind, the end of their being so left is that they may apply themselves to study and attain a more exact knowledge of the several points of their religion, so as to be able to instruct such as, by reason of their continual employment in the wars, have no other means of information They say, that after the preceding passages were revealed, reprehending those who had stayed at home during the expedition of Tabûc, every man went to war, so that the study of religion, which is rather more necessary for the defence and propagation of the faith than even arms themselves, became wholly laid aside and neglected; to prevent which, for the future, a convenient number are hereby directed to be left behind, that they may have leisure to prosecute their studies

[m] Either of your kindred or neighbours, for these claim your pity and care in the first place, and their conversion ought first to be endeavoured The persons particularly meant in this passage are supposed to have been the Jews of the tribes of Koreidha and Nadhir, and those of Khaibar, or else the Greeks of Syria[1]

[n] Or fierceness in war.

[o] *i e*, By various kinds of trials, or by being called forth to war, and by being made witnesses of GOD's miraculous protection of the faithful

[p] They wink at one another to rise and leave the prophet's presence, if they think they can

[1] Al Beidâwi

turn aside their hearts *from the truth;* because they are a people who do not understand. Now hath an apostle come unto you of our own nation,[q] an excellent *person:* it is *grievous* unto him that ye commit wickedness, *he is* careful over you, *and* compassionate and merciful towards the believers. If they turn back, say, GOD is my support: there is no GOD but he. On him do I trust; and he is the LORD of the magnificent throne.

CHAPTER X.

ENTITLED, JONAS;[r] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

AL. R.[s] These are the signs of the wise book. Is it a strange thing unto the men *of Mecca,* that we have revealed *our will* unto a man from among them,[t] *saying,* Denounce threats unto men *if they believe not,* and bear good tidings unto those who believe, that on the merit of their sincerity they have an interest with their LORD? The unbelievers say, This is manifest sorcery.[u] Verily your LORD is GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth in six days; and then ascended *his* throne, to take on himself the government of *all* things. There is no intercessor, but by his permission.[x] This is GOD, your LORD, therefore serve him. Will ye not consider? Unto him shall ye all return, *according to* the certain promise of GOD; for he produceth a creature, and then causeth it to return again, that he may reward those who believe and do that which is right, with equity. But as for the unbelievers, they shall drink boiling water, and *they shall suffer* a grievous punishment, for that they have disbelieved. It is he who hath ordained the sun to shine *by day,* and the moon for a light *by night;* and hath appointed her stations, that ye might know the number of years, and the computation *of time.* GOD hath not created this, but with truth. He explaineth *his* signs unto people who understand. Moreover in the vicissitude of night and day, and whatever GOD hath created in heaven and earth, are surely signs unto men who fear *him.*

do it without being observed, to avoid hearing the severe and deserving reproofs which they apprehended in every new revelation. The persons intended are the hypocritical Moslems.

[q] See chapter 3, p. 49, note [n].

[r] This prophet is mentioned towards the end of the chapter.

[s] See the Prelim. Disc. Sec. III. p. 46, 47.

[t] And not one of the most powerful among them neither; so that the Koreish said it was a wonder GOD could find out no other messenger than the orphan pupil of Abu Taleb.[z]

[u] Meaning the Korân. According to the reading of some copies, the words may be rendered, *This man (i. e., Mohammed) is no other than a manifest sorcerer.*

[x] These words were revealed to refute the foolish opinion of the idolatrous Meccans, who imagined their idols were intercessors with GOD for them.

[z] Idem.

Verily they who hope not to meet us *at the last day*, and delight in this present life, and rest securely in the same, and who are negligent of our signs; their dwelling shall be *hell* fire, for that which they have deserved. But as to those who believe, and work righteousness, their LORD will direct them because of their faith; they shall have rivers flowing through gardens of pleasure. Their prayer therein *shall be,* Praise be unto thee, O GOD! and their salutation[y] therein *shall be,* Peace! and the end of their prayer *shall be,* Praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! If GOD should cause evil to hasten unto men, according to their desire of hastening good, verily their end had been decreed. Wherefore we suffer those who hope not to meet us *at the resurrection*, to wander amazedly in their error. When evil befalleth a man; he prayeth unto us *lying* on his side, or sitting, or standing;[z] but when we deliver him from his affliction, he continueth *his former course of life*, as though he had not called upon us *to defend him* against the evil which had befallen him. Thus was that which the transgressors committed prepared for them. We have formerly destroyed the generations *who were* before you, *O men of Mecca*, when they had acted unjustly, and our apostles had come unto them with evident *miracles*, and they would not believe. Thus do we reward the wicked people. Afterwards did we cause you to succeed them in the earth; that we might see how ye would act. When our evident signs are recited unto them, they who hope not to meet us *at the resurrection*, say, Bring a different Koran from this; or make some change therein Answer, It is not *fit* for me, that I should change it at my pleasure. I follow that only which is revealed unto me. Verily I fear, if I should be disobedient unto my LORD, the punishment of the great day. Say, If GOD had so pleased, I had not read it unto you, neither had I taught you the same. I have already dwelt among you to the age *of forty years*,[a] before *I received* it. Do ye not therefore understand? And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against GOD, or accuseth his signs of falsehood? Surely the wicked shall not prosper. They worship besides GOD, that which can neither hurt them nor profit them, and they say, These are our intercessors with GOD.[b] Answer, Will ye tell GOD that which he knoweth not, neither in heaven nor in earth?[c] Praise be unto him! and far be that from him, which they associate *with him!* Men were professors of one religion only,[d] but they dis-

[y] Either the mutual salutation of the blessed to one another, or that of the angels to the blessed.

[z] *i e*, In all postures, and at all times

[a] For so old was Mohammed before he took upon him to be a prophet,[1] during which time his fellow-citizens well knew that he had not applied himself to learning of any sort, nor frequented learned men, nor had ever exercised himself in composing verses or orations whereby he might acquire the art of rhetoric, or elegance of speech[2] A flagrant proof, says al Beidâwi, that this book could be taught him by none but GOD

[b] See the Prelim. Disc Sect I p 12 &c

[c] viz, That he hath equals or companions either in heaven or on earth; since he acknowledgeth none.

[d] That is to say, the true religion, or Islâm, which was generally professed, as some say, till Abel was murdered, or, as others, till the days of Noah. Some suppose the first ages after the Flood are here intended others, the state of religion in Arabia, from the time of Abraham to that of Amru Ebn Lohai, the great introducer of idolatry into that country.

[1] See the Prelim. Disc p 33. Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. c. 7 [2] See the Prelim Disc p 21, &c

sented *therefrom;* and if a decree had not previously issued from thy LORD, *deferring their punishment,* verily the *matter* had been decided between them, concerning which they disagreed. They say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe.* Answer Verily that which is hidden *is known* only unto GOD: wait therefore *the pleasure of God,* and I also will wait with you. And when we caused the men *of Mecca* to taste mercy, after an affliction which had befallen them, behold, they *devised* a stratagem against our signs.[e] Say *unto them,* GOD is more swift in *executing* a stratagem *than ye.* Verily our messengers[f] write down that which ye deceitfully devise. It is he who hath given you conveniences for travelling by land and by sea; so that ye be in ships, which sail with them with a favourable wind, and they rejoice therein. *And when* a tempestuous wind overtaketh them, and waves come upon them from every side, and they think themselves to be encompassed *with inevitable dangers;* they call upon GOD, exhibiting the pure religion unto him,[g] *and saying,* Verily, if thou deliver us from this *peril,* we will be of those who give thanks. But when he hath delivered them, behold, they behave themselves insolently in the earth, without justice. O men, Verily the violence which ye commit against your own souls, *is for the* enjoyment of this present life only; afterwards unto us shall ye return, and we will declare unto you that which ye have done. Verily the likeness of this present life is no other than as water, which we send down from heaven, and wherewith the productions of the earth are mixed, of which men eat, and cattle *also,* until the earth receive its vesture, and be adorned *with various plants:* the inhabitants thereof imagine that they have power over the same, *but* our command cometh unto it by night or by day, and we render it *as though it had been* mown, as though it had not yesterday abounded *with fruits.* Thus do we explain *our* signs unto people who consider. GOD inviteth unto the dwelling of peace,[h] and directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. They who do right shall *receive* a most excellent *reward,* and a superabundant addition;[i] neither blackness[k] nor shame shall cover their faces. These *shall be* the inhabitants of paradise; they shall continue therein *for ever.* But they who commit evil *shall* receive the reward of evil, equal thereunto,[l] and they shall be covered with shame (*for* they shall have no protector against GOD); as though their faces were covered with the profound darkness of the night. These shall be the inhabitants of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein *for ever.* On the day *of the resurrection* we will gather them all together, then will we say unto the idolaters, *Get ye* to your place,

[e] For it is said that they were afflicted with a dearth for seven years, so that they were very near perishing, but no sooner relieved by GOD's sending them plenty, than they began again to charge Mohammed with imposture, and to ridicule his revelations.[3]

[f] *i. e.*, The guardian angels.

[g] That is, applying themselves to GOD only, and neglecting their idols, their fears directing them in such an extremity to ask help of him only who could give it.

[h] viz., Paradise.

[i] For their reward will vastly exceed the merit of their good works. Al Ghazâli supposes this *additional recompense* will be the beatific vision.[4]

[k] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 67, &c.

[l] *i. e.*, Though the blessed will be rewarded beyond their deserts, yet GOD will not punish any beyond their demerits, but treat them with the exactest justice.

[3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 72.

ye and your companions:[m] and we will separate them from one another; and their companions shall say *unto them*, Ye did not worship us;[n] and GOD is a sufficient witness between us and you; neither did we mind your worshipping *of us*. There shall every soul experience[o] that which it shall have sent before it;[p] and they shall be brought before GOD, their true LORD; and the *false deities* which they vainly imagined, shall disappear from before them. Say, Who provideth you food from heaven and earth? or who hath the absolute power over the hearing and the sight? and who bringeth forth the living from the dead, and bringeth forth the dead from the living? and who governeth *all* things? They will surely answer, GOD. Say, Will ye not therefore fear *him*? This is therefore GOD, your true LORD. and what *remaineth there* after truth, except error? How therefore are ye turned aside *from the truth*? Thus is the word of thy LORD verified upon them who do wickedly; that they believe not. Say, Is there any of your companions who produceth a creature, and then causeth it to return *unto himself*? Say, GOD produceth a creature, and then causeth it to return *unto himself*. How therefore are ye turned aside *from his worship*? Say, Is there any of your companions who directeth unto the truth? Say, GOD directeth unto the truth. Whether is he therefore, who directeth unto the truth, more worthy to be followed; or he who directeth not, unless he be directed? What aileth you, therefore, that ye judge as ye do? And the greater part of them follow an *uncertain* opinion only; but a *mere* opinion attaineth not unto any truth. Verily GOD knoweth that which they do. This Korân could not have been composed by *any* except GOD, but *it is* a confirmation of that which was *revealed* before it, and an explanation of the scripture, there is no doubt thereof; *sent down* from the LORD of all creatures. Will they say, *Mohammed* hath forged it? Answer, Bring therefore a chapter like unto it; and call whom ye may *to your assistance*, besides GOD, if ye speak truth. But they have charged that with falsehood, the knowledge whereof they do not comprehend, neither hath the interpretation thereof come unto them. In the same manner did those who were before them, accuse *their prophets* of imposture, but behold what was the end of the unjust. There are some of them who believe therein; and there are some of them who believe not therein[q] and thy LORD well knoweth the corrupt doers If they accuse thee of imposture, say, I have my work, and ye have your work; ye shall be clear of that which I do, and I will be clear of that which ye do. There are some of them who hearken unto thee; but wilt thou

[m] That is, your idols, or the companions which ye attributed unto GOD

[n] But ye really worshipped your own lusts and were seduced to idolatry, not by us, but by your own superstitious fancies It is pretended that GOD will, at the last day, enable the idols to speak, and that they will thus reproach their worshippers instead of interceding for them, as they hoped Some suppose the angels who were also objects of the worship of the pagan Arabs, are particularly intended in this place

[o] Some copies instead of *tablu*, read *tatlu*, *i e*, *shall follow*, or *meditate upon*

[p] See chapter 2, p 11, note [r]

[q] *i e*, There are some of them who are inwardly well satisfied of the truth of thy doctrine though they are so wicked as to oppose it, and there are others of them who believe it not, through prejudice and want of consideration. Or the passage may be understood in the future tense of some who should afterwards believe, and repent and of others who should die infidels [1]

[1] Al Beidâwi

make the deaf to hear, although they do not understand? And there are some of them who look at thee; but wilt thou direct the blind, although they see not?[r] Verily GOD will not deal unjustly with men in any respect: but men deal unjustly with their own souls.[s] On a certain day he will gather them together, as though they had not tarried[t] above an hour of a day: they shall know one another.[u] Then shall they perish who have denied the meeting of GOD, and were not *rightly* directed. Whether we cause thee to see a part of *the punishment* wherewith we have threatened them, or whether we cause thee to die *before thou see it;* unto us shall they return: then *shall* GOD *be* witness of that which they do. Unto every nation *hath* an apostle *been sent*: and when their apostle came, *the matter* was decided between them with equity;[x] and they were not treated unjustly. The *unbelievers* say, When *will* this threatening *be made good,* if ye speak truth? Answer, I am able neither to procure advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief *from me*, but as GOD pleaseth. Unto every nation is a fixed term *decreed*, when their term therefore is expired, they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall *their punishment* be anticipated Say, Tell me, if the punishment of GOD overtake you by night, or by day, what *part* thereof will the ungodly wish to be hastened? When it falleth *on you*, do ye then believe it? Now *do ye believe, and wish it far from you*, when as ye formerly desired it should be hastened? Then shall it be said unto the wicked, Taste ye the punishment of eternity: would ye receive *other* than the reward of that which ye have wrought? They will desire to know of thee whether this be true Answer, Yea, by my LORD, it is certainly true, neither shall ye weaken *God's power, so as to escape it* Verily, if every soul which hath acted wickedly had whatever is on the earth, it would *willingly* redeem itself therewith *at the last day*. Yet they will conceal *their* repentance,[y] after they shall have seen the punishment. and *the matter* shall be decided between them with equity, and they shall not be unjustly treated. Doth not whatsoever is in heaven and on earth *belong* unto GOD? Is not the promise of GOD true? But the greater part of them know *it* not. He giveth life, and he causeth to die; and unto him shall ye *all* return. O men, now hath an admonition come unto you from your LORD, and a remedy for the *doubts* which are in *your* breasts; and a direction, and mercy unto the true believers. Say, Through the grace of GOD, and his mercy: therein therefore let them rejoice; this will be better than

[r] These words were revealed on account of certain Meccans, who seemed to attend while Mohammed read the Korân to them, or instructed them in any point of religion, but yet were as far from being convinced or edified as if they had not heard him at all [2]

[s] For GOD deprives them not of their senses or understanding, but they corrupt and make an ill use of them.

[t] Either in the world or in the grave

[u] As if it were but a little while since they parted But this will happen during the first moments only of the resurrection, for afterwards the terror of the day will disturb and take from them all knowledge of one another [3]

[x] By delivering the prophet and those who believed on him, and destroying the obstinate infidels.

[y] To hide their shame and regret;[4] or because their surprise and astonishment will deprive them of the use of speech [5] Some, however, understand the verb which is here rendered *will conceal*, in the contrary signification, which it sometimes bears, and then it must be translated —*They will openly declare their repentance*, &c

[2] Idem See cap 6, p. 90. [3] Idem [4] Jallalo'ddin. [5] Al Beidâwi.

what they heap together *of worldly riches*. Say, Tell me; of that which GOD hath sent down unto you for food, have ye declared *part to be* lawful, and *other part to be* unlawful?[z] Say, Hath GOD permitted you *to make this distinction?* or do ye devise *a lie* concerning GOD? But what will be the opinion of those who devise a lie concerning GOD, on the day of the resurrection? Verily GOD is endued with beneficence towards mankind, but the greater part of them do not give thanks. Thou shalt be *engaged* in no business, neither shalt thou be *employed* in meditating on *any passage* of the Korân; nor shall ye do any action, but we will be witnesses over you, when ye are employed therein. Nor is so much as the weight of an ant[a] hidden from thy LORD, in earth or in heaven: neither *is there anything* lesser than that, or greater, but it is *written* in the perspicuous book.[b] Are not the friends of GOD *the persons*, on whom no fear shall come, and who shall not be grieved? They who believe and fear GOD, shall receive good tidings in this life and in that which is to come. There is no change in the words of GOD. This *shall be* great felicity. Let not their discourse[c] grieve thee; for all might *belongeth* unto GOD: he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Is not whoever *dwelleth* in heaven and on earth, *subject* unto GOD? What therefore do they follow, who invoke idols, besides GOD? They follow nothing but a *vain* opinion, and they only utter lies. It is he who hath ordained the night for you, that ye may take your rest therein, and the clear day *for labour*: verily herein are signs unto people who hearken. They say, GOD hath begotten children. GOD forbid! He is self-sufficient. Unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth: ye have no demonstrative proof of this. Do ye speak of GOD that which ye know not? Say, Verily they who imagine a lie concerning GOD, shall not prosper. *They may enjoy* a provision in this world; *but* afterwards unto us shall they return, and we will then cause them to taste a grievous punishment, for that they were unbelievers. Rehearse unto them the history of Noah,[d] when he said unto his people, O my people, if my standing forth *among you*, and my warning *you* of the signs of GOD, be grievous unto you; in GOD do I put my trust. Therefore lay your design *against me*, and assemble your false gods, but let not your design be *carried on* by you *in the* dark; then come forth against me, and delay not. And if ye turn aside *from my admonitions*, I ask not any reward of you *for the same*,[e] *I expect* my reward from GOD alone, and I am commanded to be *one* of those who are resigned *unto him*. But they accused him of imposture; wherefore we delivered him, and those who *were* with him in the ark, and we caused them to survive *the flood*, but we drowned those who charged our signs with falsehood. Behold, therefore, what was the end of those who were warned *by Noah*. Then did we send, after him, apostles unto their *respective* people,[f] and they came unto

[z] See chapter 6, p. 101, &c.
[a] See chapter 4, p. 58, note y.
[b] The preserved table, wherein GOD's decrees are recorded.
[c] The impious and rebellious talk of the infidels.
[d] See chapter 7, p. 110, &c.
[e] Therefore ye cannot excuse yourselves by saying that I am burdensome to you.
[f] As Hûd, Sâleh, Abraham, Lot, and Shoaib, to those of Ad, Thamûd, Babel, Sodom, and Midian.

them with evident demonstrations: yet they were not *disposed* to believe in that which they had before rejected as false. Thus do we seal up the hearts of the transgressors. Then did we send, after them, Moses and Aaron unto Pharaoh and his princes with our signs:[g] but they behaved proudly, and were a wicked people. And when the truth from us had come unto them, they said, Verily this is manifest sorcery. Moses said *unto them*, Do ye speak *this* of the truth, after it hath come unto you? Is this sorcery? but sorcerers shall not prosper. They said, Art thou come unto us to turn us aside from that *religion* which we found our fathers practise; and that ye two may have the command in the land? But we do not believe you. And Pharaoh said, Bring unto me every expert magician. And when the magicians were come, Moses said unto them, Cast down that which ye are about to cast down. And when they had cast down *their rods and cords*, Moses said *unto them*, The enchantment which ye have performed, shall GOD surely render vain, for GOD prospereth not the work of the wicked doers. And GOD will verify the truth of his words, although the wicked be averse *thereto*. And there believed not *any* on Moses, except a generation of his people,[h] for fear of Pharaoh and of his princes, lest he should afflict them. And Pharaoh was lifted up with pride in the earth, and was surely *one* of the transgressors. And Moses said, O my people, if ye believe in GOD, put your trust in him, if ye be resigned *to his will*. They answered, We put our trust in GOD. O LORD, suffer us not to be afflicted by unjust people, but deliver us, through thy mercy, from the unbelieving people. And we spake by inspiration unto Moses and his brother, *saying*, Provide habitations for your people in Egypt, and make your houses a place of worship,[i] and be constant at prayer; and bear good news unto the true believers. And Moses said, O LORD, verily thou hast given unto Pharaoh and his people *pompous* ornaments,[k] and riches in this present life, O LORD, that they may be seduced from thy way; O LORD, bring their riches to nought, and harden their hearts, that they may not believe, until they see *their* grievous punishment. *God* said, Your petition is heard;[l] be ye upright therefore,[m] and follow not in the way of those who are ignorant. And we caused the children of Israel to pass through the sea, and Pharaoh and his army followed them in

[g] See chapter 7, p. 115, &c.

[h] For when he first began to preach, a few of the younger Israelites only believed on him; the others not giving ear to him, for fear of the king. But some suppose the pronoun *his* refers to Pharaoh, and that these were certain Egyptians, who, together with his wife Asia, believed on Moses.[1]

[i] So Jallalo'ddin expounds the original word Kebla, which properly signifies that place or quarter towards which one prays. Wherefore al Zamakhshari supposes that the Israelites are here ordered to dispose their oratories in such a manner that, when they prayed, their faces might be turned towards Mecca, which he imagines was the Kebla of Moses, as it is that of the Mohammedans. The former commentator adds that Pharaoh had forbidden the Israelites to pray to GOD, for which reason they were obliged to perform that duty privately in their houses.

[k] As magnificent apparel, chariots, and the like.

[l] The pronoun is in the dual number, the antecedent being Moses and Aaron. The commentators say that, in consequence of this prayer, all the treasures of Egypt were turned into stones.[2]

[m] Or, as al Beidâwi interprets it, Be ye constant and steady in preaching to the people. The Mohammedans pretend that Moses continued in Egypt no less than forty years after he had first published his mission: which cannot be reconciled to scripture.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Jallalo'ddin.

a violent and hostile manner; until, when he was drowning, he said, I believe that there is no GOD but he on whom the children of Israel believe; and I am *one* of the resigned.[n] Now *dost thou believe; when* thou hast been hitherto rebellious, and one of the wicked doers? This day will we raise thy body[o] *from the bottom of the sea*, that thou mayest be a sign unto those who shall be after thee; and verily a great number of men are negligent of our signs. And we prepared for the children of Israel an established dwelling *in the land of Canaan*, and we provided good things for their sustenance, and they differed not *in point of religion*, until knowledge had come unto them;[p] verily thy LORD will judge between them on the day of resurrection, concerning that wherein they disagreed. If thou art in a doubt concerning *any part of* that which we have sent down unto thee,[q] ask them who have read the book *of the law* before thee. Now hath the truth come unto thee from thy LORD, be not, therefore, *one* of those who doubt neither be thou *one* of those who charge the signs of GOD with falsehood, lest thou become *one* of those who perish. Verily those against whom the word of thy LORD is decreed, shall not believe, although there come unto them every *kind of* miracle, until they see the grievous punishment *prepared for them*. And if *it were* not *so*, some city, *among the many which have been destroyed*, would have believed; and the faith of its *inhabitants* would have been of advantage unto them, *but none of them believed before the execution of their sentence*, except the people of Jonas[r] When they believed, we delivered them from the punishment of shame in this world, and suffered them to enjoy *their lives and possessions* for a time[s] But if thy LORD had pleased, verily all who are in the earth would have believed in general Wilt thou therefore forcibly compel men to be true believers? No soul can believe but by the permission of GOD and he shall pour out *his* indignation on those who will not understand Say, Consider whatever is in heaven and on earth · but signs are of no avail, neither preachers, unto people who

[n] These words, it is said, Pharaoh repeated often in his extremity that he might be heard But his repentance came too late, for Gabriel soon stopped his mouth with mud, lest he should obtain mercy, reproaching him at the same time in the words which follow

[o] Some of the children of Israel doubting whether Pharaoh was really drowned, Gabriel, by GOD's command, caused his naked corpse to swim to shore, that they might see it[1] The word here translated *body*, signifying also a *coat of mail* some imagine the meaning to be, that his corpse floated armed with his coat of mail, which they tell us was of gold, by which they knew that it was he

[p] *i.e.*, After the law had been revealed, and published by Moses

[q] That is concerning the truth of the histories which are here related The commentators doubt whether the person here spoken to be Mohammed himself or his auditor

[r] *viz.*, The inhabitants of Ninive, which stood on or near the place where al Mawsel now stands This people having corrupted themselves with idolatry, Jonas the son of Mattai (or Amittai, which the Mohammedans suppose to be the name of his mother), an Israelite of the tribe of Benjamin, was sent by GOD to preach to and reclaim them When he first began to exhort them to repentance, instead of hearkening to him, they used him very ill, so that he was obliged to leave the city, threatening them at his departure, that they should be destroyed within three days, or, as others say, within forty[2] But when the time drew near, and they saw the heavens overcast with a black cloud, which shot forth fire, and filled the air with smoke, and hung directly over their city they were in a terrible consternation, and getting into the fields with their families and cattle, they put on sackcloth, and humbled themselves before GOD, calling aloud for pardon, and sincerely repenting of their past wickedness. Whereupon GOD was pleased to forgive them, and the storm blew over[3]

[s] *i.e.*, Until they died according to the ordinary course of nature.

[1] See Exod. xiv 30. [2] See Jonah iii 4 [3] Al Baidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Abulfeda. See ... 41 and 37

will not believe. Do they therefore expect any other than *some terrible judgment*, like unto the judgments *which have fallen* on those who have gone before them? Say, Wait ye *the issue*, and I also will wait with you: then will we deliver our apostles and those who believe. Thus is it a justice due from us, that we should deliver the true believers. Say, O men *of Mecca*, if ye be in doubt concerning my religion, verily I worship not the *idols* which ye worship, besides GOD, but I worship GOD, who will cause you to die: and I am commanded to be *one* of the true believers. And *it was said unto me*, Set thy face towards the *true* religion, *and be* orthodox; and by no means be *one* of those who attribute companions *unto* GOD; neither invoke, besides GOD, that which can neither profit thee nor hurt thee for if thou do, thou *wilt* then certainly *become one* of the unjust. If GOD afflict thee with hurt, there is none who can relieve thee from it, except he; and if he willeth thee any good, there is none who can keep back his bounty. he will confer it on such of his servants as he pleaseth; and he *is* gracious *and* merciful. Say, O men, now hath the truth come unto you from your LORD He therefore who shall be directed, will be directed to *the advantage of* his own soul · but he who shall err, will err only against the same I am no guardian over you. Do thou, *O prophet*, follow that which is revealed unto thee. and persevere with patience, until GOD shall judge; for he is the best judge.

CHAPTER XI.

ENTITLED, HUD;[t] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

AL. R[u] *This* book, the verses whereof are guarded against corruption, and are also distinctly explained,[y] *is a revelation* from the wise the knowing *God* that ye serve not *any other* than GOD (verily I am a denouncer *of threats*, and a bearer of good tidings unto you from

[t] The story of which prophet is repeated in this chapter.

[u] See the Prelim Disc p 46, &c

[x] According to the various senses which the verb *ohkimat*, in the original, may bear, the commentators suggest as many different interpretations. Some suppose the meaning to be, according to our version, that the Korân is not liable to be corrupted,[1] as the law and the gospel have been, in the opinion of the Mohammedans; others, that every verse in this particular chapter is in full force, and not one of them abrogated, others, that the verses of the Korân are disposed in a clear and perspicuous method, or contain evident and demonstrative arguments, and others, that they comprise judicial declarations, to regulate both faith and practice[2]

[y] The signification of the verb *fossilat*, which is here used, being also ambiguous, the meaning of this passage is supposed to be, either that the verses are distinctly proposed or expressed in a clear manner; or that the subject matter of the whole may be distinguished or divided into laws, monitions, and examples; or else that the verses were revealed by parcels.

[1] See the Prelim Disc p. 58 [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari, &c.

him); and that ye ask pardon of your LORD, and then be turned unto him. He will cause you to enjoy a plentiful provision, until a prefixed time: and unto every one that hath merit *by good works*, will he give his abundant *reward*. But if ye turn back, verily I fear for you the punishment of the great day: unto GOD shall ye return, and he is almighty. Do they not double *the folds of* their breasts,[a] that they may conceal *their designs* from him? When they cover themselves with their garments, doth not he know that which they conceal, and that which they discover? For he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts *of men*.[a] (XII.) There is no *creature* which creepeth on the earth, but GOD *provideth* its food; and he knoweth the place of its retreat, and where it is laid up.[b] The whole *is written* in the perspicuous book *of his decrees*. It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in six days (but his throne was above the waters *before the creation thereof*),[c] that he might prove you, *and see* which of you would excel in works. If thou say, Ye shall surely be raised again, after death, the unbelievers will say, This is nothing but manifest sorcery. And verily if we defer their punishment unto a determined season, they will say, What hindereth it *from falling on us?* Will it not come upon them on a day wherein there shall be none to avert *it* from them, and that which they scoffed at shall encompass them? Verily, if we cause man to taste mercy from us, and afterwards take it away from him, he *will* surely *become* desperate,[d] and ungrateful. And if we cause him to taste favour, after an affliction hath befallen him, he will surely say, The evils *which I suffered* are passed from me, and he *will become* joyful and insolent: except those who persevere with patience, and do that which is right: they shall *receive* pardon and a great reward. Peradventure thou wilt omit *to publish* part of that which hath been revealed unto thee, and thy breast will become straitened, lest they say, Unless a treasure be sent down unto him, or an angel come with him, *to bear witness unto him, we will not believe*. Verily thou art a preacher *only*, and GOD is the governor of all things. Will they say, He hath forged *the Korân?* Answer, Bring therefore ten chapters[e] like unto it, forged *by*

[a] Or, as it may be translated, *Do they not turn away their breasts*, &c.

[a] This passage was occasioned by the words of certain of the idolaters, who said to one another, *When we let down our curtains* (such as the women use in the east to screen themselves from the sight of the men when they happen to be in the room), *and wrap ourselves up in our garments, and fold up our breasts, to conceal our malice against Mohammed, how should he come to the knowledge of it?* Some suppose the passage relates to certain hypocritical Moslems, but this opinion is generally rejected, because the verse was revealed at Mecca, and the birth of hypocrisy among the Mohammedans happened not till after the Hejra.

[b] *i.e.*, Both during its life and after its death; or the repository of every animal, before its birth, in the loins and wombs of the parents.

[c] For the Mohammedans suppose this throne, and the waters whereon it stands, which waters they imagine are supported by a spirit or wind, were, with some other things, created before the heavens and earth. This fancy they borrowed from the Jews, who also say that the throne of glory then stood in the air, and was borne on the face of the waters, by the breath of GOD's mouth.[1]

[d] Casting aside all hopes of the divine favour, for want of patience and trust in GOD.

[e] This was the number which he first challenged them to compose, but they not being able to do it, he made the matter still easier, challenging them to produce a single chapter only,[2] comparable to the Korân in doctrine and eloquence.

[1] Rashi, ad Gen. i. 2. Vide Reland. de Relig. Moh. p. 50, &c. [2] See c. 2, p. 3; c. 10, p. 153, &c.

yourselves; and call on whomsoever ye may *to assist you,* except GOD, if ye speak truth. But if they *whom ye call to your assistance* hear you not, know that *this book* hath been revealed by the knowledge of GOD only,[f] and that there is no GOD but he. *Will* ye therefore *become* Moslems? Whoso chooseth the present life, and the pomp thereof, unto them will we give *the recompense of* their works therein, and the same shall not be diminished unto them These are they for whom no *other reward* is *prepared* in the next life, except the fire *of hell* · that which they have done in *this life* shall perish , and that which they have wrought *shall be* vain Shall he therefore *be compared with them,* who followeth the evident declaration of his LORD, and whom a witness from him[g] attendeth, preceded by the book of Moses,[h] *which was revealed for* a guide, and *out of* mercy *to mankind?* These believe in the *Korân:* but whosoever of the confederate *infidels* believeth not therein, is threatened with the fire *of hell, which threat shall certainly be executed:* be not therefore in a doubt concerning it ; for it is the truth from thy LORD but the greater part of men will not believe. Who is more unjust than he who imagineth a lie concerning GOD ? They shall be set before their LORD, *at the day of judgment,* and the witnesses[i] shall say, These are they who devised lies against their LORD Shall not the curse of GOD *fall* on the unjust , who turn *men* aside from the way of GOD, and seek to render it crooked, and who believe not in the life to come? These were not able to prevail *against God* on earth, *so as to escape punishment,* neither had they any protectors besides GOD : their punishment shall be doubled unto them.[k] They could not hear, neither did they see. These are they who have lost their souls ; and the *idols* which they falsely imagined have abandoned them. There is no doubt but they shall be most miserable in the world to come But as for those who believe, and do good works, and humble themselves before their LORD, they shall be the inhabitants of paradise, they shall remain therein *for ever.* The similitude of the two parties[l] is as the blind and the deaf, and *as* he who seeth *and* heareth shall they be compared as equal? Will ye not therefore consider? We formerly sent Noah[m] unto his people, *and he said,* Verily I am a public preacher unto you, that ye worship GOD alone: verily I fear for you the punishment of the terrible day. But the chiefs of his people, who believed not, answered, We see thee *to be* no other than a man, like unto us ; and we do not see that any follow thee, except those who are the most abject among us, *who have believed on thee* by a rash judgment ,[n] neither do we perceive any excellence in you above us · but we esteem you to be liars *Noah* said, O my people, tell me ; if I have *received* an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath bestowed

[f] Or containing several passages wrapped up in dark and mysterious expressions, which can proceed from and are perfectly comprehended by none but GOD [3]

[g] The Korân , or, as others suppose, the angel Gabriel

[h] Which bears testimony thereto

[i] That is, the angels, and prophets, and their own members

[k] For they shall be punished both in this life and in the next

[l] *i e*, The believers and the infidels

[m] See chapter 7, p 110 &c

[n] For want of mature consideration, and moved by the first impulse of their fancy

[3] See c 3, p. 20

on me mercy from himself, which is hidden from you, do we compel you to *receive* the same, in case ye be averse thereto? O my people, I ask not of you any riches, for *my preaching unto you:* my reward is with GOD alone. I will not drive away those who have believed.[o] verily they shall meet their LORD, *at the resurrection*, but I perceive that ye are ignorant men. O my people, who shall assist me against GOD, if I drive them away? Will ye not therefore consider? I say not unto you, The treasures of GOD are in my power; neither *do I say*, I know the secrets *of God;* neither do I say, Verily I am an angel;[p] neither do I say of those whom your eyes do contemn, GOD will by no means bestow good on them (GOD best knoweth that which is in their souls); for then should I certainly be *one* of the unjust. They answered, O Noah, thou hast already disputed with us, and hast multiplied disputes with us, now therefore do thou bring that *punishment* upon us wherewith thou hast threatened us, if thou speakest truth. *Noah* said, Verily GOD alone shall bring it upon you, if he pleaseth, and ye shall not prevail against him, *so as to escape the same*. Neither shall my counsel profit you, although I endeavour to counsel you aright, if GOD shall please to lead you into error. He is your LORD, and unto him shall ye return. Will the *Meccans* say, *Mohammed* hath forged *the Korân?* Answer, If I have forged it, on me *be* my guilt, and let me be clear of that which ye are guilty of. And it was revealed unto Noah, *saying*, Verily none of thy people shall believe, except he who hath already believed: be not therefore grieved for that which they are doing. But make an ark in our presence, *according to the form and dimensions* which we have revealed *unto thee*: and speak not unto me in behalf of those who have acted unjustly; for they *are doomed to be* drowned. And he built the ark; and so often as a company of his people passed by him, they derided him:[q] *but* he said, Though ye scoff at us *now*, we will scoff at you *hereafter*, as ye scoff *at us*, and ye shall surely know on whom a punishment shall be inflicted, which shall cover him with shame, and on whom a lasting punishment shall fall. *Thus were they employed* until our sentence was put in execution, and the oven poured forth *water*.[r] *And* we said *unto Noah*, Carry into *the ark* of every *species*

[o] For this they asked him to do, because they were poor mean people. The same thing the Koreish demanded of Mohammed, but he was forbidden to comply with their request.[1]

[p] See chapter 6, p. 93.

[q] For building a vessel in an inland country, and so far from the sea, and for that he was turned carpenter after he had set up for a prophet.[2]

[r] Or, as the original literally signifies, *boiled over;* which is consonant to what the Rabbins say, that the waters of the Deluge were boiling hot.

This oven was, as some say, at Cûfa, in a spot whereon a mosque now stands; or, as others rather think, in a certain place in India, or else at Ain warda in Mesopotamia;[3] and its exundation was the sign by which Noah knew the flood was coming.[4] Some pretend that it was the same oven which Eve made use of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from those we use, having the mouth in the upper part, and that it descended from patriarch to patriarch, till it came to Noah.[5] It is remarkable that Mohammed, in all probability, borrowed this circumstance from the Persian Magi, who also fancied that the first waters of the Deluge gushed out of the oven of a certain old woman named Zala Cûfa.[6]

But the word *tannûr*, which is here translated *oven*, also signifying the *superficies of the earth*, or *a place whence waters spring forth*, or *where they are collected*, some suppose it means no more in this passage than the spot or fissure whence the first eruption of waters brake forth.

[1] See cap. 6, p. 93. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. [4] Jallalo'ddin, &c. [5] Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Noah. [6] Vide Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Persar. and Lord's Account of the Relig. of the Persees, p. 9.

of animals one pair;[s] and thy family,[t] (except him on whom a previous sentence *of destruction* hath passed),[u] and those who believe.[x] But there believed not with him, except a few.[y] And *Noah* said, Embark thereon, in the name of GOD; while it moveth forward, and while it standeth still;[z] for my LORD *is* gracious *and* merciful. And *the ark* swam with them between waves like mountains:[a] and Noah called unto his son,[b] who was seperated *from him, saying,* Embark with us, my son, and stay not with the unbelievers. He answered, I will get on a mountain, which will secure me from the water. *Noah* replied, There is no security this day from the decree of GOD, except for him on whom he shall have mercy. And a wave passed between them, and he became *one* of those who were drowned. And it was said, O earth, swallow up thy waters, and thou, O heaven, withhold *thy rain.* And *immediately* the water abated, and the decree was fulfilled, and *the ark* rested on *the mountain* Al Judi,[c] and it was said, Away with

[s] Or, as the words may also be rendered, and some commentators think they ought, two pair, that is, two males and two females of each species; wherein they partly agree with divers Jewish and Christian writers,[1] who from the Hebrew expression, *seven and seven* and *two and two, the male and his female,*[2] suppose there went into the ark fourteen pair of every clean, and two pair of every unclean species. There is a tradition that GOD gathered together unto Noah all sorts of beasts, birds, and other animals (it being indeed difficult to conceive how he should come by them all without some supernatural assistance) and that as he laid hold on them, his right hand constantly fell on the male, and his left on the female.[3]

[t] Namely, thy wife, and thy sons and their wives.[4]

[u] This was an unbelieving son of Noah,[5] named Canaan,[6] or Yam,[7] though others say he was not the son of Noah, but his grandson by his son Ham, or his wife's son by another husband; nay, some pretend he was related to him no farther than by having been educated and brought up in his house.[8] The best commentators add, that Noah's wife, named Wâïla, who was an infidel, was also comprehended in this exception, and perished with her son.[9]

[x] Noah's family being mentioned before, it is supposed that by these words are intended the other believers, who were his proselytes, but *not* of his family; whence the common opinion among the Mohammedans, of a greater number than eight being saved in the ark, seems to have taken its rise.[10]

[y] viz., His other wife, who was a true believer, his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and their wives, and seventy-two persons more.[11]

[z] That is, omit no opportunity of getting on board. According to a different reading, the latter words may be rendered, *Who shall cause it to move forward, and to stop,* as there shall be occasion. The commentators tell us that the ark moved forwards, or stood still, as Noah would have it, on his pronouncing only the words, *In the name of* GOD.[12]

It is to be observed that the more judicious commentators make the dimensions of the ark to be the same with those assigned by Moses;[13] notwithstanding, others have enlarged them most extravagantly,[14] as some Christian writers[15] have also done. They likewise tell us that Noah was two years in building the ark, which was framed of Indian plane tree,[16] that it was divided into three stories, of which the lower was designed for the beasts, the middle one for the men and women, and the upper for the birds;[17] and that the men were separated from the women by the body of Adam, which Noah had taken into the ark.[18] This last is a tradition of the eastern Christians,[19] some of whom pretend that the matrimonial duty was superseded and suspended during the time Noah and his family were in the ark,[20] though Ham has been accused of not observing continency on that occasion, his wife, it seems, bringing forth Canaan in the very ark.[21]

[a] The waters prevailing fifteen cubits above the mountains.[22]

[b] See above, note [u].

[c] This mountain is one of those which divide Armenia, on the south, from Mesopotamia, and that part of Assyria which is inhabited by the Curds, from whom the mountains took the name

[1] Aben Ezra, Justin Martyr, Origen, &c. [2] Gen. vii. 2. [3] Jallalo'ddin. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Yahya. [6] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [7] Ebn Shohnah. [8] Al Zamakhshari. Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 676. [9] Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari, al Beidâwi. [10] See c. 7, p. 111. [11] See ibid. note [x]. [12] Al Beidâwi, &c. [13] Idem, &c. [14] Yahya. Vide Marracc. in Alcor. p. 340. [15] Origen. Contr. Cels. l. 4. Vide Kircher. de Arca Noe, c. 8. [16] Al Beidâwi. Vide D'Herbel. p. 675, and Eutych. p. 34. [17] Al Beidâwi. Vide Eutych. Annal. p. 34. [18] Yahya. [19] Jacob. Edessenus, apud Barcepham de Parad. part i. c. 14. Eutych. ubi sup. Vide etiam Eliezer. pirke c. 23. [20] Ambros. de Noa et Arca, c. 21. [21] Vide Heidegger. Hist. Patriarchar. vol. i. p. 409. [22] Al Beidâwi.

the ungodly people! And *Noah* called upon his LORD, and said, O LORD, verily my son is of my family; and thy promise is true:[d] for thou art the most just of those who exercise judgment. *God* answered, O Noah, verily he is not of thy family:[e] this *intercession of thine for him*, is not a righteous work.[f] Ask not of me therefore that wherein thou hast no knowledge. I admonish thee that thou become not *one* of the ignorant. *Noah* said, O LORD, I have recourse unto thee *for the assistance of thy grace*, that I ask not of thee that wherein I have no knowledge: and unless thou forgive me, and be merciful unto me, I shall be *one* of those who perish. It was said *unto him*, O Noah, come down from the *ark*,[g] with peace from us, and blessings upon thee and upon a part of those who are with thee;[h] but as for a part *of them*,[i] we will suffer them to enjoy *the provision of this world;* and afterwards shall a grievous punishment from us be inflicted on them, *in the life to come*. This is a secret history, which we reveal unto thee: thou didst not know it, neither did thy people, before this. Wherefore persevere with patience: for the *prosperous* issue shall attend the pious. And unto *the tribe of* Ad *we sent* their brother Hud.[k] He said, O my people, worship GOD; ye have no GOD besides him: ye only imagine false-

of Cardu, or Gardu, by the Greeks turned into Gordyæi, and other names.[1] Mount al Jûdi (which name seems to be a corruption, though it be constantly so written by the Arabs, for Jordi, or Giordi) is also called Thamanin,[2] probably from a town at the foot of it,[3] so named from the number of persons saved in the ark, the word *thamanin* signifying *eighty*, and over looks the country of Diyâr Rabîah, near the cities of Mawsel, Forda, and Jazirat Ebn Omar, which last place one affirms to be but four miles from the place of the ark, and says that a Mohammedan temple was built there with the remains of that vessel, by the Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz, whom he by mistake calls Omar Ebn al Khattâb.[4]

The tradition which affirms the ark to have rested on these mountains, must have been very ancient, since it is the tradition of the Chaldeans themselves:[5] the Chaldee paraphrasts consent to their opinion,[6] which obtained very much formerly, especially among the eastern Christians.[7] To confirm it, we are told that the remainders of the ark were to be seen on the Gordyæan mountains. Berosus and Abydenus both declare there was such a report in their time;[8] the first observing that several of the inhabitants thereabouts scraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet; and the latter saying that they used the wood of the vessel against many diseases with wonderful success. The relics of the ark were also to be seen here in the time of Epiphanius, if we may believe him;[9] and we are told the emperor Heraclius went from the town of Thamanin up to the mountain al Jûdi, and saw the place of the ark.[10] There was also formerly a famous monastery, called *the monastery of the ark*, upon some of these mountains, where the Nestorians used to celebrate a feast day on the spot where they supposed the ark rested; but in the year of Christ 776, that monastery was destroyed by lightning, with the church, and a numerous congregation in it.[11] Since which time it seems the credit of this tradition hath declined, and given place to another, which obtains at present, and according to which the ark rested on Mount Masis, in Armenia, called by the Turks Agri dagh, or *the heavy* or *great mountain*, and situate about twelve leagues south-east of Erivan.[12]

[d] Noah here challenges GOD's promise that he would save his family.

[e] Being cut off from it on account of his infidelity.

[f] According to a different reading, this passage may be rendered, *For he hath acted unrighteously.*

[g] The Mohammedans say that Noah went into the ark on the tenth of Rajeb, and came out of it the tenth of al Moharram, which therefore became a fast. So that the whole time of Noah's being in the ark, according to them, was six months.[1]

[h] viz., Such of them as continued in their belief.

[i] That is, such of his posterity as should depart from the true faith, and fall into idolatry.

[k] See chapter 7, p. 111.

[1] See Bochart. Phaleg. l. 1, c. 3. [2] Geogr. Nub. p. 202. [3] Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 404 and 676, and Agathiam, l. 14, p. 135. [4] Benjamin. Itiner. p. 61. [5] Berosus, apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 1, c. 4. [6] Onkelos et Jonathan, in Gen. viii. 4. [7] Vide Eutych. Annal. p. 41. [8] Berosus, apud Joseph. ubi sup. Abydenus, apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 9, c. 4. [9] Epiph. Hæres. 18. [10] Elmacin. l. 1, c. 1. [11] Vide Chronic. Dionysii Patriarch. Jacobitar. apud Asseman. Bibl. Orient. t. 2, p. 112. [12] Al Beidâwi. [1] Idem. See D'Herbel. ubi sup.

hood, *in setting up idols and intercessors of your own making*. O my people, I ask not of you for this *my preaching*, any recompense: my recompense *do I expect* from him only who hath created me. Will ye not therefore understand? O my people, ask pardon of your LORD; and be turned unto him: he will send the heaven to pour forth rain plentifully upon you,[l] and he will increase your strength by *giving* unto you *farther* strength:[m] therefore turn not aside to commit evil. They answered, O Hud, thou hast brought us no proof *of what thou sayest;* therefore we will not leave our gods for thy saying, neither do we believe thee. We say no other than that some of our gods have afflicted thee with evil.[n] He replied, Verily I call GOD to witness, and do ye also bear witness, that I am clear of that which ye associate *with God*, besides him. Do ye all therefore *join to* devise a plot against me, and tarry not; for I put my confidence in GOD, my LORD and your LORD. There is no beast, but he holdeth *it* by its forelock.[o] verily my LORD *proceedeth* in the right way. But if ye turn back, I have already declared unto you that with which I was sent unto you; and my LORD shall substitute another nation in your stead; and ye shall not hurt him at all: for my LORD *is* guardian over all things. And when our sentence came *to be put in execution*, we delivered Hud, and those who had believed with him,[p] through our mercy; and we delivered them from a grievous punishment. And this *tribe of* Ad wittingly rejected the signs of their LORD, and were disobedient unto his messengers, and they followed the command of every rebellious perverse person. Wherefore they were followed in this world by a curse, and *they shall be followed by the same* on the day of resurrection. Did not Ad disbelieve in their LORD? Was it not *said*, Away with Ad, the people of Hud? And unto *the tribe of* Thamud *we sent* their brother Saleh.[q] He said *unto them*, O my people, worship GOD, ye have no GOD besides him. It is he who hath produced you out of the earth, and hath given you an habitation therein. Ask pardon of him, therefore, and be turned unto him; for my LORD is near, *and* ready to answer. They answered, O Saleh, thou wast *a person* on whom we placed our hopes before this.[r] Dost thou forbid us to worship that which our fathers worshipped? But we are certainly in doubt concerning *the religion* to which thou dost invite us, *as* justly to be expected. *Saleh* said, O my people, tell me; if I have received an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath bestowed on me mercy from himself; who will protect me from *the vengeance of* GOD, if I be disobedient unto him? For ye shall not add unto me, other than loss. And *he said*, O my people, this she-camel of GOD *is* a sign unto you:

[l] For the Adites were grievously distressed by a drought for three years.[2]

[m] By giving you children, the wombs of their wives being also rendered barren during the time of the drought, as well as their lands.[3]

[n] Or madness, having deprived thee of thy reason for the indignities thou hast offered them.

[o] That is, he exerciseth an absolute power over it. A creature held in this manner being supposed to be reduced to the lowest subjection.

[p] Who were in number four thousand.[4]

[q] See chapter 7, p. 112.

[r] Designing to have made thee our prince, because of the singular prudence and other good qualities which we observed in thee; but thy dissenting from us in point of religion wo that has frustrated those hopes.

[1] See the notes to cap. 7, p. 111. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. [4] Idem.

therefore dismiss her freely that she may feed in GOD'S earth, and do her no harm, lest a swift punishment seize you. Yet they killed her; and *Saleh* said, Enjoy *yourselves* in your dwellings for three days;[s] *after which ye shall be destroyed.* This is an infallible prediction. And when our decree came *to be executed*, we delivered Saleh and those who believed with him, through our mercy, from the disgrace of that day; for thy LORD is the strong, the mighty *God*. But a terrible noise *from heaven* assailed those who had acted unjustly; and in the morning they were found in their houses, lying *dead and* prostrate, as though they had never dwelt therein. Did not Thamud disbelieve in their LORD? Was not Thamud *cast* far away? Our messengers[t] also came formerly unto Abraham, with good tidings. they said, Peace *be upon thee*. And he answered, *And on you be* peace[1] and he tarried not, but brought a roasted calf And when he saw that their hands did not touch *the meat*, he misliked them, and entertained a fear of them.[u] *But* they said, Fear not: for we are sent unto the people of Lot.[x] And his wife *Sarah was* standing by,[y] and she laughed,[z] and we promised her Isaac, and after Isaac, Jacob She said, Alas! shall I bear a son, who am old; this my husband also being advanced in years?[a] Verily this *would be* a wonderful thing. *The angels* answered, Dost thou wonder at the *effect of the* command of GOD? The mercy of GOD and his blessings be upon you, the family of the house.[b] for he *is* praiseworthy, *and* to be glorified And when *his* apprehension had departed from Abraham, and the good tidings *of Isaac's birth* had come unto him, he disputed with us concerning the people of Lot.[c] for Abraham was a pitiful, compassionate, and devout *person* *The angels said unto him*, O Abraham, abstain from this; for now is the command of thy LORD come, *to put their sentence in execution*, and an inevitable punishment is ready to fall upon them And when our messengers came

[s] viz., Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday[1] See chapter 7, p 113 note [m]

[t] These were the angels who were sent to acquaint Abraham with the promise of Isaac, and to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah Some of the commentators pretend they were twelve, or nine, or ten in number, but others, agreeably to scripture, say they were but three, viz., Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil[2]

[u] Apprehending they had some ill design against him, because they would *not eat with him*

[x] Being angels, whose nature needs not the support of food[3]

[y] Either behind the curtain, or door of the tent, or else waiting upon them.

[z] The commentators are so little acquainted with scripture that, not knowing the true occasion of Sarah's laughter, they strain their invention to give some reason for it One says that she laughed at the angels discovering themselves, and ridding Abraham and herself of their apprehensions; and another, *that it was at the approaching destruction of the Sodomites (a very* probable motive in one of her sex) Some, however interpret the original word differently, and will have it that she did not *laugh*, but that *her courses*, which had stopped for several years, *came upon her* at this time, as a previous sign of her future conception[4]

[a] Al Beidâwi writes that Sarah was then ninety or ninety nine years old, and Abraham a hundred and twenty

[b] Or the stock whence all the prophets were to proceed for the future Or the expression may perhaps refer to Abraham and Ismael's building the Caaba, which is often called by way of excellence, *the house*

[c] That is, he interceded with us for them[5] Jallalo'ddin, instead of the numbers mentioned by Moses, says that Abraham first asked whether GOD would destroy those cities if three hundred righteous persons were found therein, and so fell successively to two hundred, forty, fourteen, and at last came to one but there was not one righteous person to be found among them, except only Lot and his family

[1] Idem [2] Idem Jallalo'ddin See Gen. xviii. [3] Idem [4] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari [5] Vide Gen xviii 23, &c.

unto Lot, he was troubled for them,[d] and his arm was straitened concerning them,[e] and he said, This is a grievous day. And his people came unto him, rushing upon him: and they had formerly been guilty of wickedness. *Lot* said *unto them*, O my people, these my daughters are more lawful for you: therefore fear GOD, and put me not to shame by *wronging* my guests. Is there not a man of prudence among you? They answered, Thou knowest that we have no need of thy daughters; and thou well knowest what we would have. He said, If I had strength sufficient to *oppose* you, or I could have recourse unto a powerful support, *I would certainly do it.* *The angels* said, O Lot, verily we are the messengers of thy LORD; they shall by no means come in unto thee.[f] Go forth therefore with thy family, in some part of the night, and let not any of you turn back; but as for thy wife,[g] that shall happen unto her, which shall happen unto them. Verily the prediction *of their punishment* shall be *fulfilled in* the morning. is not the morning near? And when our command came, we turned those *cities* upside down,[h] and we rained upon them stones of baked clay,[i] one following another, and being marked,[k] from thy LORD, and they *are* not far distant from those who act unjustly.[l] And unto Madian *we sent* their brother Shoaib [m] he said, O my people, worship GOD; ye have no GOD but him · and diminish not measure and weight. Verily I see you *to be* in a happy condition.[n] but I fear for you the punishment of the day which will encompass *the ungodly* O my people, give full measure and just weight, and diminish not unto men *ought* of their matters; neither commit injustice in the earth, acting corruptly. The residue *which shall remain unto you as the gift* of GOD, *after ye shall have done justice to others*, will be better for you *than wealth gotten by fraud*, if ye be true believers. I am no guardian over you. They answered, O

[d] Because they appeared in the shape of beautiful young men, which must needs tempt those of Sodom to abuse them [5]

[e] *i e*, He knew himself unable to protect them against the insults of his townsmen.

[f] Al Beidâwi says that Lot shut his door, and argued the matter with the riotous assembly from behind it, but at length they endeavoured to get over the wall whereupon Gabriel, seeing his distress, struck them on the face with one of his wings, and blinded them; so that they moved off, crying out for help, and saying that Lot had magicians in his house

[g] This seems to be the true sense of the passage, but according to a different reading of the vowel, some interpret it, *Except thy wife*, the meaning being that Lot is here commanded to take his family with him *except his wife* Wherefore the commentators cannot agree whether Lot's wife went forth with him or not, some denying it, and pretending that she was left behind and perished in the common destruction; and others affirming it, and saying that when she heard the noise of the storm and overthrow of the cities, she turned back lamenting their fate, and was immediately struck down and killed by one of the stones mentioned a little lower [1] A *punishment she justly merited for her infidelity and disobedience to her husband* [2]

[h] For they tell us that Gabriel thrust his wing under them, and lifted them up so high, that the inhabitants of the lower heaven heard the barking of the dogs and the crowing of the cocks; and then, inverting them, threw them down to the earth [3]

[i] The kiln wherein they were burned some imagine to have been hell.

[k] That is, as some suppose streaked with white and red, or having some other peculiar mark to distinguish them from ordinary stones But the common opinion is that each stone had the name of the person who was to be killed by it written thereon [4] The army of Abraha al Ashram was also destroyed by the same kind of stones.

[l] This is a kind of threat to other wicked persons, and particularly to the infidels of Mecca, who deserved and might justly apprehend the same punishment

[m] See chap 7, p 113, &c.

[n] That is, enjoying plenty of all things, and therefore having the less occasion to defraud one another, and being the more strongly bound to be thankful and obedient unto GOD

[5] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi Vide Joseph Ant. l. 1, c. 11 [1] Idem interpretes. [2] Sur. cap 66. [3] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [4] Idem

Shoaib, do thy prayers enjoin thee, that we should leave the *gods* which our fathers worshipped; or that we should not do what we please with our substance?[o] Thou *only*, it seems, art the wise *person*, and fit to direct. He said, O my people, tell me; if I have received an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath bestowed on me an excellent provision, and I will not consent unto you in that which I forbid you; do I seek *any other* than *your* reformation, to the utmost of my power? My support is from GOD alone; on him do I trust, and unto him do I turn me. O my people, let not *your* opposing of me draw on you *a vengeance* like unto that which fell on the people of Noah, or the people of Hud, or the people of Saleh: neither *was* the people of Lot far distant from you.[p] Ask pardon therefore of your LORD; and be turned unto him: for my LORD is merciful *and* loving. They answered, O Shoaib, we understand not much of what thou sayest, and we see thee to be a *man* of no power[q] among us: if it had not been *for the sake of* thy family,[r] we had surely stoned thee, neither couldst thou have prevailed against us. *Shoaib* said, O my people, is my family more worthy in your opinion than GOD? and do ye cast him behind you with neglect? Verily my LORD comprehendeth that which ye do. O my people, do ye work according to your condition; I will surely work *according to my duty*.[s] *And* ye shall certainly know on whom will be inflicted a punishment which shall cover him with shame, and who is a liar. Wait therefore *the event*; for I also will wait *it* with you Wherefore when our decree came *to be executed*, we delivered Shoaib and those who believed with him, through our mercy. and a terrible noise *from heaven* assailed those who had acted unjustly; and in the morning they were found in their houses lying *dead and* prostrate, as though they had never dwelt therein. Was not Madian removed *from off the earth*, as Thamud had been removed? And we formerly sent Moses with our signs, and manifest power, unto Pharaoh and his princes [t] but they followed the command of Pharaoh, although the command of Pharaoh did not direct *them* aright. *Pharaoh* shall precede his people on the day of resurrection, and he shall lead them into *hell* fire, an unhappy way *shall it be* which *they* shall be led They were followed in this *life* by a curse, and on the day of resurrection miserable *shall be* the gift which shall be given *them*. This is *a part* of the histories of the cities, which we rehearse unto thee. Of them there are *some* standing; and *others which are* utterly demolished.[u] And we treated them not unjustly,

[o] For this liberty they imagined was taken from them, by his prohibition of false weights and measures, or to diminish or adulterate their coin [5]

[p] For Sodom and Gomorrah were situate not a great way from you and their destruction happened not many ages ago, neither did they deserve it, on account of their obstinacy and wickedness, much more than yourselves.

[q] The Arabic word *daif*, *weak*, signifying also, in the Hamyaritic dialect, *blind*, some suppose that Shoaib was so, and that the Midianites objected that to him as a defect which disqualified him for the prophetic office

[r] *i e*, For the respect we bear to thy family and relations, whom we honour as being of our religion, and not for any apprehension we have of their power to assist you against us. The original word, here translated *family*, signifies any number from three to seven or ten, but not more [6]

[s] See chapter 6, p 101, note [o]

[t] See chapter 7, p. 115, &c

[u] Literally, *mown down*, the sentence presenting the different images of corn standing and cut down, which is also often used by the sacred writers.

[5] Al Beidâwi. [6] Idem.

but they dealt unjustly with their own souls: and their gods which they invoked, besides GOD, were of no advantage unto them at all, when the decree of thy LORD came *to be executed on them*, neither were they any other than a detriment unto them. And thus *was* the punishment of thy LORD *inflicted*, when he punished the cities which were unjust; for his punishment is grievous and severe. Verily herein is a sign unto him who feareth the punishment of the last *day*: that *shall be a* day whereon *all* men shall be assembled, and that *shall be* a day whereon witness shall be borne; we defer it not, but to a determined time. When *that day* shall come, no soul shall speak *to excuse itself, or to intercede for another*, but by the permission of *God*. Of them *one shall be* miserable, and *another shall be* happy. And they who shall be miserable, shall be *thrown* into *hell* fire; there shall they wail and bemoan *themselves*:[x] they shall remain therein so long as the heavens and the earth shall endure;[y] except what thy LORD shall please *to remit of their sentence*;[z] for thy LORD effecteth that which he pleaseth. But they who shall be happy, *shall be admitted* into paradise; they shall remain therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure; besides what thy LORD shall please *to add unto their bliss*; a bounty which shall not be interrupted. Be not therefore in doubt concerning that which these men worship, they worship no other than what their fathers worshipped before *them*; and we will surely give them their full portion, not in the least diminished. We formerly gave unto Moses the book *of the law*, and disputes arose *among his people* concerning it: and unless a previous decree had proceeded from thy LORD, *to bear with them during this life, the matter* had been surely decided between them. And *thy people are also* jealous *and* in doubt concerning the *Korân*. But unto every one of them will thy LORD render *the reward of* their works; for he well knoweth that which they do. Be thou steadfast, therefore, as thou hast been commanded, and *let him also be steadfast* who shall be converted with thee, and transgress not: for he seeth that which ye do. And incline not unto those who act unjustly, lest the fire *of hell* touch you: for ye have no protectors, except GOD; neither shall ye be assisted *against him*. Pray regularly morning and evening,[a] and in the former part of the night,[b] for good *works* drive away evils. This is an admonition unto those who consider: wherefore persevere with patience; for GOD suffereth not the reward of the righteous to perish. Were such of the generations before you, endued with understanding and virtue, who forbade the acting corruptly in the earth, any more than a few only of those whom we delivered? But they who were un-

[x] The two words in the original signify properly the vehement drawing in and expiration of one's breath, which is usual to persons in great pain and anguish; and particularly the reciprocation of the voice of an ass when he brays.

[y] This is not to be strictly understood as if either the punishment of the damned should have an end, or the heavens and the earth should endure for ever; the expression being only used by way of image or comparison, which need not agree in every point with the thing signified. Some, however, think the future heavens and earth, into which the present shall be changed, are here meant.[1]

[z] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 72, 73.

[a] Literally, *in the two extremities of the day*.

[b] That is, after sunset and before supper, when the Mohammedans say their fourth prayer, called by them *Salât al moghreb*, or the evening prayer.[2]

[1] Al Beidawi. [2] Idem.

just followed *the delights* which they enjoyed *in this world*,[c] and were wicked doers:[d] and thy LORD was not *of such a disposition* as to destroy the cities unjustly,[e] while their inhabitants behaved themselves uprightly. And if thy LORD pleased, he would have made *all* men of one religion: but they shall not cease to differ among themselves, unless those on whom thy LORD shall have mercy. and unto this hath he created them; for the word of thy LORD shall be fulfilled, *when he said*, Verily I will fill hell altogether with genii and men. The whole *which we have related* of the histories of *our* apostles do we relate unto thee, that we may confirm thy heart thereby, and herein is the truth come unto thee, and an admonition, and a warning unto the true believers. Say unto those who believe not, Act ye according to your condition; we surely will act *according to our duty*.[f] and wait *the issue*; *for* we certainly wait *it also*. Unto GOD *is known* that which is secret in heaven and earth; and unto him shall the whole matter be referred. Therefore worship him, and put thy trust in him; for thy LORD is not regardless of that which ye do.

CHAPTER XII.

ENTITLED, JOSEPH,[g] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL R.[h] These are the signs of the perspicuous book; which we have sent down in the Arabic tongue, that peradventure ye might understand. We relate unto thee a most excellent history, by revealing unto thee this Korân,[i] whereas thou wast before *one* of the [k]negli-

[c] Making it their sole business to please their luxurious desires and appetites and placing their whole felicity therein

[d] Al Beidâwi says that this passage gives the reason why the nations were destroyed of old; viz., for their violence and injustice, their following their own lusts, and for their idolatry and unbelief

[e] Or, as the commentator just named explains it, *for their idolatry* only, when they observed justice in other respects.

[f] See chapter 6, p 110, note [o]

[g] The Koreish, thinking to puzzle Mohammed, at the instigation and by the direction of certain Jewish Rabbins, demanded of him how Jacob's family happened to go down into Egypt, and that he would relate to them the history of Joseph, with all its circumstances. whereupon he pretended to have received this chapter from heaven, containing the story of that patriarch[1] It is said, however, to have been rejected by two Mohammedan sects branches of the Khârejites, called the Ajâredites and the Maimûnians, as apocryphal and spurious.

[h] See the Prelim Disc p 46 &c

[i] Or this particular chapter For the word *Korân*, as has been elsewhere observed,[2] properly signifying no more than a *reading* or *lecture*, is often used to denote, not only the whole volume, but any distinct chapter or section of it

[k] *i e*, So far from being acquainted with the story, that it never so much as entered into thy thoughts, a certain argument, says al Beidâwi, that it must have been revealed to him from heaven

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Prelim Disc. Sect III p 44.

gent. When Joseph said unto his father,[l] O my father, verily I saw *in my dream* eleven stars,[m] and the sun and the moon; I saw them make obeisance unto me. Jacob said, O my child, tell not thy vision to thy brethren, lest they devise some plot against thee;[n] for the devil is a professed enemy unto man: and thus, *according to thy dream*, shall thy LORD choose thee, and teach thee the interpretation of *dark* sayings,[o] and he shall accomplish his favour upon thee and upon the family of Jacob, as he hath formerly accomplished it upon thy fathers Abraham and Isaac; for thy LORD *is* knowing *and* wise. Surely in *the history of* Joseph and his brethren there are signs *of God's providence* to the inquisitive, when they said *to one another*, Joseph and his brother[p] are dearer to our father than we, who are the greater number: our father certainly maketh a wrong judgment. *Wherefore* slay Joseph, or drive him into some *distant or desert part of the* earth, and the face of your father shall be cleared towards you;[q] and ye shall afterwards be people of integrity. One of them[r] spoke and said, Slay not Joseph, but throw him to the bottom of the well, and some travellers will take him up, if ye do *this*. They said *unto Jacob*, O father, why dost thou not entrust Joseph with us, since we are sincere *well-wishers* unto him? Send him with us to-morrow, *into the field*, that he may divert himself, and sport,[s] and we will be his guardians. *Jacob* answered, It grieveth me that ye take him away; and I fear lest the wolf devour him,[t] while ye are negligent of him. They said, Surely if the wolf devour him when there are so many of us, we shall be weak indeed.[u] And when they had carried him with them, and agreed to set him at the bottom of the well,[x] *they executed their design*: and we sent a revelation unto

[l] Who was Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham [1]

[m] The commentators give us the names of these stars (which I think it needless to trouble the reader with), as Mohammed repeated them, at the request of a Jew, who thought to entrap him by the question [2]

[n] For they say, Jacob, judging that Joseph's dream portended his advancement above the rest of the family, justly apprehended his brethren's envy might tempt them to do him some mischief

[o] That is, of dreams, or, as others suppose, of the profound passages of scripture, and all difficulties respecting either religion or justice

[p] viz, Benjamin, his brother by the same mother.

[q] Or he will settle his love wholly upon you, and ye will have no rival in his favour

[r] This person, as some say, was Judah, the most prudent and noble minded of them all; or, according to others, Reuben, whom the Mohammedan writers call Rubil [3] And both these opinions are supported by the account of Moses, who tells us that Reuben advised them not to kill Joseph, but to throw him into a pit privately, intending to release him,[4] and that afterwards Judah, in Reuben's absence, persuaded them not to let him die in the pit, but to sell him to the Ishmaelites [5]

[s] Some copies read, in the first person plural, *that we may divert ourselves*, &c.

[t] The reason why Jacob feared this beast in particular, as the commentators say, was, either because the land was full of wolves, or else because Jacob had dreamed he saw Joseph devoured by one of those creatures [6]

[u] *i e*, It will be an instance of extreme weakness and folly in us, and we shall be justly blamed for his loss

[x] This well, say some, was a certain well near Jerusalem, or not far from the river Jordan; but others call it *the well of Egypt or Midian* The commentators tell us that, when the sons of Jacob had gotten Joseph with them in the field, they began to abuse and to beat him so unmercifully, that they had killed him, had not Judah, on his crying out for help, insisted on the promise they had made not to kill him, but to cast him into the well. Whereupon they let him down a little way; but, as he held by the sides of the well, they bound him, and took off his inner garment, designing to stain it with blood, to deceive their father Joseph begged hard to have his garment returned him, but to no purpose, his brothers telling him, with a

[1] Al Beidâwi, &c [2] Idem, al Zamakhshari. [3] Idem. [4] Gen. xxxvii. 21, 22.
[5] Ibid. v 26, 27. [6] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakhshari.

him,[y] *saying*, Thou shalt *hereafter* declare this their action unto them; and they shall not perceive *thee to be Joseph.* And they came to their father at even, weeping, *and* said, Father, we went and ran races with one another,[z] and we left Joseph with our baggage, and the wolf hath devoured him; but thou wilt not believe us, although we speak the truth. And they produced his inner garment *stained* with false blood. *Jacob* answered, Nay, but ye yourselves have contrived the thing for your own sakes:[a] however, patience is most becoming, and GOD'S assistance is to be implored *to enable me to support the misfortune* which ye relate. And certain travellers[b] came, and sent one[c] to draw water for them. and he let down his bucket,[d] and said, Good news![e] this is a youth. And they concealed him,[f] *that they might sell him* as a piece of merchandise: but GOD knew that which they did. And they sold him for a mean price, for a few pence,[g] and valued him lightly. And the Egyptian who bought him[h] said to his wife,[i] Use him

sneer, that the eleven stars and the sun and the moon might clothe him and keep him company. When they had let him down half-way, they let him fall thence to the bottom, and, there being water in the well (though the scripture says the contrary), he was obliged to get upon a stone, on which, as he stood weeping, the angel Gabriel came to him with the revelation mentioned immediately.[1]

[y] Joseph being then but seventeen years old, al Beidâwi observes that herein he resembled John the Baptist and Jesus, who were also favoured with the divine communication very early. The commentators pretend that Gabriel also clothed him in the well with a garment of silk of paradise. For they say that when Abraham was thrown into the fire by Nimrod,[2] he was stripped, and that Gabriel brought this garment and put it on him, and that from Abraham it descended to Jacob, who folded it up and put it into an amulet, which he hung about Joseph's neck, whence Gabriel drew it out.[3]

[z] These races they used by way of exercise, and the commentators generally understand here that kind of race wherein they also showed their dexterity in throwing darts, which is still used in the east.

[a] This Jacob had reason to suspect, because, when the garment was brought to him, he observed that, though it was bloody, yet it was not torn.[4]

[b] viz., A caravan or company travelling from Midian to Egypt, who rested near the well three days after Joseph had been thrown into it.

[c] The commentators are so exact as to give us the *name* of this man, who, as they pretend, was Malec Ebn Dhór, of the tribe of Khozâah.[5]

[d] And Joseph, making use of the opportunity, took hold of the cord, and was drawn up by the man.

[e] The original words are *Ya boshra*: the latter of which some take for the proper name of the water drawer's companion, whom he called to his assistance, and then they must be translated, O Boshra.

[f] The expositors are not agreed whether the pronoun *they* relates to Malec and his companions or to Joseph's brethren. They who espouse the former opinion say that those who came to draw water concealed the manner of their coming by him from the rest of the caravan, that they might keep him to themselves, pretending that some people of the place had given him to them to sell for them in Egypt. And they who prefer the latter opinion tell us that Judah carried victuals to Joseph every day while he was in the well, but not finding him there on the fourth day, he acquainted his brothers with it, whereupon they all went to the caravan and claimed Joseph as their slave, he not daring to discover that he was their brother, lest something worse should befall him, and at length they agreed to sell him to them.[6]

[g] Namely, twenty or twenty-two *dirhems*, and those not of full weight neither; for having weighed one ounce of silver only, the remainder was paid by tale, which is the most unfair way of payment.[1]

[h] His name was Kitfir, or Itfir (a corruption of Potiphar), and he was a man of great consideration, being superintendent of the royal treasury.[2]

The commentators say that Joseph came into his service at seventeen, and lived with him thirteen years, and that he was made prime minister in the thirty-third year of his age, and died at a hundred and twenty.

They who suppose Joseph was twice sold differ as to the price the Egyptian paid for him, some saying it was twenty *dinârs* of gold, a pair of shoes, and two white garments; and others, that it was a large quantity of silver or of gold.

[i] Some call her Raïl, but the name she is best known by is that of Zoleikha.

[1] Idem. [2] See cap. 21. [3] Al Beidâwi, al Zamakhshari. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. [6] Idem. [1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem.

honourably; peradventure he may be serviceable to us, or we may adopt him for our son.[k] Thus did we prepare an establishment for Joseph in the earth, and we taught him the interpretation of *dark* sayings: for GOD is well able to effect his purpose; but the greater part of men do not understand. And when he had attained his age of strength, we bestowed on him wisdom and knowledge; for thus do we recompense the righteous. And she, in whose house he was, desired him to lie with her; and she shut the doors and said, Come hither. He answered, GOD forbid! verily my lord[l] hath made my dwelling *with him* easy; and the ungrateful shall not prosper But she resolved within herself *to enjoy* him, and he would have resolved *to enjoy* her, had he not seen the evident demonstration of his LORD.[m] So we turned away evil and filthiness from him, because he was one of our sincere servants. And they ran *to get one before the other* to the door,[n] and she rent his inner garment behind. And they met her lord at the door. She said, What *shall be* the reward of him who seeketh *to commit* evil in thy family, but imprisonment, and a painful punishment? And Joseph said, She asked me to lie with her. And a witness of her family[o] bore witness, *saying*, If his garment be rent before, she speaketh truth, and he is a liar; but if his garment be rent behind, she lieth, and he is a speaker of truth. And when *her husband* saw that his garment was torn behind, he said, This is a cunning contrivance of your *sex*, for surely your cunning is great O Joseph, take no farther notice of this *affair*. and thou, *O woman*, ask pardon for thy crime, for thou art a guilty person And certain women said *publicly*[p] in the city, The nobleman's wife asked her servant to lie with her · he hath inflamed her breast with his love, and we perceive her *to be* in a manifest error And when she heard of their subtle behaviour, she sent unto them,[q] and prepared a banquet for them, and she gave to each of them a

[k] Kitfir having no children It is said that Joseph gained his master's good opinion so suddenly by his countenance, which Kitfir, who, they pretend, had great skill in physiognomy, judged to indicate his prudence and other good qualities

[l] viz., Kitfir But others understand it to be spoken of GOD

[m] That is, had he not seriously considered the filthiness of whoredom, and the great guilt thereof Some, however, suppose that the words mean some miraculous voice or apparition, sent by GOD to divert Joseph from executing the criminal thoughts which began to possess him For they say that he was so far tempted with his mistress's beauty and enticing behaviour that he sat in her lap, and even began to undress himself, when a voice called to him, and bade him beware of her, but he taking no notice of this admonition, though it was repeated three times, at length the angel Gabriel, or, as others will have it, the figure of his master, appeared to him but the more general opinion is that it was the apparition of his father Jacob, who bit his fingers' ends, or, as some write, struck him on the breast, whereupon his lubricity passed out at the ends of his fingers [3]

For this fable, so injurious to the character of Joseph, the Mohammedans are obliged to their old friends the Jews,[4] who imagine that he had a design to lie with his mistress, from these words of Moses,[5] *And it came to pass—that Joseph went into the house to do his business*, &c

[n] He flying from her, and she running after to detain him

[o] viz, A cousin of hers, who was then a child in the cradle [6]

[p] These women, whose tongues were so free with Zoleikha's character on this occasion, were five in number, and the wives of so many of the king's chief officers—viz, his chamberlain, his butler, his baker, his jailer, and his herdsman.[1]

[q] The number of all the women invited was forty, and among them were the five ladies above mentioned [2]

[3] Idem, al Zamakshshari, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya [4] Talm Babyl Sed Nashim, p. 36 Vide Bartolocc Bibl. Rabb part iii. p. 509. [5] Gen. xxxix. 11. [6] Supra citati interpretes [1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem.

knife; and she said *unto Joseph*, Come forth unto them. And when they saw him they praised him greatly;[r] and they cut their own hands,[s] and said, O GOD! this is not a mortal; he is no other than an angel, deserving the highest respect. And *his mistress* said, This is he for whose sake ye blamed me. I asked him to lie with me, but he hath constantly refused. But if he do not perform that which I command him, he shall surely be cast into prison, and he shall be made *one* of the contemptible. *Joseph* said, O LORD, a prison is more eligible unto me than *the crime* to which they invite me, but unless thou turn aside their snares from me, I shall youthfully incline unto them, and I shall become *one* of the foolish. Wherefore his LORD heard him, and turned aside their snare from him; for he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. And it seemed good unto them,[t] *even* after they had seen the signs *of his innocency*, to imprison him for a time. And there entered into the prison with him two *of the king's* servants.[u] One of them[x] said, It seemed to me *in my dream* that I pressed wine *out of grapes*. And the other said, It seemed unto me *in my dream* that I carried bread on my head, whereof the birds did eat. Declare unto us the interpretation of *our dreams*, for we perceive that thou art a beneficent person. *Joseph* answered, No food, wherewith ye may be nourished, shall come unto you, but I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof before it come unto you.[y] This *knowledge is a part* of that which my LORD hath taught me: for I have left the religion of people who believe not in GOD, and who deny the life to come, and I follow the religion of my fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. It is not *lawful* for us to associate anything with GOD. This *knowledge of the divine unity hath been given us* of the bounty of GOD towards us, and towards mankind, but the greater part of men are not thankful. O my fellow-prisoners, are sundry lords better, or the only *true* and mighty GOD? Ye worship not, besides him, other than the names which ye have named,[z] ye and your fathers, concerning which GOD

[r] The old Latin translators have strangely mistaken the sense of the original word *acbarnaho*, which they render *menstruatæ sunt*, and then rebuke Mohammed for the indecency, crying out demurely in the margin, *O fœdum et obscœnum prophetam!* Erpenius[3] thinks that there is not the least trace of such a meaning in the word, but he is mistaken. for the verb *cabara* in the fourth conjugation, which is here used, has that import, though the subjoining of the pronoun to it here (which possibly the Latin translators did not observe) absolutely overthrows that interpretation.

[s] Through extreme surprise at the wonderful beauty of Joseph, which surprise Zoleikha foreseeing, put knives into their hands, on purpose that this accident might happen. Some writers have observed, on occasion of this passage, that it is customary in the east for lovers to testify the violence of their passion by cutting themselves, as a sign that they would spend their blood in the service of the person beloved: which is true enough: but I do not find that any of the commentators suppose these Egyptian ladies had any such design.

[t] That is, to Kitfir and his friends. The occasion of Joseph's imprisonment is said to be, either that they suspected him to be guilty, notwithstanding the proofs which had been given of his innocence, or else that Zoleikha desired it, feigning, to deceive her husband, that she wanted to have Joseph removed from her sight till she could conquer her passion by time, though her real design was to force him to compliance.

[u] viz., His chief butler and baker, who were accused of a design to poison him.

[x] Namely, the butler.

[y] The meaning of this passage seems to be, either that Joseph, to show he used no arts of divination or astrology, promises to interpret their dreams to them immediately, even before they should eat a single meal, or else, he here offers to prophesy to them beforehand, the quantity and quality of the victuals which should be brought them, as a taste of his skill.

[z] See c. 7, p. 111, note d.

[3] In not. ad Hist. Josephi.

hath sent down no authoritative proof: yet judgment *belongeth* unto GOD alone; *who* hath commanded that ye worship none besides him. This is the right religion; but the greater part of men know *it* not. O my fellow-prisoners, verily the one of you shall serve wine unto his lord, *as formerly*; but the other shall be crucified, and the birds shall eat from off his head. The matter is decreed concerning which ye seek to be informed. And *Joseph* said unto him whom he judged to be the person who should escape of the two, Remember me in the presence of thy lord. But the devil caused him to forget to make mention of *Joseph* unto his lord,[a] wherefore he remained in the prison some years.[b] And the king *of Egypt*[c] said, Verily I saw *in my dream* seven fat kine, which seven lean kine devoured, and seven green ears *of corn*, and other *seven* withered *ears*. O nobles, expound my vision unto me, if ye be *able to* interpret a vision. They answered, *They are* confused dreams; neither are we skilled in the interpretation of *such kind of* dreams. And *Joseph's fellow-prisoner*, who had been delivered, said (for he remembered *Joseph* after a certain space of time), I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof; wherefore let me go *unto the person who will interpret it unto me. And he went to the prison, and said*, O Joseph, thou man of veracity, teach us *the interpretation* of seven fat kine, which seven lean kine devoured, and of seven green ears *of corn*, and other *seven* withered *ears, which the king saw in his dream*, that I may return unto the men *who have sent me*, that peradventure they may understand *the same*. *Joseph* answered, Ye shall sow seven years as usual: and *the corn* which ye shall reap, do ye leave in its ear,[d] except a little whereof ye may eat. Then shall there come, after this, seven grievous *years of famine*, which shall consume what ye shall have laid up as a provision for the same, except a little which ye shall have kept. Then shall there come, after this, a year wherein men shall have plenty of rain,[e] and wherein they shall press *wine and oil*. And *when the chief butler had reported this*, the king said, Bring him unto me. And when the messenger came unto *Joseph*, he said, Return unto thy lord, and ask

[a] According to the explication of some, who take the pronoun *him* to relate to Joseph, this passage may be rendered, *But the devil caused him (i e*, Joseph) *to forget to make his application unto his Lord*, and to beg the good offices of his fellow prisoner for his deliverance, instead of relying on GOD alone, as it became a prophet, especially, to have done.[1]

[b] The original word signifying any number from three to nine or ten, the common opinion is that Joseph remained in prison seven years, though some say he was confined no less than twelve years.[2]

[c] This prince, as the oriental writers generally agree, was Riyân, the son of al Walîd, the Amalekite,[3] who was converted by Joseph to the worship of the true GOD, and died in the lifetime of that prophet. But some pretend that the Pharaoh of Joseph and of Moses were one and the same person, and that he lived (or rather reigned) four hundred years.[4]

[d] To preserve it from the weevil.[5]

[e] Notwithstanding what some ancient authors write to the contrary,[6] it often rains in winter in the lower Egypt, and even snow has been observed to fall at Alexandria, contrary to the express assertion of Seneca.[7] In the upper Egypt indeed, towards the cataracts of Nile, it rains very seldom.[8] Some, however, suppose that the rains here mentioned are intended of those which should fall in Ethiopia, and occasion the swelling of the Nile, the great cause of the fertility of Egypt, or else of those which should fall in the neighbouring countries, which were also afflicted with famine during the same time.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [3] See the Prelim Disc p 7. [4] Al Beidâwi. See c. 7, p 115, note d. [5] Idem. [6] Plato, in Timæo. Pomp. Mela. [7] Nat. Quæst. l. 4. [8] See Greaves's Descr. of the Pyramids, p. 74, &c. Ray's Collection of Travels, tom. ii. p 92.

of him, what was the intent of the women who cut their hands;[f] for my LORD well knoweth the snare which they laid *for me*.[g] *And when the women were assembled before the king*, he said *unto them*, What was your design when ye solicited Joseph to unlawful love? They answered, GOD be praised! we know not any ill of him. The nobleman's wife said, Now is the truth become manifest: I solicited him to lie with me; and he is *one* of those who speak truth *And when Joseph was acquainted therewith, he said*, This *discovery hath been made*, that *my lord* might know that I was not unfaithful unto him in *his* absence, and that GOD directeth not the plot of the deceivers. (XIII.) Neither do I *absolutely* justify myself:[h] since *every* soul is prone unto evil, except those on whom my LORD shall show mercy; for my LORD *is* gracious *and* merciful. And the king said, Bring him unto me: I will take him into my own peculiar service. And when *Joseph was brought unto the king*, *and* he had discoursed with him, he said, Thou art this day firmly established with us, *and shalt be* entrusted *with our affairs*.[i] *Joseph* answered, Set me over the store-houses of the land; for I *will be* a skilful keeper *thereof*. Thus did we establish Joseph in the land, that he might provide himself a dwelling therein, where he pleased. We bestow our mercy on whom we please, and we suffer not the reward of the righteous to perish: and certainly the reward of the next life is better, for those who believe and fear GOD. Moreover Joseph's brethren came,[k] and

[f] Joseph, it seems, cared not to get out of prison till his innocence was publicly known and declared. It is observed by the commentators that Joseph does not bid the messenger move the king to inform himself of the truth of the affair, but bids him directly to ask the king, to incite him to make the proper inquiry with the greater earnestness. They also observe that Joseph takes care not to mention his mistress, out of respect and gratitude for the favours he had received while in her house [1]

[g] Endeavouring both by threats and persuasions to entice me to commit folly with my mistress.

[h] According to a tradition of Ebn Abbâs, Joseph had no sooner spoken the foregoing words, asserting his innocency, than Gabriel said to him, *What, not when thou wast deliberating to lie with her?* Upon which Joseph confessed his frailty.[2]

[i] The commentators say that Joseph being taken out of prison, after he had washed and changed his clothes, was introduced to the king, whom he saluted in the Hebrew tongue, and on the king's asking what language that was, he answered that it was the language of his fathers. This prince, they say, understood no less than seventy languages, in every one of which he discoursed with Joseph, who answered him in the same; at which the king greatly marvelling, desired him to relate his dream, which he did, describing the most minute circumstances whereupon the king placed Joseph by him on his throne, and made him his Wazir, or chief minister Some say that his master Kitfîr dying about this time, he not only succeeded him in his place, but, by the king's command, married the widow his late mistress, whom he found to be a virgin, and who bare him Ephraim and Manasses.[3] So that according to this tradition, she was *the same woman* who is called Asenath by Moses. This supposed marriage, which authorized their amours, probably encouraged the Mohammedan divines to make use of the loves of Joseph and Zoleikha, as an allegorical emblem of the spiritual love between the Creator and the creature, GOD and the soul; just as the Christians apply the Song of Solomon to the same mystical purpose [4]

[k] Joseph, being made Wazir, governed with great wisdom; for he not only caused justice to be impartially administered, and encouraged the people to industry and the improvement of agriculture during the seven years of plenty, but began and perfected several works of great benefit; the natives at this day ascribing to the patriarch Joseph almost all the ancient works of public utility throughout the kingdom, as particularly the rendering the province of al Feyûm, from a standing pool or marsh, the most fertile and best cultivated land in all Egypt [5] When the years of famine came, the effects of which were felt not only in Egypt, but in Syria

[1] Al Beidâwi, &c [2] Idem, &c. [3] Idem, Kitab Tafasir, &c [4] Vide D Herbelot Bibl Orient Art. Jousouf. [5] Vide Golii not in Alfragan. p 175, &c. Kircher Oedip Ægypt vol i. p 8 Lucas, Voy tom. ii. p. 205, and tom. iii. p. 53

went in unto him; and he knew them, but they knew not him. And when he had furnished them with their provisions, he said, Bring unto me your brother, *the son* of your father: do ye not see that I give full measure, and that I am the most hospitable receiver of guests? But if ye bring him not unto me, there shall be no *corn* measured unto you from me, neither shall ye approach *my presence*. They answered, We will endeavour to obtain him of his father, and we will certainly perform *what thou requirest*. And *Joseph* said to his servants, Put their money[l] *which they have paid for their corn*, into their sacks, that they may perceive it, when they shall be returned to their family: peradventure they will come back *unto us*. And when they were returned unto their father, they said, O father, it is forbidden to measure out *corn* unto us *any more, unless we carry our brother Benjamin with us*: wherefore send our brother with us, and we shall have *corn* measured unto us; and we will certainly guard him *from any mischance*. *Jacob* answered, Shall I trust him with you *with any better success* than I trusted your brother *Joseph* with you heretofore? But GOD is the best guardian; and he is the most merciful of those who show mercy. And when they opened their provisions, they found their money had been returned unto them; *and* they said, O father, what do we desire *farther?* this our money hath been returned unto us we will therefore *return*, and provide corn for our family · we will take care of our brother; and we shall receive a camel's burden more *than we did the last time*. This is a small quantity[m] *Jacob* said, I will by no means send him with you, until ye give me a solemn promise, *and swear* by GOD that ye will certainly bring him back unto me, unless ye be encompassed *by some inevitable impediment*. And when they had given him their solemn promise, he said, GOD is witness of what we say. And he said, My sons, enter not *into the city* by one *and the same* gate; but enter by different gates But *this precaution* will be of no advantage

and the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants were obliged to apply to Joseph for corn, which he sold to them, first for their money, jewels, and ornaments, then for their cattle and lands, and at length for their persons, so that all the Egyptians in general became slaves to the king, though Joseph, by his consent, soon released them, and returned them their substance The dearth being felt in the land of Canaan, Jacob sent all his sons, except only Benjamin, into Egypt for corn On their arrival, Joseph (who well knew them) asked them who they were, saying he suspected them to be spies, but they told him they came only to buy provisions, and that they were all the sons of an ancient man, named Jacob, who was also a prophet Joseph then asked how many brothers there were of them, they answered, Twelve, but that one of them had been lost in a desert Upon which he inquired for the eleventh brother, there being no more than ten of them present. They said he was a lad, and with their father whose fondness for him would not suffer him to accompany them in their journey At length Joseph asked them who they had to vouch for their veracity, but they told him they knew no man who could vouch for them in Egypt Then, replied he one of you shall stay behind with me as a pledge, and the others may return home with their provisions and when ye come again, ye shall bring your younger brother with you, that I may know ye have told me the truth. Whereupon, it being in vain to dispute the matter, they cast lots who should stay behind, and the lot fell upon Simeon. When they departed, Joseph gave each of them a camel, and another for their brother[1]

[l] The original word signifying not only money, but also goods bartered or given in exchange for other merchandise, some commentators tell us that they paid for their corn, not in money, but in shoes and dressed skins,[2]

[m] The meaning may be, either that the corn they now brought was not sufficient for the support of their families, so that it was necessary for them to take another journey, or else, that a camel's load, more or less, was but a trifle to the king of Egypt Some suppose these to be the [wo]rd of Jacob, declaring it was too mean a consideration to induce him to part with his son

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem.

unto you against *the decree of* GOD; for judgment belongeth unto GOD alone: in him do I put my trust, and in him let those confide who *seek in whom to* put their trust. And when they entered *the city*, as their father had commanded them, it was of no advantage unto them against *the decree of* GOD; *and the same served* only *to satisfy* the desire of Jacob's soul, which he had charged *them to perform:* for he was endued with knowledge of that which we had taught him; but the greater part of men do not understand. And when they entered into the presence of Joseph, he received his brother Benjamin as his guest, *and* said, Verily I am thy brother[n] be not therefore afflicted for that which they have committed *against us.* And when he had furnished them with their provisions, he put *his* cup[o] in his brother Benjamin's sack. Then a crier cried *after them, saying*, O company of travellers, ye are surely thieves. They said (and turned back unto them), What *is it* that ye miss? They answered, We miss the prince's cup: and unto him who shall produce it, *shall be given* a camel's load *of corn;* and I *will be* surety for the same. *Joseph's brethren* replied, By GOD, ye do well know that we come not to act corruptly in the land,[p] neither are we thieves. *The Egyptians* said, What shall be the reward of him *who shall appear to have stolen the cup*, if ye be *found* liars? *Joseph's brethren* answered, As to the reward of him in whose sack it shall be found, let him become *a bondman in* satisfaction for the same thus do we reward the unjust, *who are guilty of theft.*[q] Then he began by their sacks, before *he searched* the sack of his brother;[r] and he drew out *the cup* from his brother's sack. Thus did we furnish Joseph with a stratagem. It was not *lawful* for him to take his brother *for a bondman*, by the law of the king *of Egypt*,[s] had not GOD pleased *to allow it, according to the offer of his brethren.* We exalt to degrees *of knowledge and honour* whom we please. and *there is one who is* knowing above all those who are endued with knowledge. *His brethren* said, If *Benjamin* be guilty of theft, his brother *Joseph* hath been also guilty of theft heretofore.[t] But Joseph concealed these things in his mind,

[n] It is related that Joseph, having invited his brethren to an entertainment, ordered them to be placed two and two together, by which means Benjamin, the eleventh, was obliged to sit alone, and bursting into tears, said, If my brother Joseph were alive, he would have sat with me Whereupon Joseph ordered him to be seated at the same table with himself, and when the entertainment was over, dismissed the rest, ordering that they should be lodged two and two in a house, but kept Benjamin in his own apartment, where he passed the night. The next day Joseph asked him whether he would accept of himself for his brother, in the room of him whom he had lost, to which Benjamin replied, *Who can find a brother comparable unto thee? yet thou art not the son of Jacob and Rachel* And upon this Joseph discovered himself to him[1]

[o] Some imagine this to be a measure holding a saá (or about a gallon), wherein they used to measure corn or give water to the beasts. But others take it to be a drinking-cup of silver or gold

[p] Both by our behaviour among you, and our bringing again our money, which was returned to us without our knowledge

[q] This was the method of punishing theft used by Jacob and his family; for among the Egyptians it was punished in another manner

[r] Some suppose this search was made by the person whom Joseph sent after them, others by Joseph himself, when they were brought back to the city

[s] For there the thief was not reduced to servitude, but was scourged, and obliged to restore the double of what he had stolen[2]

[t] The occasion of this suspicion, it is said, was, that Joseph having been brought up by his

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

and did not discover them unto them; *and* he said *within himself*, Ye are in a worse condition *than us two;* and GOD best knoweth what ye discourse about. They said *unto Joseph*, Noble *lord*, Verily this *lad* hath an aged father; wherefore take one of us in his stead; for we perceive that thou art a beneficent person. *Joseph* answered, GOD forbid that we should take *any other* than him with whom we found our goods; for then *should* we certainly *be* unjust. And when they despaired of *obtaining Benjamin*, they retired to confer privately together. *And* the elder of them[u] said, Do ye not know that your father hath received a solemn promise from you, in the name of GOD; and how perfidiously ye behaved heretofore towards Joseph? Wherefore I will by no means depart the land *of Egypt*, until my father give me leave *to return unto him*, or GOD maketh known his will to me; for he is the best judge. Return ye to your father, and say, O father, verily thy son hath committed theft; we bear witness of no more than what we know, and we could not guard against what we did not foresee: and do thou inquire in the city where we have been, and of the company of merchants with whom we are arrived, and *thou wilt find* that we speak the truth. *And when they were returned, and had spoken thus to their father*, he said, Nay, but rather ye yourselves have contrived the thing for your own sakes: but patience *is* most proper *for me;* peradventure GOD will restore them all[x] unto me; for he *is* knowing *and* wise. And he turned from them and said, Oh, how am I grieved for Joseph! And his eyes became white with mourning,[y] he being oppressed with deep sorrow. *His sons* said, By GOD, thou wilt not cease to remember Joseph, until thou be brought to death's door, or thou be actually destroyed *by excessive affliction*. He answered, I only represent my grief, which I am not able to contain, and my sorrow unto GOD; but I know *by revelation* from GOD that which ye know not.[z] O my sons, go and make inquiry after Joseph and his brother; and despair not of the mercy of GOD; for none despaireth of GOD'S mercy, except the unbelieving people. *Wherefore Joseph's brethren returned into Egypt.* and when they came into his presence they said, Noble *lord*, the famine is felt by us and our family, and we are come with a small sum of money[a] yet give unto us full measure, and bestow

father's sister, she became so fond of him that, when he grew up, and Jacob designed to take him from her, she contrived the following stratagem to keep him:—Having a girdle which had once belonged to Abraham, she girt it about the child, and then, pretending she had lost it, caused strict search to be made for it, and it being at length found on Joseph, he was adjudged, according to the above-mentioned law of the family, to be delivered to her as her property. Some, however, say that Joseph actually stole an idol of gold, which belonged to his mother's father, and destroyed it; a story probably taken from Rachel's stealing the images of Laban: and others tell us that he once stole a goat, or a hen, to give to a poor man.[3]

[u] viz., Reuben. But some think Simeon or Judah to be here meant; and instead of *the elder*, interpret it *the most prudent of them*.

[x] *i.e.*, Joseph, Benjamin, and Simeon.

[y] That is, the pupils lost their deep blackness and became of a pearl colour (as happens in suffusions), by his continual weeping, which very much weakened his sight, or, as some pretend, made him quite blind.[4]

[z] viz., That Joseph is yet alive, of which some tell us he was assured by the angel of death in a dream; though others suppose he depended on the completion of Joseph's dream, which must have been frustrated had he died before his brethren had bowed down before him.[5]

[a] Their money being clipped and adulterated. Some, however, imagine they did not bring money, but goods to barter, such as wool and butter, or other commodities of small value.[6]

[3] Jallalo'ddin. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. [6] Idem.

corn upon us *as* alms; for GOD rewardeth the almsgivers *Joseph* said *unto them*, Do ye know what ye did unto Joseph and his brother, when ye were ignorant *of the consequences thereof*?[b] They answered, Art thou really Joseph?[c] He replied, I am Joseph, and this is my brother Now hath GOD been gracious unto us. For whoso feareth GOD, and persevereth with patience, *shall at length find relief*, since GOD will not suffer the reward of the righteous to perish They said, By GOD, now hath GOD chosen thee above us, and we have surely been sinners *Joseph* answered, Let there be no reproach *cast* on you this day GOD forgiveth you, for he is the most merciful of those who show mercy Depart ye with this my inner garment,[d] and throw it on my father's face, and he shall recover his sight and *then* come unto me with all your family And when the company of travellers was departed *from Egypt on their journey towards Canaan*, their father said *unto those who were about him*, Verily I perceive the smell of Joseph [e] although ye think that I dote They answered, By GOD, thou art in thy old mistake[f] But when the messenger of good tidings[g] was come *with Joseph's inner garment*, he threw it over his face, and he recovered his eyesight. *And Jacob* said, Did I not tell you that I knew from GOD that which ye knew not? They answered, O father, ask pardon of our sins for us, for we have surely been sinners He replied, I will surely ask pardon for you of my LORD,[h] for he *is* gracious *and* merciful And when *Jacob and his family arrived in Egypt*, *and* were introduced unto Joseph, he received his parents unto him[i] and said, Enter ye into Egypt by GOD'S favour, in full security And he raised his parents to the seat of state and they, *together with*

[b] The injury they did Benjamin was the separating him from his brother after which they kept him in so great subjection, that he durst not speak to them but with the utmost submission Some say that these words were occasioned by a letter which Joseph's brethren delivered him from their father requesting the releasement of Benjamin and by their representing his extreme affliction at the loss of him and his brother The commentators observe that Joseph, to excuse his brethren's behaviour towards him attributes it to their ignorance and the heat of youth [1]

[c] They say this question was not the effect of a bare suspicion that he was Joseph but that they actually knew him either by his face and behaviour or by his foreteeth which he showed in smiling or else by putting off his *tiara* and discovering a whitish mole on his forehead.[2]

[d] Which the commentators generally suppose to be the same garment with which Gabriel invested him in the well which having originally come from paradise had preserved the odour of that place and was of so great virtue as to cure any distemper in the person who was touched with it.[3]

[e] This was the odour of the garment above mentioned brought by the wind to Jacob who smelt it as is pretended, at the distance of eighty parasangs [4] or as others will have three or eight days journey off [5]

[f] Being led into this imagination by thy excessive love of Joseph

[g] viz Judah who as he had formerly grieved his father by bringing him Joseph's coat stained with blood now rejoiced him as much by being the bearer of this vest and the news of Joseph's prosperity [6]

[h] Deferring it, as some fancy till he should see Joseph and have his consent.

[i] viz., His father and Leah, his mother's sister whom he looked on as his mother after Rachel's death.[7]

Al Beidâwi tells us that Joseph sent carriages and provisions for his father and his family and that he and the king of Egypt went forth to meet them He adds that the number of the children of Israel who entered Egypt with him was seventy two and that when they were led out thence by Moses, they were increased to six hundred thousand five hundred and seventy men and upwards, besides the old people and children.

[1] Idem. [2] Idem [3] Idem Jallalo ddin. [4] Idem. [5] Jallalo ddin [6] Al Beidâwi [7] Idem. See Gen xxxvii 10.

his brethren, fell down and did obeisance unto him.[k] And he said, O my father, this is the interpretation of my vision, *which I saw* heretofore: now hath my LORD rendered it true And he hath surely been gracious unto me, since he took me forth from the prison, and hath brought me hither from the desert; after that the devil had sown discord between me and my brethren · for my LORD is gracious unto whom he pleaseth; and he *is* the knowing, the wise *God*. O LORD, thou hast given me *a part* of the kingdom, and hast taught me the interpretation of *dark* sayings The Creator of heaven and earth! thou art my protector in this world, and in that which is to come: make me to die a Moslem, and join me with the righteous.[l] This is a secret history, which we reveal unto thee, *O Mohammed*, although thou wast not present with the *brethren of Joseph*, when they concerted their design, and contrived a plot *against him*. But the greater part of men, although thou earnestly desire it, will not believe. Thou shalt not demand of them any reward for *thy publishing the Korân;* it is no other than an admonition unto all creatures. And how many signs soever *there be of the being, unity, and providence of God*, in the heavens and the earth; they will pass by them, and will retire afar off from them. And the greater part of them believe not in GOD, without being also guilty of idolatry[m] Do they not believe that some overwhelming *affliction* shall fall on them, as a punishment from GOD; or that the hour *of judgment* shall overtake them suddenly, while they consider not *its approach*? Say *unto those of Mecca*, This is my way I invite *you* unto GOD, by an evident demonstration; *both* I and he who followeth me; and, praise be unto GOD! I am not an idolater We sent not *any apostles* before thee, except men unto whom we revealed *our will, and whom we chose* out of those who dwelt in cities[n] Will they not go through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who have preceded them? But the dwelling of the next life shall surely be better for those who fear *God*. Will they not therefore understand? *Their predecessors were borne with for a time*, until, when *our* apostles despaired *of their conversion*, and they thought that they were liars, our help came unto them, and we delivered whom we pleased; but our vengeance was not turned away from the wicked people. Verily in the histories of *the prophets and their people* there is an instructive example unto those who are endued with understanding

[k] A transposition is supposed to be in these words, and that he seated his father and mother after they had bowed down to him, and not before[1]

[l] The Mohammedan authors write that Jacob dwelt in Egypt twenty-four years, and at his death ordered his body to be buried in Palestine by his father, which Joseph took care to perform, and then returning into Egypt, died twenty-three years after They add that such high disputes arose among the Egyptians concerning his burial, that they had like to have come to blows, but at length they agreed to put his body into a marble coffin, and *to sink it in the* Nile—out of a superstitious imagination, that it might help the regular increase of the river, and deliver them from famine for the future, but when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, he took up the coffin, and carried *Joseph's bones* with him into Canaan, where he buried them by his ancestors[2]

[m] For this crime Mohammed charges not only on the idolatrous Meccans, but also on the Jews and Christians, as has been already observed more than once.

[n] And not of the inhabitants of the deserts; because the former are more knowing and compassionate, and the latter more ignorant and hard-hearted.[3]

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] *Idem*. See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. I. p. 24.

The Korân is not a new invented fiction, but a confirmation of *those scriptures* which *have been revealed* before it, and a distinct explication of everything *necessary, in respect either to faith or practice*, and a direction and mercy unto people who believe.

CHAPTER XIII

ENTITLED, THUNDER [o] REVEALED AT MECCA.[p]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL M R.[q] These are the signs of the book *of the Korân* and that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD is the truth but the greater part of men will not believe *It is* GOD who hath raised the heavens without visible pillars, *and* then ascended his throne, and compelled the sun and the moon to perform their services every *of the heavenly bodies* runneth an appointed course He ordereth all things He showeth *his* signs distinctly, that ye may be assured ye must meet your LORD *at the last day* *It is* he who hath stretched forth the earth, and placed therein steadfast *mountains*, and rivers, and hath ordained therein of every fruit two *different* kinds[r] He causeth the night to cover the day Herein are certain signs unto people who consider And in the earth are tracts *of land of different natures*,[s] *though* bordering on each other and also vineyards and seeds, and palm trees springing several from the same root, and singly from distinct roots They are watered with the same water, yet we render some of them more excellent than others to eat Herein are surely signs unto people who understand If thou dost wonder *at the infidels denying the resurrection*, surely wonderful is their saying, After we shall have been *reduced to* dust, shall we *be restored* in a new creature? These are they who believe not in their LORD, these *shall have* collars on their necks,[t] and these *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire therein shall they

[o] This word occurs in the next page

[p] Or according to some copies at Medina.

[q] The meaning of these letters is unknown. Of several conjectural explications which are given of the the following is one *I am the most wise and knowing* GOD

[r] As sweet and sour black and white small and large &c [1]

[s] *Some tracts being fruitful and others barren some plain and others mountainous some* proper for corn and others for trees &c [2]

[t] The *collar* here mentioned is an engine something like a pillory but light enough for the criminal to walk about with. Besides the hole to fix it on the neck there is another for one of the hands which is thereby fastened to the neck.[3] And in this manner the Mohammedans suppose the reprobates will appear at the day of judgment.[4] Some understand this passage figuratively of the infidels being bound in the chains of error and obstinacy [5]

[1] Idem Jallalo ddin [2] Idem. [3] Vide Chardin, Voy de Perse tom ii p 220 [4] See cap. 5, p 81 [5] Al Beidâwi.

abide for ever. They will ask of thee to hasten evil rather than good:[u] although there have already been examples *of the divine vengeance* before them. Thy LORD is surely endued with indulgence towards men, notwithstanding their iniquity; but thy LORD is also severe in punishing. The infidels say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe.* Thou art *commissioned to be* a preacher only, *and not a worker of miracles:* and unto every people *hath* a director *been appointed.* GOD knoweth what every female beareth *in her womb;* and what the wombs want or exceed *of their due time, or number of young.* With him is everything *regulated* according to a *determined* measure. *He* knoweth that which is hidden, and that which is revealed. *He is* the great, the most high. He among you who concealeth *his* words, and he who proclaimeth them in public; he also who seeketh to hide himself in the night, and he who goeth forth openly in the day, is equal *in respect to the knowledge of God.* Each of them hath *angels* mutually succeeding each other, before him, and behind him; they watch him by the command of GOD.[x] Verily GOD will not change *his grace* which is in men, until they change the *disposition* in their souls *by sin.* When GOD willeth evil on a people, there shall be none to avert it; neither shall they have any protector beside him. *It is* he who causeth the lightning to appear unto you, to *strike* fear, and *to raise* hope,[y] and who formeth the pregnant clouds. The thunder celebrateth his praise,[z] and the angels *also*, for fear of him. He sendeth his thunderbolts, and striketh therewith whom he pleaseth, while they dispute concerning GOD,[a] for he is mighty in power. *It is* he *who* ought of right to be invoked; and the *idols* which they invoke besides him, shall not hear them at all; otherwise than as he *is heard*, who stretcheth forth his hand to the water that it may ascend to his mouth, when it cannot ascend *thither:* the supplication of the unbelievers is utterly erroneous. Whatsoever is in heaven and on earth worshippeth GOD, voluntarily or of force;[b] and their shadows *also*, morning and evening.[c] Say, Who is the LORD of heaven and earth? Answer, GOD.

[u] Provoking and daring thee to call down the divine vengeance on them for their impenitency.
[x] See the Prelim Disc. Sect IV. p 56.
[y] Thunder and lightning being the sign of approaching rain; a great blessing, in the eastern countries more especially
[z] Or causeth those who hear it to praise him. Some commentators tell us that by the word *thunder*, in this place, is meant the angel who presides over the clouds, and drives them forwards with twisted sheets of fire [6]
[a] This passage was revealed on the following occasion:—Amer Ebn al Tofail and Arbad Ebn Rabiah, the brother of Labid, went to Mohammed with an intent to kill him, and Amer began to dispute with him concerning the chief points of his doctrine, while Arbad, taking a compass, went behind him to dispatch him with his sword; but the prophet, perceiving his design, implored GOD's protection, whereupon Arbad was immediately struck dead by thunder, and Amer was struck with a pestilential boil, of which he died in a short time, in a miserable condition.[7]
Jallalo'ddin, however, tells another story, saying that Mohammed, having sent one to invite a certain man to embrace his religion, the person put this question to the missionary, *Who is this apostle, and what is* GOD? *Is he of gold, or of silver, or of brass?* Upon which a thunderbolt struck off his skull, and killed him.
[b] The infidels and devils themselves being constrained to humble themselves before him, though against their will, when they are delivered up to punishment
[c] This is an allusion to the increasing and diminishing of the shadows, according to the height

[6] Idem, Jallalo'ddin [7] Al Beidâwi. Vide Golii not. in Adagia Arab adject ad Gram Erpenii, p 90.

Say, Have ye therefore taken *unto yourselves* protectors beside him, who are unable either to help, or to *defend* themselves from hurt? Say, Shall the blind and the seeing be esteemed equal? or shall darkness and light be accounted the same? or have they attributed companions unto GOD, who have created as he hath created, so that their creation bear any resemblance unto his? Say, GOD is the creator of all things; he is the one, the victorious *God.* He causeth water to descend from heaven, and the brooks flow according to their *respective* measure, and the floods bear the floating froth: and from *the metals* which they melt in the fire, seeking *to cast* ornaments or vessels *for use, there ariseth* a scum like unto it. Thus GOD setteth forth truth and vanity. But the scum is thrown off, and that which is useful to mankind remaineth on the earth. Thus doth GOD put forth parables. Unto those who obey their LORD *shall be given* the most excellent *reward:* but those who obey him not, although they were possessed of whatever is in the whole earth and as much more, they would give it *all* for their ransom. These will be brought to a terrible account. their abode *shall be* hell; an unhappy couch *shall it be!* Shall he, therefore, who knoweth that what hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD, is truth, be *rewarded* as he who is blind? The prudent only will consider; who fulfil the covenant of GOD, and break not *their* contract; and who join that which GOD hath commanded to be joined,[d] and *who* fear their LORD, and dread an ill account, and who persevere out of a *sincere* desire to please their LORD, and observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them, in secret and openly, and who turn away evil with good. the reward of these *shall be* paradise, gardens of eternal abode,[e] which they shall enter, and *also* whoever shall have acted uprightly, of their fathers, and their wives, and their posterity; and the angels shall go in unto them by every gate. *saying,* Peace be upon you, because ye have endured with patience; how excellent a reward is paradise! But as for those who violate the covenant of GOD, after the establishment thereof, and *who* cut in sunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth, on them shall a curse *fall,* and they shall have a miserable dwelling *in hell.* GOD giveth provision in abundance unto whom he pleaseth, and is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth. Those of Mecca* rejoice in the present life; although the present life, in respect of the future, is but a *precarious* provision. The infidels say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe.* Answer, Verily GOD will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and will direct unto himself him who repenteth, *and* those who believe, and whose hearts rest securely in the meditation of GOD; shall not *men's* hearts rest securely in the meditation of GOD? They who believe and do that which is right *shall enjoy* blessedness, and *partake of* a happy resurrection. Thus have we sent thee to a nation which *other* nations

of the sun; so that, when they are the longest, which is in the morning and the evening, they appear prostrate on the ground, in the posture of adoration.

[d] By believing in all the prophets, without exception, and joining thereto the continual practice of their duty, both towards GOD and man.[1]

[e] Literally, *gardens of* Eden See chapter 9, p 143.

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya.

have preceded, *unto whom prophets have likewise been sent*, that thou mayest rehearse unto them that which we have revealed unto thee, even while they believe not in the merciful *God* Say *unto them*, He is my LORD, there is no GOD but he in him do I trust, and unto him must I return Though a Korân *were revealed* by which mountains should be removed, or the earth cleaved in sunder, or the dead be caused to speak,[f] *it would be in vain* But the matter *belongeth* wholly unto GOD Do not therefore the believers know, that if GOD pleased, he would certainly direct all men? Adversity shall not cease to afflict the unbelievers for that which they have committed or to sit down near their habitations,[g] until GOD'S promise come[h] for GOD is not contrary to the promise. Apostles before thee have been laughed to scorn, and I permitted the infidels to enjoy a long and happy life but afterwards I punished them, and how *severe* was the punishment which I *inflicted on them*! Who is it therefore that standeth over every soul, *to observe* that which it committeth? They attribute companions unto GOD Say, Name them will ye declare unto him that which he knoweth not in the earth? or *will ye name them* in outward speech only?[i] But the deceitful procedure of the infidels was prepared for them, and they are turned aside from the *right* path for he whom GOD shall cause to err shall have no director They shall suffer a punishment in this life but the punishment of the next shall be more grievous and there shall be none to protect them against GOD *This is* the description of paradise, which is promised to the pious It is watered by rivers its food is perpetual, and its shade *also* this shall be the reward of those who fear *God*. But the reward of the infidels shall be *hell* fire. Those to whom we have given the scriptures, rejoice at what hath been revealed unto thee[k] Yet *there are* some of the confederates who deny part thereof[l] Say *unto them*, Verily I am com

[f] These are miracles which the Koreish required of Mohammed demanding that he would by the power of his Korân either remove the mountains from about Mecca that they might have delicious gardens in their room or that he would oblige the wind to transport them with their merchandise to Syria (according to which tradition the words here translated *or the earth cleaved in sunder* should be rendered *or the earth be travelled over* in an instant) or else raise to life Kosai Ebn Kelab[1] and others of their ancestors to bear witness to him whereupon this passage was revealed

[g] It is supposed by some that these words are spoken to Mohammed, and then they must be translated in the second person *Nor shalt thou cease to sit down* &c. For they say this verse relates to the idolaters of Mecca who were afflicted with a series of misfortunes for their ill usage of their prophet and were also continually annoyed and harassed by his parties which frequently plundered their caravans and drove off their cattle himself sitting down with his whole army near the city in the expedition of al Hodeibiya.[2]

[h] *i e* Till death and the day of judgment overtake them or according to the exposition in the preceding note until the taking of Mecca[3]

[i] That is calling them the companions of GOD without being able to assign any reason or give any proof why they deserve to be sharers in the honour and worship due from mankind to him[4]

[k] viz The first proselytes to Mohammedism from Judaism and Christianity or the Jews and Christians in general, who were pleased to find the Korân so consonant to their own scriptures[5]

[l] That is such of them as had entered into a confederacy to oppose Mohammed as did Caab Ebn al Ashraf and the Jews who followed him, and al Seyid al Najrani al Akib and several other Christians who denied such parts of the Korân as contradicted their corrupt doctrines and traditions[6]

[1] See cap. 8 p. 128, note f [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. [4] Idem [5] See cap 3 p 59
[6] Idem

manded to worship GOD alone; and to give him no companion: upon him do I call, and unto him shall I return. To this purpose have we sent down *the Korân*, a *rule of* judgment, in the Arabic language. And verily if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, there shall be none to defend or protect thee against GOD. We have formerly sent apostles before thee, and bestowed on them wives and children,[m] and no apostle had *the power* to come with a sign, unless by the permission of GOD. Every age hath its book *of revelation*. GOD shall abolish and shall confirm *what he pleaseth*. With him is the original of the book.[n] Moreover, whether we cause thee to see any part of that *punishment* wherewith we have threatened them, or whether we cause thee to die *before it be inflicted on them*, verily unto thee *belongeth* preaching *only*, but unto us inquisition. Do they not see that we come into *their* land, and straiten the borders thereof, *by the conquests of the true believers*? When GOD judgeth, there is none to reverse his judgment, and he *will be* swift in taking an account. Their predecessors formerly devised subtle plots *against their prophets*; but GOD is master of every subtle device. He knoweth that which every soul deserveth: and the infidels shall surely know, whose will be the reward of paradise. The unbelievers[o] will say, Thou art not sent *of God*. Answer, GOD is a sufficient witness between me and you, and he who understandeth the scriptures.

[m] As we have on thee. This passage was revealed in answer to the reproaches which were cast on Mohammed on account of the great number of his wives. For the Jews said that if he was a true prophet his care and attention would be employed about something else than women and the getting of children.[7] It may be observed that it is a maxim of the Jews that nothing is more repugnant to prophecy than carnality.[8]

[n] Literally, *the mother of the book*, by which is meant *the preserved table*, from which all the written revelations which have been from time to time published to mankind, according to the several dispensations, are transcripts.

[o] The persons intended in this passage, it is said, were the Jewish doctors.[9]

7 Jallaloddin. Yahya. 8 Vide Maimon. More Nev. part ii, c. 36, &c. 9 Al Beidawi.

CHAPTER XIV.

ENTITLED, ABRAHAM;[a] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

AL. R.[b] *This* book have we sent down unto thee, that thou mayest lead men forth from darkness into light, by the permission of their LORD, into the glorious and laudable way GOD *is he* unto whom *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth : and woe be to the infidels, because a grievous punishment *waiteth them;* who love the present life above that which is to come, and turn *men* aside from the way of GOD, and seek to render it crooked · these are in an error far distant *from the truth* We have sent no apostle but with the language of his people, that he might declare *their duty* plainly unto them [c] for GOD causeth to err whom he pleaseth, and directeth whom he pleaseth; and he is the mighty, the wise. We formerly sent Moses with our signs, *and commanded him saying*, Lead forth thy people from darkness into light, and remind them of the favours of God.[d] verily therein *are* signs unto every patient *and* grateful person And *call to mind* when Moses said unto his people, Remember the favour of GOD towards you, when he delivered you from the people of Pharaoh they grievously oppressed you; and they slew your male children, but let your females live.[e] therein was a great trial from your LORD. And when your LORD declared *by the mouth of Moses, saying*, If ye be thankful, I will surely increase *my favours towards* you; but if ye be ungrateful, verily my punishment *shall be* severe And Moses said, if ye be ungrateful, and all who are in the earth *likewise*, verily GOD needeth not *your thanks, though* he deserveth the highest praise. Hath not the history of *the nations* your predecessors reached you; *namely*, of the people of Noah, and of Ad, and of Thamud,[f] and of those who succeeded them; whose *number* none knoweth except GOD? Their apostles came unto them with evident *miracles;* but they clapped their hands to their mouths *out of indignation*, and said, We do not believe *the message* with which ye *pretend to* be sent; and we are in a doubt concerning the *religion* to which ye invite us, *as justly to be* suspected. Their apostles answered, Is there any doubt concerning GOD, the creator of heaven and earth? He inviteth you *to the true faith* that

[a] Mention is made of this patriarch towards the end of the chapter

[b] See the Prelim Disc Sect III p 46, &c

[c] That so they might not only perfectly and readily understand those revelations themselves, but might also be able to translate and interpret them unto others [1]

[d] Literally, *the days of* GOD; which may also be translated, *the battles of* GOD (the Arabs using the word *day* to signify a remarkable engagement, as the Italians do *giornata*, and the French, *journee*), or his wonderful acts manifested in the various success of former nations in their wars [2]

[e] See chapter 7, p 117, &c

[f] See ibid. p 111, &c

[1] Idem. [2] Idem.

he may forgive you *part* of your sins,[g] and may respite *your punishment, by granting you space to repent,* until an appointed time They answered, Ye are but men, like unto us. ye seek to turn us aside from *the gods* which our fathers worshipped: wherefore bring us an evident demonstration *by some miracle, that ye speak truth.* Their apostles replied unto them, We are no other than men like unto you; but GOD is bountiful unto such of his servants as he pleaseth: and it is not in our *power* to give you a miraculous demonstration *of our mission,* unless by the permission of GOD; in GOD therefore let the faithful trust. And what *excuse* have we *to allege,* that we should not put our trust in GOD, since he hath directed us our paths? Wherefore we will certainly suffer with patience the *persecution* wherewith ye shall afflict us: in GOD therefore let those put their confidence who *seek in whom to* put their trust. And those who believed not, said unto their apostles, We will surely expel you out of our land; or ye shall return unto our religion. And their LORD spake unto them by revelation, *saying,* We will surely destroy the wicked doers; and we will cause you to dwell in the earth, after them This *shall be granted* unto him who shall dread *the appearance at* my tribunal, and shall fear my threatening. And they asked assistance *of God,*[h] and every rebellious perverse person failed of success. Hell *lieth unseen* before him, and he shall have filthy water[i] given him to drink: he shall sup it up by little and little, and he shall not easily let it pass his throat, *because of its nauseousness,* death also shall come upon him from every quarter, yet he shall not die; and before him *shall there stand prepared* a grievous torment *This is* the likeness of those who believe not in their LORD. Their works are as ashes, which the wind violently scattereth in a stormy day · they shall not be able to *obtain* any *solid advantage* from that which they have wrought This is an error most distant *from truth.* Dost thou not see that GOD hath created the heavens and the earth in wisdom. If he please, he can destroy you, and produce a new creature *in your stead* · neither will this be difficult with GOD. And they shall all come forth into *the presence of* GOD *at the last day:* and the weak among them shall say unto those who behaved themselves arrogantly,[j] Verily we were your followers *on earth;* will ye not therefore avert from us *some part* of the divine vengeance? They *shall answer,* If GOD had directed us *aright, we had certainly directed you.*[k] It is equal unto

[g] That is, such of them as were committed directly against GOD, which are immediately cancelled by faith, or embracing Islâm, but not the crimes of injustice, and oppression, which were committed against man · [1] for to obtain remission of these last, besides faith, repentance and restitution, according to a man's ability, are also necessary

[h] The commentators are uncertain whether these were the prophets, who begged assistance against their enemies; or the infidels, who called for GOD's decision between themselves and them; or both. And some suppose this verse has no connection with the preceding, but is spoken of the people of Mecca, who begged rain in a great drought with which they were afflicted at the prayer of their prophet, but could not obtain it [2]

[i] Which will issue from the bodies of the damned, mixed with purulent matter and blood.

[j] *i e,* The more simple and inferior people shall say to their teachers and princes who seduced them to idolatry, and confirmed them in their obstinate infidelity.

[k] That is, We made the same choice for you, as we did for ourselves: and had not GOD permitted us to fall into error, we had not seduced you

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem

us whether we bear *our torments* impatiently, or whether we endure *them* with patience *for* we have no way to escape And Satan shall say, after judgment shall have been given, Verily GOD promised you a promise of truth and I *also* made you a promise, but I deceived you Yet I had not any power over you *to compel you*, but I called you only, and ye answered me wherefore accuse not me, but accuse yourselves[l] I cannot assist you, neither can ye assist me Verily I do *now* renounce your having associated me *with God* heretofore[m] A grievous punishment is *prepared* for the unjust But they who shall have believed and wrought righteousness, shall be introduced into gardens, wherein rivers flow, they shall remain therein *for ever*, by the permission of their LORD, and their salutation therein *shall be*, Peace![n] Dost thou not see how GOD putteth forth a parable, *representing* a good word, as a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed *in the earth*, and whose branches *reach* unto heaven, which bringeth forth its fruit in all seasons, by the will of its LORD? GOD propoundeth parables unto men, that they may be instructed And the likeness of an evil word is as an evil tree, which is torn up from the face of the earth, and hath no stability[o] GOD shall confirm them who believe, by the steadfast word *of faith*, *both* in this life and in that which is to come[p] but GOD shall lead the wicked into error, for GOD doth that which he pleaseth Hast thou not considered those who have changed the grace of GOD to infidelity,[q] and cause their people to descend into the house of perdition, *namely*, *into* hell? They shall be thrown to burn therein, and an unhappy dwelling *shall it be*. They also set up idols as copartners with GOD, that they might cause *men* to stray from his path Say *unto them*, Enjoy *the pleasures of this life for a time*, but your departure *hence* shall be into *hell* fire Speak unto my servants who have believed, that they be assiduous at prayer, and give alms out of that which we have

[l] Lay not the blame on my temptations but blame your own folly in obeying and trusting to me, who had openly professed myself your irreconcilable enemy

[m] Or I do now declare myself clear of your having obeyed me preferably to GOD and worshipped idols at my instigation Or the words may be translated *I believed not heretofore in that Being with whom ye did associate me* intimating his first disobedience in refusing to worship Adam at GOD's command [1]

[n] See chapter x p [illegible]

[o] What is particularly intended in this passage by the *good word* and the *evil word*, the expositors differ But the first seems to mean the profession of GOD's unity the inviting others to the true religion or the Korân itself and the latter, the acknowledging a plurality of gods the seducing of others to idolatry or the obstinate opposition of GOD's prophets [2]

[p] Jallalo'ddin supposes the sepulchre to be here understood in which place when the true believers come to be examined by the two angels concerning their faith, they will answer properly and without hesitation which the infidels will not be able to do [3]

[q] That is who requite his favours with disobedience and incredulity Or, whose ingratitude obliged GOD to deprive them of the blessings he had bestowed on them as he did the Meccans, who though GOD had placed them in the sacred territory and given them the custody of the Caaba and abundant provision of all necessaries and conveniences of life, and had also honoured them by the mission of Mohammed yet in return for all this became obstinate unbelievers, and persecuted his apostle for which they were not only punished by a famine of seven years but also by the loss and disgrace they sustained at Bedr so that they who had before been celebrated for their prosperity were now stripped of that, and become conspicuous only for their infidelity [4] If this be the drift of the passage, it could not have been revealed at Mecca as the rest of the chapter is agreed to be, wherefore some suppose this verse and the next to have been revealed at Medina

[1] Idem [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin [3] Al Beidâwi [4] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p. 59

bestowed on them, *both* privately and in public; before the day cometh, wherein there shall be no buying nor selling, neither any friendship. It is GOD who hath created the heavens and the earth; and causeth water to descend from heaven, and by means thereof produceth fruits for your sustenance and by his command he obligeth[r] the ships to sail in the sea for your service, and he also forceth the rivers to supply your uses he likewise compelleth the sun and the moon, which diligently perform their courses, to serve you, and hath subjected the day and the night to your service He giveth you of everything which ye ask him, and if ye *attempt to* reckon up the favours of GOD, ye shall not be able to compute the same Surely man is unjust *and* ungrateful *Remember* when Abraham said, O LORD, make this land[s] *a place* of security, and grant that I and my children[t] may avoid the worship of idols; for they, O LORD, have seduced a great number of men Whoever therefore shall follow me, he *shall be* of me and whosoever shall disobey me, verily thou *wilt be* gracious *and* merciful[u] O LORD, I have caused *some* of my offspring[x] to settle in an unfruitful valley, near thy holy house, O LORD, that they may be constant at prayer. Grant, therefore, that the hearts of some men[y] may be affected with kindness toward them, and do thou bestow on them *all sorts* of fruits,[z] that they may give thanks O LORD, thou knowest whatsoever we conceal, and whatsoever we publish, for nothing is hidden from GOD, either on earth, or in heaven Praise be unto GOD, who hath given me, in *my* old age, Ismael and Isaac for my LORD is the hearer of supplication O LORD, grant that I may be an observer of prayer, and *a part* of my posterity *also*,[a] O LORD, and receive my supplication O LORD, forgive me, and my parents,[b] and the faithful, on the day whereon an account shall be taken Think not, *O prophet*,

[r] The word used here and in the following sentences is *sakhkhara* which signifies *forcibly to press into any service* [1]

[s] *viz.*, The territory of Mecca See the Prelim Disc Sect IV

[t] This prayer it seems was not heard as to all his posterity particularly as to the descendants of Ismael though some pretend that these latter did not worship images but only paid a superstitious veneration to certain stones, which they set up and compassed as representations of the Caaba [2]

[u] That is by disposing him to repentance But Jallalo'ddin supposes these words were spoken by Abraham before he knew that GOD would not pardon idolatry

[x] *i.e.* Ismael and his posterity The Mohammedans say that Hagar his mother, belonged to Sarah who gave her to Abraham and that on her bearing him this son Sarah became so jealous of her that she prevailed on her husband to turn them both out of doors, whereupon he sent them to the territory of Mecca where GOD caused the fountain of Zemzem to spring forth for their relief in consideration of which the Jorhamites who were the masters of the country permitted them to settle among them [3]

[y] Had he said the hearts of men absolutely the Persians and the Romans would also have treated them as friends and both the Jews and Christians would have made their pilgrimages to Mecca [4]

[z] This part of the prayer was granted Mecca being so plentifully supplied that the fruits of spring summer and autumn are to be found there at one and the same time [5]

[a] For he knew by revelation that some of them would be infidels

[b] Abraham put up this petition to GOD before he knew that his parents were the enemies of GOD [6] Some suppose his mother was a true believer and therefore read it in the singular *and my father* Others fancy that by his *parents* the patriarch here means Adam and Eve [7]

[1] See chapter 2, p 17 note [c] [2] Al Beidâwi See the Prelim Disc. Sect I p. 13-16 [3] Idem [4] Idem Jallalo'ddin [5] Idem [6] See chapter 9, p 148 [7] Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi.

that GOD is regardless of what the ungodly do. He only deferreth their *punishment* unto the day whereon men's eyes shall be fixed: they shall hasten forward, *at the voice of the angel calling to judgment*, and shall lift up their heads; they shall not be able to turn their sight *from the object whereon it shall be fixed*, and their hearts shall be void *of sense, through excessive terror*. Wherefore do thou threaten men with the day, *whereon their* punishment shall be inflicted on them, and *whereon* those who have acted unjustly shall say, O LORD, give us respite unto a term near at hand; *and* we will obey thy call, and we will follow *thy* apostles. *But it shall be answered unto them*, Did ye not swear heretofore, that no reverse should befall you?[c] yet ye dwelt in the dwellings of those who had treated their own souls unjustly;[d] and it appeared plainly unto you how we had dwelt with them;[e] and we propounded *their destruction as* examples unto you. They employ their utmost subtlety *to oppose the truth*; but their subtlety *is apparent* unto GOD, *who is able to frustrate their designs*; although their subtlety were *so great*, that the mountains might be moved thereby. Think not therefore, *O prophet*, that GOD will be contrary to his promise *of assistance, made* unto his apostles; for GOD *is* mighty, able to avenge. The day *will come*, *when* the earth shall be changed into another earth, and the heavens *into other heavens*;[f] and men shall come forth *from their graves to appear* before the only, the mighty GOD. And thou shalt see the wicked on that day bound together in fetters: their inner garments shall be of pitch, and fire shall cover their faces; that GOD may reward every soul according to what it shall have deserved; for GOD is swift in taking an account. This is a sufficient admonition unto men, that they may be warned thereby, and that they may know that there is but one GOD; and that those who are endued with understanding may consider.

[c] That is, That ye should not taste of death, but continue in this world for ever; or that ye should not after death be raised to judgment.[1]

[d] *viz.* Of the Adites and Thamûdites.

[e] Not only by the histories of those people revealed in the Korân, but also by the monuments remaining of them (as the houses of the Thamûdites), and the traditions preserved among you of the terrible judgments which befell them.

[f] This the Mohammedans suppose will come to pass at the last day; the earth becoming white and even, or, as some will have it, of silver; and the heavens of gold.[2]

1 Iidem, Al Zamakhshari, Yahya. 2 Idem. Vide Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 67.

CHAPTER XV

ENTITLED, AL HEJR,[a] REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

AL. R.[b] These are the signs of the book, and of the per (XIV) spicuous Korân. The time may come when the unbelievers shall wish that they had been Moslems.[i] Suffer them to eat and to enjoy themselves *in this world*, and let hope entertain them but they shall hereafter know *their folly* We have not destroyed any city, but a fixed term *of repentance was* appointed them No nation shall be *punished* before their time *shall be come*, neither shall they be respited *after* *The Meccans* say, O thou to whom the admonition[j] hath been sent down, thou art certainly possessed with a devil wouldest thou not have come unto us with *an attendance of* angels, if thou hadst spoken truth? *Answer*, We send not down the angels, unless on a just occasion,[k] nor should they be then respited any longer We have surely sent down the Korân, and we will certainly preserve the same *from corruption*[l] We have heretofore sent *apostles* before thee, among the ancient sects and there came no apostle unto them, but they laughed him to scorn In the same manner will we put it into the hearts of the wicked *Meccans to scoff at their prophet* they shall not believe on him, and the sentence of the nations of old hath been executed heretofore If we should open a gate in the heaven above them, and they should ascend thereto[m] all the day long, they would surely say, Our eyes are only dazzled or rather we are a people deluded by enchantments We have placed *the twelve* signs in the heaven, and have set them out *in various figures*, for *the observation of* spectators and we guard them from every devil[n] driven away with stones,[o] except him who listeneth by

[a] Al Hejr is a territory in the province of Hejaz between Medina and Syria where the tribe of Thamûd dwelt[1] and is mentioned towards the end of the chapter

[b] See the Prelim Disc Sect III p 46 &c.

[i] *i.e.* When they shall see the success and prosperity of the true believers or when they shall come to die or at the resurrection

[j] *i.e.* The revelations which compose the Korân.

[k] When the divine wisdom shall judge it proper to use their ministry as in bearing his revelations to the prophets and the executing his sentence on wicked people but not to humour you with their appearance in visible shapes which should your demand be complied with would only increase your confusion and bring God's vengeance on you the sooner

[l] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 57

[m] *i.e.* The incredulous Meccans themselves or as others rather think the angels in visible forms.

[n] For the Mohammedans imagine that the devils endeavour to ascend to the constellations to pry into the actions and overhear the discourse of the inhabitants of heaven and to tempt them. They also pretend that these evil spirits had the liberty of entering any of the heavens till the birth of JESUS when they were excluded three of them, but that on the birth of Mohammed they were forbidden the other four[2]

[o] See chapter 3 p 35 note [b]

[1] See the Prelim Disc. p. 4 [2] Al Beidâwi.

stealth, at whom a visible flame is darted.[p] We have also spread forth the earth, and thrown thereon stable *mountains*, and we have caused every kind of *vegetables* to spring forth in the same, according to a determinate weight and we have provided therein necessaries of life for you, and for him whom ye do not sustain.[q] There is no one thing but the storehouses thereof are in our hands, and we distribute not the same *otherwise* than in a determinate measure We also send the winds driving the pregnant clouds, and we send down from heaven water, whereof we give you to drink, and which ye keep not in store Verily we give life, and we put to death; and we are the heirs *of all things*.[r] We know those among you who go before; and we know those who stay behind.[s] And thy LORD shall gather them together *at the last day*, for he *is* knowing *and* wise We created man of dried clay, of black mud, formed into shape[t] and we had before created the devil of subtle fire. And *remember* when thy LORD said before the angels, Verily I am about to create man of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into shape; when therefore I shall have completely formed him, and shall have breathed of my spirit into him, do ye fall down and worship him And all the angels worshipped *Adam* together, except Eblis, *who* refused to be with those who worshipped *him*. *And God* said *unto him*, O Eblis, what *hindered* thee from being with those who worshipped *Adam*? He answered, It is not fit that I should worship man, whom thou hast created of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into shape *God* said, Get thee therefore hence, for thou shalt be driven away with stones. and a curse *shall be* on thee, until the day of judgment *The devil* said, O LORD, give me respite until the day of resurrection *God* answered, Verily thou shalt be *one* of those who are respited until the day of the appointed time[u] *The devil* replied, O LORD, because thou hast seduced me, I will surely tempt them *to disobedience* in the earth; and I will seduce them all, except *such* of them *as shall be* thy chosen servants *God* said, This is the right way with me.[x] Verily *as to* my servants, thou shalt have no power over them, but *over* those only who shall be seduced, and who shall follow thee And hell is surely denounced unto them all: it hath seven gates, unto every gate a distinct company of them *shall be*

[p] For when a star seems to fall or shoot the Mohammedans suppose the angels, who keep guard in the constellations, dart them at the devils who approach too near

[q] *viz*, Your family, servants, and slaves, whom ye wrongly imagine that ye feed yourselves, though it is GOD who provide for them as well as you [1] or, as some rather think, the animals, of whom men take no care [2]

[r] *i e*, Alone surviving, when all creatures shall be dead and annihilated

[s] What these words particularly drive at is uncertain Some think them spoken of the different times of men's several entrance into this world, and their departure out of it; others of the respective forwardness and backwardness of Mohammed's men in battle, and a third says, the passage was occasioned by the different behaviour of Mohammed's followers, on seeing a very beautiful woman at prayers behind the prophet, some of them going out of the Mosque before her, to avoid looking on her more nearly, and others staying behind, on purpose to view her [3]

[t] See chapter 2, p 4, &c

[u] See ibid and chapter 7, p 106

[x] *viz*, The saving of the elect, and the utter reprobation of the wicked, according to my eternal decree

[1] Idem [2] Jallalo'ddin [3] Al Beidawi

assigned.[y] But those who fear *God shall dwell* in gardens, amids fountains. *The angels shall say unto them,* Enter ye therein in peace and security. And we will remove all grudges from their breasts,[z] *they shall be as* brethren, sitting over against one another[a] on couches: weariness shall not affect them therein, neither shall they be cast out thence *for ever*. Declare unto my servants that I am the gracious, the merciful *God*, and that my punishment is a grievous punishment. And relate unto them *the history* of Abraham's guests.[b] When they went in unto him, and said, Peace *be unto thee*, he answered, Verily we are afraid of you.[c] *and* they replied, Fear not; we bring thee the promise of a wise son. He said, Do ye bring me the promise *of a son* now old age hath overtaken me? what is it therefore that ye tell me? They said, We have told thee the truth; be not therefore one of those who despair. He answered, And who despaireth of the mercy of GOD, except those who err? And he said, What is your errand therefore, O messengers *of God*? They answered, Verily we are sent to *destroy* a wicked people: but *as for* the family of Lot, we will save them all, except his wife; we have decreed that she shall be *one* of those who remain behind *to be destroyed with the infidels.* And when the messengers came to the family of Lot, he said *unto them*, Verily ye are people *who are* unknown *to me*. They answered, But we are come unto thee to *execute* that *sentence*, concerning which *your fellow-citizens* doubted: we tell thee *a certain* truth; and we are *messengers of* veracity. Therefore lead forth thy family, in some time of the night; and do thou follow behind them, and let none of you turn back; but go whether ye are commanded.[d] And we gave him this command; because the utmost remnant of those *people* was to be cut off in the morning. And the inhabitants of the city came *unto Lot* rejoicing at the news *of the arrival of some strangers*. *And* he said *unto them*, Verily these are my guests: wherefore do not disgrace me *by abusing them*; but fear GOD, and put me not to shame. They answered, Have we not forbidden thee from *entertaining or protecting* any man? *Lot* replied, These *are* my daughters, *therefore rather make use of them*, if ye *be resolved to* do *what ye purpose*. As thou livest they wander in their folly.[e] Wherefore a terrible storm from heaven assailed them at sunrise: and we turned *the city* upside down; and we rained on them stones of baked clay. Verily herein are signs unto *men* of sagacity. and those *cities were punished*, to *point out* a right way *for men to walk in*. Verily herein *is* a sign unto the true believers. The

[y] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 71
[z] That is, all hatred and ill will which they bore each other in their lifetime, or, as some choose to expound it, all envy or heart-burning on account of the different degrees of honour and happiness to which the blessed will be promoted according to their respective merits.
[a] Never turning their backs to one another,[2] which might be construed a sign of contempt
[b] See chapter 11, p 165, &c.
[c] What occasioned Abraham's apprehension was, either their sudden entering without leave or their coming at an unseasonable time; or else their not eating with him
[d] Which was into Syria; or into Egypt
[e] Some will have these words spoken by the angels to Lot, others, by GOD to Mohammed
[1] See chapter 7, p. 108, note. [2] Jallalo'ddin. [3] Al Beidâwi. Jallalo'ddin.

inhabitants of the wood *near Midian*[f] were also ungodly: wherefore we took vengeance on them.[g] And both of them were *destroyed*, to serve as a manifest rule *for men to direct their actions by*. And the inhabitants of Al Hejr[h] likewise heretofore accused the messengers *of God* of imposture: and we produced our signs unto them, but they retired afar off from the same. And they hewed houses out of the mountains, to secure themselves: But a terrible noise from heaven assailed them in the morning: neither was what they had wrought of any advantage unto them. We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is *contained* between them, otherwise than in justice: and the hour *of judgment* shall surely come. Wherefore, *O Mohammed*, forgive *thy people* with a gracious forgiveness.[i] Verily thy LORD is the creator *of thee and of them*, and knoweth *what is most expedient*. We have already brought unto thee seven *verses* which are *frequently to be* repeated,[k] and the glorious Korân. Cast not thine eyes on the *good things* which we have bestowed on several of *the unbelievers, so as to covet the same*;[l] neither be thou grieved on their account. Behave thyself with meekness towards the true believers; and say, I am a public preacher. *If they believe not, we will inflict a like punishment on them*, as we have inflicted on the dividers,[m] who distinguished the Korân into *different* parts; for by thy LORD, we will demand an account from them all, of that which they have wrought. Wherefore publish that which thou hast been commanded, and withdraw from the idolaters. We will surely take thy part against the scoffers,[n] who associate with

[f] To whom Shoaib was also sent, as well as to the inhabitants of Midian. Abulfeda says these people dwelt near Tabûc, and that they were not of the same tribe with Shoaib. See also Geog. Nub. 110.

[g] Destroying them for their incredulity and disobedience, by a hot suffocating wind.[1]

[h] Who were the tribe of Thamûd.[2]

[i] This verse, it is said, was abrogated by that of the sword.

[k] That is, the first chapter of the Korân, which consists of so many verses, though some suppose the seven long chapters[3] are here intended.

[l] That is, Do not envy or covet their worldly prosperity, since thou hast received, in the Korân, a blessing in comparison whereof all that we have bestowed on them ought to be contemned as of no value. Al Beidâwi mentions a tradition, that Mohammed meeting at Adhriât (a town of Syria) seven caravans very richly laden belonging to some Jews of the tribes of Koreidha and al Nadîr, his men had a great mind to plunder them, saying, That those riches would be of great service for the propagation of GOD's true religion. But the prophet represented to them by this passage, that they had no reason to repine, GOD having given them the *seven verses*, which were infinitely more valuable than those seven caravans.[4]

[m] Some interpret the original word, the *obstructers*, who hindered men from entering Mecca to visit the temple, lest they should be persuaded to embrace Islâm; and this, it is said, was done by ten men, who were all slain at Bedr. Others translate the word, *who bound themselves by oath*, and suppose certain Thamûdites, who swore to kill Saleh by night, are here meant. But the sentence more probably relates to the Jews and Christians, who (say the Mohammedans) receive some part of the scriptures, and reject others; and also approved of some passages of the Korân, and disapproved of others, according to their prejudices: or else to the unbelieving Meccans, some of whom called the Korân a piece of witchcraft, others flights of divination, others old stories, and others a poetical composition.[5]

[n] This passage, it is said, was revealed on account of five noble Koreish, whose names were al Walîd Ebn al Mogheira, al As Ebn Wayel, Oda Ebn Kais, al Aswad Ebn Abd Yaghûth, and al Aswad Ebn al Motalleb. These were inveterate enemies of Mohammed, continually persecuting him, and turning him into ridicule; wherefore at length Gabriel came and told him that he was commanded to take his part against them; and on the angel's making a sign towards them one after another, al Walîd passing by some arrows, one of

[1] Idem. [2] See chapter 7, p. 113, &c. and Prel. Disc. p. 5. [3] See chapter 9, p. 134, note. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

GOD another god, they shall surely know *their folly* And now we well know that thou art deeply concerned on account of that which they say but do thou celebrate the praise of thy LORD, and be *one* of those who worship; and serve thy LORD, until death[8] shall overtake thee.

CHAPTER XVI

ENTITLED, THE BEE,[9] REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE sentence of GOD will surely come *to be executed*, wherefore do not hasten it. Praise be unto him! and far be that from him which they associate *with him!* He shall cause the angels to descend with a revelation by his command, unto such of his servants as he pleaseth, *saying*, Preach that there is no God, except myself, therefore fear me He hath created the heavens and the earth to *manifest his* justice far be that from him which they associate *with him!* He hath created man of seed, and *yet* behold, he is a professed disputer *against the resurrection*[4] He hath likewise created the cattle for you from them ye have wherewith to keep yourselves warm,[5] and *other* advantages, and of them do ye *also* eat And they are likewise a credit unto you,[6] when ye drive *them* home *in the evening*, and when ye lead *them* forth to feed *in the morning* and they carry your burthens to a *distant* country, at which ye could not *otherwise* arrive, unless with *great* difficulty to yourselves, for your LORD *is* compassionate and merciful And *he hath also created* horses and mules, and asses, that ye may ride thereon, and for an ornament *unto you*, and *he likewise* createth *other things* which ye know not *It appertaineth* unto GOD, to instruct *men* in the *right* way, and *there is* who turneth aside from the same but if he had pleased, he would certainly have directed you all. It is he who sendeth down from heaven *rain* water, whereof ye have to drink, and from which plants, whereon ye feed *your cattle receive their nourishment* *And* by means thereof he causeth corn

them hitched in his garment, and he, out of pride not stooping to take it off but walking forward the head of it cut a vein in his heel, and he bled to death al As was killed with a thorn which stuck into the sole of his foot and caused his leg to swell to a monstrous size Oda died with violent and perpetual sneezing al Aswad Ebn Abd Yaghûth ran his head against a thorny tree and killed himself and al Aswad Ebn al Motalleb was struck blind[1]

[8] Literally *That which is certain*

[9] This insect is mentioned about the middle of the chapter

[3] Except the three last verses.

[4] The person particularly intended in this place was Obba Ebn Khalf who came to Mohammed with a rotten bone, and asked him whether it was possible for GOD to restore it to life.[2]

[5] *viz* Their skins wool, and hair which serve you for clothing.

[6] Being a grace to your court yards and a credit to you in the eyes of your neighbours.[3]

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Idem [3] Idem.

and olives, and palm-trees, and grapes, and all *kinds* of fruits to spring forth for you. Surely herein is a sign *of the divine power and wisdom* unto people who consider. And he hath subjected the night and the day to your service, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, which are compelled to serve by his command. Verily herein are signs unto people of understanding. And *he hath also given you dominion over* whatever he hath created for you in the earth, distinguished by its different colour.[t] Surely herein is a sign unto people who reflect. It is he who hath subjected the sea *unto you*, that ye might eat fish[u] thereout, and take from thence ornaments[x] for you to wear; and thou seest the ships ploughing *the waves* thereof, that ye may seek *to enrich yourselves* of his abundance, *by commerce*, and that ye might give thanks. And he hath thrown upon the earth *mountains* firmly rooted, lest it should move with you,[y] and *also* rivers, and paths, that ye might be directed: and *he hath likewise ordained* marks *whereby men may know their way*, and they are directed by the stars.[z] *Shall God* therefore who createth, *be* as he who createth not? Do ye not therefore consider? If ye *attempt to* reckon up the favours of GOD, ye shall not *be able to* compute their number: GOD *is* surely gracious, *and* merciful; and GOD knoweth that which ye conceal and that which ye publish. But the *idols* which ye invoke, besides GOD, create nothing, but are themselves created. *They are* dead, *and* not living; neither do they understand when they shall be raised.[a] Your GOD *is* one GOD. As to those who believe not in the life to come, their hearts deny *the plainest evidence*, and they proudly reject *the truth*. There is no doubt but GOD knoweth that which they conceal and that which they discover. Verily he loveth not the proud. And when it is said unto them, What hath your LORD sent down *unto Mohammed?* they answer, Fables of ancient *times*. *Thus are they given up to error*, that they may bear their own burthens without diminution on the day of resurrection, and *also a part* of the burthens of those whom they caused to err, without knowledge. *Will it* not *be an* evil *burthen* which they shall bear? Their predecessors devised plots heretofore, but GOD came unto their building, *to overthrow it* from the foundations: and the roof fell on them from above, and a punishment came upon them, from whence they did not expect.[b] Also on the day of

[t] That is, of every kind; the various colour of things being one of their chief distinctions.[1]

[u] Literally, *fresh flesh*, by which fish is meant, as being naturally more fresh, and sooner liable to corruption, than the flesh of birds and beasts. The expression is thought to have been made use of here the rather, because the production of such fresh food from salt water is an instance of GOD's power.[2]

[x] As pearls and coral.

[y] The Mohammedans suppose that the earth, when first created, was smooth and equal, and thereby liable to a circular motion as well as the celestial orbs; and that the angels asking, who could be able to stand on so tottering a frame, GOD fixed it the next morning by throwing the mountains on it.

[z] Which are their guides, not only at sea, but also on land, when they travel by night through the deserts. The stars which they observe for this purpose, are either the *Pleiades* or some of those near the Pole.

[a] *i.e.*, At what time they or their worshippers shall be raised to receive judgment.

[b] Some understand this passage figuratively, of God's disappointing their wicked designs; but others suppose the words literally relate to the tower which Nimrod (whom the Mohammedans will have to be the son of Canaan, the son of Ham, and so the nephew of Cush, and

[1] Idem. [2] Idem.

resurrection he will cover them with shame; and will say, Where are my companions, concerning whom ye disputed? Those unto whom knowledge shall have been given,[c] shall answer, This day *shall* shame and misery *fall* upon the unbelievers They whom the angels shall cause to die, having dealt unjustly with their own souls, shall offer to make their peace[d] *in the article of death, saying*, We have done no evil. *But the angels shall reply*, Yea; verily GOD well knoweth that which ye have wrought. wherefore enter the gates of hell, therein to remain *for ever*; and miserable shall be the abode of the proud. And it shall be said unto those who shall fear *God*, What hath your LORD sent down? They shall answer, Good. unto those who do right *shall be given* an excellent reward in this world, but the dwelling of the next life *shall be* better; and happy *shall be* the dwelling of the pious! *namely*, gardens of eternal abode,[e] into which they shall enter; rivers shall flow beneath the same; therein *shall* they enjoy whatever they wish. Thus will GOD recompense the pious Unto the righteous whom the angels shall cause to die, they shall say, Peace be upon you; enter ye into paradise, *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. Do *the unbelievers* expect *any other* than that the angels come unto them, *to part their souls from their bodies*, or that the sentence of thy LORD come *to be executed on them*? So did they act who were before them; and GOD was not unjust towards them *in that he destroyed them*; but they dealt unjustly with their own souls. the evils of that which they committed, reached them; and the *divine judgment* which they scoffed at, fell upon them The idolaters say, If GOD had pleased, we had not worshipped anything besides him, neither *had* our fathers. neither had we forbidden anything, without him[f] So did they who were before them. But is the duty of the apostles *any other*, than public preaching? We have heretofore raised up in every nation an apostle *to admonish them, saying*, Worship God, and avoid TAGHUT.[g] And of them *there were* some whom GOD directed, and *there were* others of them who were decreed to go astray Wherefore go through the earth, *O tribe of Koreish*, and see what hath been the end of those who accused *their apostles* of imposture. If thou, *O prophet*, dost earnestly wish for their direction; verily GOD will not direct him whom he *hath resolved to* lead into error; neither shall they have any helpers. And they swear most solemnly by GOD, *saying*, GOD will not raise the dead Yea; the promise thereof is true. but the greater part of men know *it* not. *He*

not his son) built in Babel, and carried to an immense height (five thousand cubits, say some), foolishly purposing thereby to ascend to heaven and wage war with the inhabitants of that place; but GOD frustrated his attempt, utterly overthrowing the tower by a violent wind and earthquake [1]

[c] *viz.*, The prophets and the teachers and professors of GOD's unity, or the angels.

[d] Making their submission, and humbly excusing their evil actions, as proceeding from ignorance, and not from obstinacy or malice [2]

[e] Literally, *gardens of Eden* See chapter 9, p 144

[f] This they spoke in a scoffing manner, justifying their idolatry and superstitious abstaining from certain cattle,[3] by pretending, that had these things been disagreeable to GOD, he would not have suffered them to be practised

[g] See chapter 2, p 28

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. Vide D Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art Nimrod [2] Iidem Interp

[3] See chapter 6, p 102, &c.

will raise them that he may clearly show them the *truth* concerning which they *now* disagree, and that the unbelievers may know that they are liars Verily our speech unto anything, when we will the same, *is*, that we only say unto it, Be; and it is. *As for* those who have fled their country for the sake of GOD, after they had been unjustly persecuted,[h] we will surely provide them an excellent habitation in this world, but the reward of the next life shall be greater; if they knew *it*![1] They who persevere patiently, and put their trust in their LORD, *shall not fail of happiness in this life and in that which is to come.* We have not sent *any* before thee, *as our apostles*, other than men,[j] unto whom we spake by revelation Inquire therefore of those who have the custody of the scriptures, if ye know not *this to be truth* *We sent them* with evident *miracles*, and written revelations; and we have sent down unto thee this Korân,[k] that thou mayest declare unto mankind that which hath been sent down unto them, and that they may consider. Are they who have plotted evil against *their prophet* secure, that GOD will not cause the earth to cleave under them, or that a punishment will not come upon them, from whence they do not expect, or that he will not chastise them while they are busied *in travelling from one place to another, and in traffic*? (for they shall not be able to elude *the power of God*,) or that he will not chastise them by a gradual destruction? But your LORD is truly gracious and merciful *in granting you respite* Do they not consider the things which GOD hath createth; whose shadows are cast on the right hand and on the left, worshipping God,[l] and become contracted? Whatever moveth both in heaven and on earth, worshippeth GOD, and the angels *also*, and they are not exalted with pride, *so as to disdain his service*: they fear their LORD, *who is exalted* above them, and perform that which they are commanded. God said, Take not *unto yourselves* two gods, for there is but one GOD. and revere me. Unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and unto him is obedience eternally *due* Will ye therefore fear *any* besides GOD? Whatever favours ye have received, are certainly from GOD; and when evil afflicteth you, unto him do ye make your supplication; yet when he taketh the evil from off you behold, a part of you give a companion unto their LORD, to show their ingratitude for *the favours* we have bestowed on them Delight yourselves *in the enjoyments of this life*: but hereafter shall ye know *that ye cannot escape the divine vengeance.* And they set apart unto *idols* which have no knowledge,[m] a part of

[h] Some suppose the prophet and the companions of his flight in general, are here intended. others suppose that those are particularly meant in this place, who, after Mohammed's departure, were imprisoned at Mecca on account of their having embraced his religion, and suffered great persecution from the Koreish, as, Belâl, Soheib, Khabbab, Ammâr, Abes, Abu'l Jandal, and Sohail[1]

[i] It is uncertain whether the pronoun *they* relates to the infidels, or to the true believers. If to the former, the consequence would be, that they would be desirous of attaining to the happiness of the Mohajerin, by professing the same faith, if to the latter, the knowledge of this is urged as a motive to patience and perseverance[2]

[j] See chapter 7. p. 120, note [r], chapter 12, p 189, &c.

[k] Literally, *this admonition*[3]

[l] See chapter 13, p 182, note [e]

[m] Or, *which they know not*, foolishly imagining that they have power to help them, or interest with GOD to intercede for them.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] See the Prelim Disc. Sec III p 14.

the food which we have provided for them. By GOD, ye shall surely be called to account for that which ye have falsely devised. They attribute daughters unto GOD;[n] (far be it from him!) but unto themselves *children of the sex* which they desire.[o] And when any of them is told the news of *the birth of* a female, his face becometh black,[p] and he *is* deeply afflicted: he hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him; *considering within himself* whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust. Do they not make an ill judgment? Unto those who believe not in the next life, the similitude of evil *ought to be applied*, and unto GOD the most sublime similitude:[q] for he *is* mighty *and* wise. If GOD should punish men for their iniquity he would not leave on the *earth* any moving thing: but he giveth them respite unto an appointed time; and when their time shall come, they shall not be respited an hour, neither shall *their punishment* be anticipated. They attribute unto GOD that which they dislike themselves,[r] and their tongues utter a lie; *namely*, that the reward of *paradise* is for them. There is no doubt but that the fire *of hell is prepared* for them, and that they shall be sent thither before *the rest of the wicked*. By GOD, we have heretofore sent *messengers* unto the nations before thee: but Satan prepared their works for them: he *was* their patron in this world,[s] and *in that which is to come* they shall suffer a grievous torment. We have not sent down the book *of the Korân* unto thee, *for any other purpose*, than that thou shouldest declare unto them that *truth* concerning which they disagree; and for a direction and mercy unto people who believe. GOD sendeth down water from heaven, and causeth the earth to revive after it hath been dead. Verily herein is a sign *of the resurrection* unto people who hearken. Ye have also in cattle an example of instruction: we give you to drink of that which is in their bellies, *a liquor* between digested dregs, and blood;[t] *namely* pure milk,[u] which is swallowed with pleasure by those who drink *it*. And of the fruits of palm-trees, and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and also good nourish-

As to the ancient Arabs setting apart a certain portion of the produce of their lands for their idols, and their superstitious abstaining from the use of certain cattle, in honour to the same, see chapter 5, p. 86, and chapter 6, p. 102, and the notes there.

[n] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 14. Al Beidâwi says, that the tribes of Khozâah and Kenâna, in particular, used to call the angels the daughters of GOD.

[o] *viz.*, Sons: for the birth of a daughter was looked on as a kind of misfortune among the Arabs; and they often used to put them to death by burying them alive.[1]

[p] *i.e.*, Clouded with confusion and sorrow.

[q] This passage condemns the Meccans' injudicious and blasphemous application of such circumstances to GOD as were unworthy of him, and not only derogatory to the perfections of the Deity, but even disgraceful to man; while they arrogantly applied the more honourable circumstances to themselves.

[r] By giving him daughters, and associates in power and honour; by disregarding his messengers; and by setting apart the better share of the presents and offerings for their idols, and the worse for him.[2]

[s] Or, *He is the patron of them* (viz. the Koreish) *this day*, &c.

[t] The milk consisting of certain particles of the blood, supplied from the finer parts of the aliment. Ebn Abbas says, that the grosser parts of the food subside into excrement, and that the finer parts are converted into milk, and the finest of all into blood.

[u] Having neither the colour of the blood, nor the smell of the excrements.

[1] See chapter 81. [2] Al Beidâwi.

ment.[x] Verily herein is a sign unto people who understand. Thy LORD spake by inspiration unto the bee, *saying*, provide *thee* houses[y] in the mountains, and in the trees, and of *those materials* wherewith *men* build *hives for thee*. then eat of every *kind of* fruit, and walk in the beaten paths of thy LORD[z] There proceedeth from their bellies a liquor of various colours,[a] wherein *is* a medicine for men[b] Verily herein *is* a sign unto people who consider. GOD hath created you, and he will hereafter cause you to die. and some of you shall have his life prolonged to a decrepit age, so that he shall forget whatever he knew; for GOD *is* wise *and* powerful. GOD causeth some of you to excel others in worldly possessions yet they who are caused to excel, do not give their wealth unto *the slaves* whom their right hands possess, that they *may become* equal *sharers* therein.[c] Do they therefore deny the beneficence of GOD? GOD hath ordained you wives from among yourselves,[d] and of your wives hath granted you children and grandchildren, and hath bestowed on you good things for food Will they therefore believe in that which is vain, and ungratefully deny the goodness of GOD? They worship, besides GOD, *idols* which possess nothing wherewith to sustain them, either in heaven, or on earth; and have no power Wherefore liken not *anything* unto GOD[e] for GOD knoweth, but ye know not GOD propoundeth as a parable a possessed slave, who hath power over nothing, and him on whom we have bestowed a good provision from us, and who giveth alms thereout *both* secretly and openly[f] shall these *two* be esteemed equal? GOD forbid! But the greater part of them know *it* not

[x] Not only wine, which is forbidden, but also lawful food, as dates, raisins, a kind of honey flowing from the dates, and vinegar

Some have supposed that these words allow the moderate use of wine, but the contrary is the received opinion[1]

[y] So the apartments which the bee builds are here called, because of their beautiful workmanship, and admirable contrivance, which no geometrician can excel[2]

[z] *i.e.*, The ways through which, by GOD's power, the bitter flowers passing the bee's stomach become honey, or, the methods of making honey, which he has taught her by instinct, or else the ready way home from the distant places to which that insect flies[3]

[a] *viz.*, Honey the colour of which is very different, occasioned by the different plants on which the bees feed, some being white, some yellow, some red, and some black[4]

[b] The same being not only good food, but a useful remedy in several distempers, particularly those occasioned by phlegm There is a story, that a man came once to Mohammed and told him that his brother was afflicted with a violent pain in his belly upon which the prophet bade him give him some honey The fellow took his advice, but soon after coming again, told him that the medicine had done his brother no manner of service Mohammed answered, *Go and give him more honey, for GOD speaks truth, and thy brother's belly lies* And the dose being repeated, the man, by GOD's mercy, was immediately cured[5]

[c] These words reprove the idolatrous Meccans, who could admit created beings to a share of the divine honour, though they suffered not their slaves to share with themselves in what GOD had bestowed on them[6]

[d] That is, of your own nations and tribe Some think the formation of Eve from Adam is here intended

[e] Or propound no similitudes or comparisons between him and his creatures One argument the Meccans employed in defence of their idolatry it seems was, that the worship of inferior deities did honour to GOD; in the same manner as the respect showed to the servants of a prince does honour to the prince himself[7]

[f] The idols are here likened to a slave who is so far from having anything of his own, that he is himself in the possession of another, whereas GOD is as a rich free man, who provideth for his family abundantly, and also assisteth others who have need, both in public and in private[8]

[1] See chapter 2, p 23 [2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem [4] Idem [5] Idem [6] Idem [7] Idem [8] Idem. Jallalo'ddin.

God also propoundeth as a parable two men, one of them born dumb, who is unable to *do or understand* anything, but is a burthen unto his master; whithersoever he shall send him, he shall not return with any good *success*: shall this *man*, and he *who hath his speech and understanding, and* who commandeth that which is just, and followeth the right way, be esteemed equal?[g] Unto God *alone is the* secret of heaven and earth *known*. And the business of the *last* hour[h] shall be only as the twinkling of an eye, or even more quick: for God is almighty. God hath brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers; ye knew nothing, and he gave you *the senses of* hearing and seeing, and understandings, that ye might give thanks. Do they not behold the fowls which are enabled to fly in the open firmament of heaven? none supporteth them except God. Verily herein *are* signs unto people who believe. God hath also provided your houses for habitations for you; and hath *also* provided you tents of the skins of cattle, which ye find light *to be removed* on the day of your departure *to new quarters*, and *easy to be pitched* on the day of your sitting down *therein*: and of their wool and their fur, and their hair *hath he supplied you with* furniture and household stuff for a season. And God hath provided for you, of that which he hath created, conveniences to shade you *from the sun*,[i] and he hath *also* provided you places of retreat in the mountains, and he hath given you garments to defend you from the heat,[k] and coats *of mail* to defend you in your wars. Thus doth he accomplish his favour towards you, that ye may resign yourselves *unto him*. But if they turn back, verily thy duty is public preaching *only*. They acknowledge the goodness of God, and afterwards they deny the same;[l] but the greater part of them are unbelievers.[m] On a *certain* day we will raise a witness out of every nation:[n] then they who shall have been unbelievers shall not be suffered *to excuse themselves*, neither shall they be received into favour. And when they who shall have acted unjustly shall see the torment *prepared for them*, (it shall not be mitigated unto them, neither shall they be respited.) And when those who shall have been guilty of idolatry shall see their false gods,[o] they shall say, O Lord, these are our idols which we invoked, besides thee. But they shall return an answer unto them, *saying*, Verily ye are liars.[p] And on that day shall *the wicked* offer submission unto

[g] The idol is here again represented under the image of one who, by a defect in his senses, is a useless burthen to the man who maintains him; and God, under that of a person completely qualified either to direct or to execute any useful undertaking. Some suppose the comparison is intended of a true believer and an infidel.

[h] That is, The resurrection of the dead.

[i] As trees, houses, tents, mountains, &c.

† *viz.* Caves and grottos, both natural and artificial.

[k] Al Beidâwi says, that one extreme, and that the most insupportable in Arabia, is here put for both; but Jallalo'ddin supposes that by *heat* we are in this place to understand *cold*.

[l] Confessing God to be the author of all the blessings they enjoy, and yet directing their worship and thanks to their idols, by whose intercession they imagine blessings are obtained.

[m] Absolutely denying God's providence, either through ignorance or perverseness.

[n] See chapter 4, p. 50, note *.

[o] Literally, *Their companions*.

[p] For that we are not the companions of God, as ye imagined; neither did ye really serv

GOD; and the *false deities* which they imagined shall abandon them. *As for* those who shall have been infidels, and shall have turned aside *others* from the way of GOD, we will add unto them punishment upon punishment, because they have corrupted *others*. On a *certain* day we will raise up in every nation a witness against them, from among themselves, and we will bring thee, *O Mohammed*, as a witness against these *Arabians*. We have sent down unto thee the book *of the Korân*, for an explication of everything *necessary both as to faith and practice*, and a direction, and mercy, and good tidings unto the Moslems. Verily GOD commandeth justice, and the doing of good, and the giving unto kindred *what shall be necessary*, and he forbiddeth wickedness, and iniquity, and oppression: he admonisheth you that ye may remember.[q] Perform *your* covenant with GOD,[r] when ye enter into covenant *with him*, and violate not *your* oaths, after the ratification thereof, since ye have made GOD a witness over you. Verily GOD knoweth that which ye do. And be not like unto her who undoeth that which she hath spun, untwisting it after she hath twisted it strongly,[s] taking your oaths between you deceitfully, because one party is more numerous than *another* party.[t] Verily GOD only tempteth you therein, and he will make that manifest unto you, on the day of resurrection, concerning which ye now disagree. If GOD had pleased, he would surely have made you one people:[u] but he will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and he will direct whom he pleaseth, and ye shall surely give an account of that which ye have done. Therefore take not your oaths between you deceitfully, lest *your* foot slip, after it hath been steadfastly fixed, and ye taste evil *in this life*, for that ye have turned aside from the way of GOD, and ye *suffer* a grievous punishment *in the life to come*. And sell not the covenant of GOD for a small price,[x] for with GOD is a better *recompense prepared* for you, if ye be *men* of understanding. That which *is* with you will fail, but that which *is* with GOD *is* permanent: and we will surely reward those who shall persevere, according to the

us, but your own corrupt affections and lusts: nor yet were ye led into idolatry by us, but ye fell into it of your own accord.[1]

[q] This verse, which was the occasion of the conversion of Othmân Ebn Matûn, the commentators say containeth the whole which it is a man's duty either to perform or to avoid, and is alone a sufficient demonstration of what is said in the foregoing verse. Under the three things here commanded they understand the belief of GOD's unity without inclining to atheism on the one hand or polytheism on the other, obedience to the commands of GOD, and charity towards those in distress. And under the three things forbidden they comprehend all corrupt and carnal affections, all false doctrines and heretical opinions, and all injustice towards man.[2]

[r] By persevering in his true religion. Some think that the oath of fidelity taken to Mohammed by his followers is chiefly intended here.

[s] Some suppose that a particular woman is meant in this passage, who used (like Penelope) to undo at night the work that she had done in the day. Her name, they say, was Reita Bint Saad Ebn Teym, of the tribe of Koreish.[3]

[t] Of this insincerity in their alliances the Koreish are accused, it being usual with them, when they saw the enemies of their confederates to be superior in force, to renounce their league with their old friends, and strike up one with the others.[4]

[u] Or of one religion.

[x] That is, Be not prevailed on to renounce your religion, or your engagements with your prophet, by any promises or gifts of the infidels. For it seems, the Koreish, to tempt the poorer Moslems to apostatize, made them offers, not very considerable indeed, but such as they imagined might be worth their acceptance.[5]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Idem. [5] Idem.

utmost *merit* of their actions. Whoso worketh righteousness, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer, we will surely raise him to a happy life; and we will give them their reward, according to the utmost *merit* of their actions. When thou readest the Korân, have recourse unto GOD, *that he may preserve thee* from Satan driven away with stones:[y] he hath no power over those who believe, and who put their confidence in their LORD; but his power is over those only, who take him for their patron, and who give companions unto *God*. When we substitute *in the Korân* an *abrogating* verse in lieu of a verse *abrogated*, (and GOD best knoweth *the fitness of* that which he revealeth,) the *infidels* say, Thou art only a forger *of these verses:* but the greater part of them know not *truth from falsehood* Say, The holy spirit[z] hath brought the same down from thy LORD with truth; that he may confirm those who believe, and for a direction and good tidings unto the Moslems. We *also* know that they say, Verily, a *certain* man teacheth him *to compose the Korân.* The tongue of *the person* unto whom they incline, is a foreign *tongue*, but this, *wherein the Korân is written*, is the perspicuous Arabic tongue[a] Moreover

[y] Mohammed one day reading in the Korân, uttered a horrid blasphemy, to the great scandal of those who were present, as will be observed in another place,[1] to excuse which he assured them that those words were put into his mouth by the devil, and to prevent any such accident for the future, he is here taught to beg GOD's protection before he entered on that duty[2] Hence the Mohammedans, before they begin to read any part of this book, repeat these words, *I have recourse unto God for assistance against Satan driven away with stones.*

[z] *viz*, Gabriel. See chapter 2, p 10.

[a] This was a great objection made by the Meccans to the authority of the Korân; for when Mohammed insisted, as a proof of its divine original, that it was impossible a man so utterly unacquainted with learning as himself could compose such a book, they replied, that he had one or more assistants in the forgery, but as to the particular person or persons suspected of this confederacy, the traditions differ One says it was Jabar, a Greek, servant to Amer Ebn al Hadrami, who could read and write well,[3] another, that they were Jabar and Yesâr, two slaves who followed the trade of sword-cutlers at Mecca, and used to read the pentateuch and gospel, and had often Mohammed for their auditor, when he passed that way[4] Another tells us, it was one Aïsh, or Yâïsh, a domestic of al Haweiteb Ebn Abd al Uzza, who was a man of some learning, and had embraced Mohammedism.[5] Another supposes it was one Kais, a Christian, whose house Mohammed frequented,[6] another, that it was Addâs a servant of Otba Ebn Rabîa,[7] and another, that it was Salmân the Persian[8]

According to some Christian writers,[9] Abdallah Ebn Salam, the Jew who was so intimate with Mohammed (named by one, according to the Hebrew dialect, Abdias Ben Salon and by another, Abdala Celen), was assisting to him in the compiling his pretended revelations. This Jew Dr Prideaux confounds with Salmân the Persian, who was a very different man, as a late author[10] has observed before me, wherefore, and for that we may have occasion to speak of Salmân hereafter, it may be proper to add a brief extract of his story as told by himself. He was of a good family of Ispahan and, in his younger years, left the religion of his country to embrace Christianity, and travelling into Syria, was advised by a certain monk of Amuria to go into Arabia, where a prophet was expected to arise about that time who should establish the religion of Abraham, and whom he should know, among other things, by the *seal of prophecy* between his shoulders. Salmân performed the journey, and meeting with Mohammed at Koba, where he rested in his flight to Medina, soon found him to be the person he sought, and professed Islâm[11]

The general opinion of the Christians however is, that the chief help Mohammed had in the contriving his Korân, was from a Nestorian monk named Sergius, supposed to be the same person with the monk Boheira, with whom Mohammed in his younger years had some conference at Bosra, a city of Syria Damascena, where that monk resided.[12] To confirm

[1] In not. ad cap 22. [2] Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidâwi, Yahya, &c. [3] Al Zamakhshari, Al Beidâwi, Yahya. [4] Al Zamakh., Al Beidâwi See Prid Life of Mah p 32. [5] Idem. [6] Jallalo'ddin. [7] Al Zamakh, Yahya. [8] Al Zamakh., Al Beidâwi [9] Ricardi Confut. Legis Saracenicæ, c 13. Joh. Andreas, de Confus Sectæ Mahometanæ, c. 2 See Prid Life of Mah. pp 33, 34 [10] Gagnier not. in Abulf Vit. Moh p 74. [11] Ex Ebn Ishak. Vide Gagnier, ibid [12] See Prid ubi sup. p. 35, &c Gagnier, ubi sup pp 10, 11 Marrac de Alcor p 37.

as for those who believe not in the signs of GOD, GOD will not direct them, and they shall suffer a painful torment: verily they imagine a falsehood who believe not in the signs of GOD, and they are *really* the liars. Whoever denieth GOD, after he hath believed, except him who shall be compelled against his will, and whose heart continueth steadfast in the faith, *shall be severely chastised*[b] but whoever shall voluntarily profess infidelity, on those shall the indignation of GOD *fall*, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. This *shall be their sentence*, because they have loved the present life above that which is to come, and for that GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. These *are* they whose hearts, and hearing, and sight GOD hath sealed up; and these are the negligent: there is no doubt but that in the next life they shall perish. Moreover thy LORD *will be favourable* unto those who have fled their country, after having suffered persecu-

which supposition, a passage has been produced from an Arab writer,[1] who says that Boheira's name in the books of the Christians, is Sergius, but this is only a conjecture, and another[2] tells us, his true name was Saïd, or Felix, and his surname Boheira. But be that as it will, if Boheira and Sergius were the same man, I find not the least intimation in the Mohammedan writers that he ever quitted his monastery to go into Arabia (as is supposed by the Christians), and his acquaintance with Mohammed at Bosra was too early to favour the surmise of his assisting him in the Korân, which was composed long after; though Mohammed might, from his discourse, gain some knowledge of Christianity and of the scriptures, which might be of use to him therein.

From the answer given in this passage of the Korân to the objection of the infidels, viz. that the person suspected by them to have a hand in the Koran spoke a foreign language, and therefore could not with any face of probability, be supposed to assist in a composition written in the Arabic tongue, and with so great elegance, it is plain this person was no Arabian. The word Ajami, which is here used, signifies any *foreign* or *barbarous* language in general, but the Arabs applying it more particularly to the Persian, it has been thence concluded by some that Salmân was the person; however, if it be true that he came not to Mohammed till after the Hejra, either he could not be the man here intended, or else this verse must have been revealed at Medina, contrary to the common opinion.

[a] These words were added for the sake of Ammâr Ebn Yaser, and some others, who being taken and tortured by the Koreish, renounced their faith out of fear, though their hearts agreed not with their mouths.[3] It seems Ammâr wanted the constancy of his father and mother, Yâser and Sommeya, who underwent the like trial at the same time with their son, and resolutely refusing to recant, were both put to death, the infidels tying Sommeya between two camels, and striking a lance through her privy parts.[4] When news was brought to Mohammed, that Ammâr had denied the faith, he said, it could not be, for that Ammâr was full of faith from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, faith being mixed and incorporated with his very flesh and blood; and when Ammâr himself came weeping to the prophet, he wiped his eyes, saying, *What fault was it of thine, if they forced thee!*

But though it be here said, that those who apostatize in appearance only, to avoid death or torments, may hope for pardon from GOD, yet it is unanimously agreed by the Mohammedan doctors, to be much more meritorious and pleasing in the sight of GOD, courageously and nobly to persist in the true faith, and rather to suffer death itself than renounce it, even in words. Nor did the Mohammedan religion want its martyrs, in the strict sense of the word, of which I will here give two instances, besides the above-mentioned. One is that of Khobaib Ebn Ada, who being perfidiously sold to the Koreish, was by them put to death in a cruel manner, by mutilation, and cutting off his flesh piecemeal; and being asked, in the midst of his tortures, whether he did not wish Mohammed was in his place, answered, *I would not wish to be with my family, my substance, and my children, on condition that Mohammed was only to be pricked with a thorn.*[5] The other is that of a man who was put to death by Moseilama, on the following occasion. That false prophet having taken two of Mohammed's followers, asked one of them, what he said of Mohammed? the man answered, That he was the apostle of GOD. *And what sayest thou of me?* added Moseilama; to which he replied, *Thou also art the apostle of God*, whereupon he was immediately dismissed in safety. But the other, having returned the same answer to the former question, refused to give any to the last, though required to do it three several times, but pretended to be deaf, and was therefore slain. It is related that Mohammed, when the story of the two men was told him, said, *The first of them threw himself on GOD's mercy, but the latter professed the truth, and he shall find his account in it.*[6]

[1] Al Masudi. [2] Abu'l Hasan al Becri in Korân. [3] Al Beidâwi, Al Zamakh., Yahya. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Ebn Shohnah. [6] Al Beidâwi.

tion,[a] *and been compelled to deny the faith by violence*, and *who* have since sought *in defence of the true religion*, and have persevered with patience; verily *unto these will* thy LORD *be* gracious and merciful, after *they shall have shown their sincerity*. On a certain day shall every soul come to plead for itself,[d] and every soul shall be repaid that which it shall have wrought, and they shall not be treated unjustly. GOD propoundeth as a parable a city[e] which was secure *and* quiet, unto which her provisions came in abundance from every side: but she ungratefully denied the favours of GOD: wherefore GOD caused her to taste the extreme famine, and fear, because of that which they had done. And now is an apostle come unto the *inhabitants of Mecca* from among themselves; and they accuse him of imposture: wherefore a punishment shall be inflicted on them, while they are acting unjustly. Eat of what GOD hath given you for food, *that which is* lawful *and* good, and be thankful for the favours of GOD, if ye serve him. He hath only forbidden you that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that which hath been slain in the name of any, besides GOD.[f] But unto him who shall be compelled by necessity *to eat of these things*, not lusting nor *wilfully* transgressing, GOD *will* surely *be* gracious *and* merciful. And say not that wherein your tongues utter a lie; This is lawful, and this is unlawful:[g] that ye may devise a lie concerning GOD: for they who devise a lie concerning GOD, shall not prosper. *They shall have* small enjoyment *in this world*, and *in that which is to come* they shall suffer a grievous torment. Unto the Jews did we forbid that which we have told thee formerly,[h] and we did them no injury *in that respect*; but they injured their own souls.[i] Moreover thy LORD *will be favourable* unto those who do evil through ignorance, and afterwards repent and amend: verily *unto these will* thy LORD *be* gracious and merciful, after *their repentance*. Abraham was a model of true religion, obedient unto GOD, orthodox, and was not an idolater:[j] *he was also* grateful for his benefits: *wherefore God* chose him, and directed him into the right way. And we bestowed on him good in this world; and in the next he shall surely be *one* of the righteous. We have also spoken unto thee, *O Mohammed*, by revelation, *saying*, Follow the religion of Abraham, *who was* orthodox, and

[a] As did Ammar, who made [illegible] rights. Some, reading the verb with different vowels, render the last words, *after they have persecuted* the true believers, and instance in al Hadrami, who obliged a servant of his to renounce Muhammedism, by force, but afterwards, together with that servant, professed the same faith, and fled for it.[1]

[d] That is, Every person shall be solicitous for his own salvation, not concerning himself with the condition of another, but crying out, *My own soul! my own soul!*[2]

[e] This example is applied to every city which having received great blessings from GOD, becometh insolent and unthankful, and is therefore chastised by some signal judgment; or rather to Mecca in particular, on which the calamities threatened in this passage, viz. both famine and sword, were inflicted.[3]

[f] See chapter 5, p. 73.

[g] Allowing what GOD hath forbidden, and superstitiously abstaining from what he hath allowed. See chapter 6, p. 101, &c.

[h] *viz.*, In the 6th chapter, p. 103.

[i] *i.e.*, They were forbidden things which were in themselves indifferent, as a punishment for their wickedness and rebellion.

[j] This was to reprehend the idolatrous Koreish, who pretended that they professed the religion of Abraham.

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] Idem.

was no idolater. The sabbath was only appointed unto those who differed *with their prophet* concerning it;[k] and thy LORD will surely judge between them, on the day of resurrection, as to that concerning which they differed. Invite *men* unto the way of thy LORD, by wisdom, and mild exhortation; and dispute with them in the most condescending *manner:* for thy LORD well knoweth him who strayeth from his path, and he well knoweth those who are *rightly* directed. If ye take vengeance *on any*, take a vengeance proportionable to the wrong which hath been done you;[l] but if ye suffer *wrong* patiently, verily this will be better for the patient.[m] Wherefore do thou bear *opposition* with patience; but thy patience shall not be *practicable*, unless with GOD'S *assistance*. And be not thou grieved on account of the *unbelievers;* neither be thou troubled for that which they subtilely devise; for GOD is with those who fear *him*, and are upright.

CHAPTER XVII.

ENTITLED, THE NIGHT-JOURNEY;[n] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

(XV.) PRAISE be unto him, who transported his servant by night, from the sacred temple *of Mecca* to the farther temple *of Jerusalem*,[p] the circuit of which we have blessed, that we might show him *some* of our signs; for *God is* he who heareth, *and* seeth. And

[k] These were the Jews, who being ordered by Moses to set apart Friday (the day now observed by the Mohammedans) for the exercise of divine worship, refused it, and chose the sabbath-day, because on that day GOD rested from his works of creation; for which reason they were commanded to keep the day they had chosen in the strictest manner.[1]

[l] This passage is supposed to have been revealed at Medina, on occasion of Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, being slain at the battle of Ohod. For the infidels having abused his dead body, by taking out his bowels, and cutting off his ears and his nose, when Mohammed saw it, he swore that if God granted him success, he would retaliate those cruelties on seventy of the Koreish; but he was by these words forbidden to execute what he had sworn, and he accordingly made void his oath.[2] Abulfeda makes the number on which Mohammed swore to reek his vengeance to be but thirty;[3] but it may be observed, by the way, that the translator renders the passage in that author, GOD *hath revealed unto me that I shall retaliate*, &c., instead of, *If* GOD *grant me victory over the* Koreish, *I will retaliate*, &c., reading *Laan adkharni*, for *adhfarni*; GOD, far from putting this design into the prophet's head by a revelation, expressly forbidding him to put it in execution.

[m] Here, says al Beidawi, the Korân principally points at Mohammed, who was of all men the most conspicuous for meekness and clemency.

[n] The reason of this inscription appears in the first words. Some entitle the chapter, *The children of Israel*.

[o] Some except eight verses, beginning at these words, *It wanted little but that the infidels had seduced thee*, &c.

[p] From whence he was carried through the seven heavens to the presence of GOD, and brought back again to Mecca the same night.

This journey of Mohammed to heaven is so well known that I may be pardoned if I omit

[1] Idem, Jalalo'ddin. [2] Idem. [3] Abu'lf. Vit. Moh. p. 68.

we gave unto Moses the book *of the law*, and appointed the same *to be* a direction unto the children of Israel, *commanding them, saying, Beware* that ye take not any other patron besides me. O posterity of those whom we carried *in the ark* with Noah,[q] verily he was a grateful servant. And we expressly declared unto the children of Israel in the book *of the law, saying,* Ye will surely commit evil in the earth twice,[r] and ye will be elated with great insolence. And when the *punishment* threatened for the first of those *transgressions* came *to be executed,* we sent against you our servants,[s] endued with exceeding strength *in war,* and they searched the inner apartments of *your* houses; and the prediction became accomplished. Afterwards we gave you the victory over them,[t] *in your turn,* and we granted you increase of wealth and children, and we made you a more numerous people, *saying,* If ye do well, ye will do well to your own souls; and if ye do evil, *ye will do it* unto the same. And when the *punishment* threatened *for your* latter *transgression* came *to be executed, we sent enemies against you* to afflict you,[u] and to enter the temple, as they entered it the first time, and utterly to destroy that which they

the description of it. The English reader may find it in Dr. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet,[1] and the learned in Abulfeda,[2] whose annotator has corrected several mistakes in the relation of Dr. Prideaux, and of other writers.

It is a dispute among the Mohammedan divines, whether their prophet's night-journey was really performed by him corporally, or whether it was only a dream or vision. Some think the whole was no more than a vision, and allege and express tradition of Moawiyah,[3] one of Mohammed's successors, to that purpose. Others suppose he was carried bodily to Jerusalem but no farther, and that he ascended thence to heaven in spirit only. But the received opinion is, that it was no vision, but that he was actually transported in the body to his journey's end, and if any impossibility be objected, they think it a sufficient answer to say, that it might easily be effected by an omnipotent agent.[4]

[q] The commentators are put to it to find out the connection of these words with the foregoing. Some think the accusative case is here put for the vocative, as I have translated it, and others interpret the words thus, *Take not for your patrons besides me, the posterity of those,* &c. meaning, mortal men.

[r] Their first transgression was their rejecting the decisions of the law, their putting Isaiah to death,[5] and their imprisoning of Jeremiah;[6] and the second, was their slaying of Zachariah and John the Baptist, and their imagining the death of JESUS.[7]

[s] These were Jalût, or Goliah, and his forces;[8] or Sennacherib the Assyrian; or else Nebuchadnezzar, whom the eastern writers called Bakhtnasr (which was, however, only his surname, his true name being Gudarz, or Raham), the governor of Babylon under Lohorasp, king of Persia,[9] who took Jerusalem, and destroyed the temple.

[t] By permitting David to kill Goliah, or by the miraculous defeat of Sennacherib's army, or for that GOD put it into the heart of Bahman the son of Isfandiyar, when he succeeded his grandfather Lohorasp, to order Kiresh, or Cyrus, then governor of Babylon, to send home the Jews from their captivity, under the conduct of Daniel, which he accordingly did, and they prevailed against those whom Bakhtnasr had left in the land.[10]

[u] Some imagine the army meant in this place was that of Bakhtnasr,[11] but others say the Persians conquered the Jews this second time, by the arms of Gudarz (by whom they seem to intend Antiochus Epiphanes), one of the successors of Alexander at Babylon. It is related that the general in this expedition, entering the temple, saw blood bubbling up on the great altar, and asking the reason of it, the Jews told him it was the blood of a sacrifice which had not been accepted of GOD, to which he replied, that they had not told him the truth, and ordered a thousand of them to be slain on the altar; but the blood not ceasing, he told them, that if they would not confess the truth, he would not spare one of them, whereupon they acknowledged it was the blood of John; and the general said, *Thus hath your* LORD *taken vengeance on you*, and then cried out, *O John, my* LORD *and thy* LORD *knoweth what hath befallen thy people for thy sake, wherefore let thy blood stop, by* GOD'S *permission, lest I leave not one of them alive*; upon which the blood immediately stopped.[12]

These are the explications of the commentators, wherein their ignorance in ancient history

[1] Page 43, &c. See also Morgan's Mahometism Explained, vol. 2. [2] Vit. Moham. cap. 19. [3] Vide ibid, c. 18. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. [6] Jallalo'ddin. [7] Iidem. [8] Jallalo'ddin, Yahya. [9] Al Zamakhshari, Al Beidâwi. [10] Idem. [11] Yahya, Jallalo'ddin. [12] Al Beidâwi.

had conquered Peradventure your LORD will have mercy on you *hereafter* · but if ye return *to transgress a third time*, we *also will* return *to chastise you* :[x] and we have appointed hell *to be* the prison of the unbelievers. Verily this Korân directeth unto *the way* which is most right, and declareth unto the faithful, who do good works, that they shall receive a great reward , and that for those who believe not in the life to come, we have prepared a grievous punishment Man prayeth for evil, as he prayeth for good ;[y] for man is hasty.[z] We have ordained the night and the day for two signs *of our power* . afterwards we blot out the sign of the night, and we cause the sign of the day to shine forth, that ye may endeavour to obtain plenty from your LORD *by doing your business therein*, and that ye may know the number of years, and the computation *of time*, and everything *necessary* have we explained by a *perspicuous* explication. The fate[a] of every man have we bound about his neck ;[b] and we will produce unto him, on the day of resurrection, a book *wherein his actions shall be recorded* it shall be offered him open, *and the angels shall say unto him*, Read thy book , thine own soul will be a sufficient accountant against thee, this day[c] He who shall be *rightly* directed, shall be directed to *the advantage* only *of* his own soul , and he who shall err, shall err only against the same neither shall any laden *soul* be charged with the burthen of another We did not punish *any people*, until we had *first* sent an apostle *to warn them* And when we resolved to destroy a city, we commanded the inhabitants thereof, who lived in affluence, *to obey our apostle*, but they acted corruptly therein wherefore the sentence was justly pronounced against *that city*, and we destroyed it with an utter destruction And how many generations have we consumed since Noah ? for thy LORD sufficiently knoweth and seeth the sins of his servants. Whosoever chooseth *this* transitory *life*, we will bestow on him therein beforehand that which we please , on him, *namely*, whom we please afterwards will

is sufficiently manifest though perhaps Mohammed himself, in this latter passage, intended the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans

[x] And this came accordingly to pass for the Jews being again so wicked as to reject Mohammed, and conspire against his life, God delivered them into his hands , and he exterminated the tribe of Koreidha, and slew the chiefs of al Nadîr, and obliged the rest of the Jewish tribes to pay tribute [1]

[y] Out of ignorance, mistaking evil for good or making wicked imprecations on himself and others, out of passion and impatience

[z] Or inconsiderate, not weighing the consequence of what he asks.

It is said that the person here meant is Adam, who, when the breath of life was breathed into his nostrils, and had reached so far as his navel, though the lower part of his body was, as yet, but a piece of clay, must needs try to rise up, and got an ugly fall by the bargain But others pretend the passage was revealed on the following occasion Mohammed committed a certain captive to the charge of his wife, Sawda bint Zamáa, who, moved with compassion at the man's groans, unbound him, and let him escape upon which the prophet, in the first motions of his anger, wished her hand might fall off , but immediately composing himself, said aloud, *O God, I am but a man therefore turn my curse into a blessing* [2]

[a] Literally, *the bird*, which is here used to signify a man's *fortune* or *success* , the Arabs, as well as the Greeks and Romans, taking omens from the flight of birds, which they supposed to portend good luck if they flew from the left to the right, but if from the right to the left, the contrary , the like judgment they also made when certain beasts passed before them

[b] Like a collar, which he cannot by any means get off See the Prelim Dis Sect IV &c.

[c] Ibid. p 70.

[1] Idem [2] Jallalo'ddin

we appoint him hell *for his abode;* he shall be thrown into the same to be scorched, covered with ignominy, *and* utterly rejected *from mercy.* But whosoever chooseth the life to come, and directeth his endeavour towards the same, being also a true believer, the endeavour of these shall be acceptable *unto God.* On all will we bestow *the blessings of this life,* both on these and on those, of the gift of thy LORD, for the gift of thy LORD shall not be denied *unto any.* Behold, how we have caused some of them to surpass others *in wealth and dignity:* but the next life shall be more considerable in degrees *of honour,* and greater in excellence. Set not up another god with *the true* GOD, lest thou sit down in disgrace, *and* destitute. Thy LORD hath commanded that ye worship none, besides him, and *that ye show* kindness unto *your* parents, whether the one of them, or both of them attain to old age with thee.[d] Wherefore say not unto them, Fie *on you!*[*] neither reproach them, but speak respectfully unto them; and submit to behave humbly[e] towards them, out of tender affection, and say, O LORD, have mercy on them both, as they nursed me *when I was* little. Your LORD well knoweth that which is in your souls, whether ye be men of integrity: and he will be gracious unto those who sincerely return *unto him.* And give unto him who is of kin *to you* his due,[f] and *also* unto the poor, and the traveller. And waste not *thy substance* profusely: for the profuse are brethren of the devils;[g] and the devil was ungrateful unto his LORD. But if thou turn from them, in expectation of the mercy which thou hopest from thy LORD,[h] *at least,* speak kindly unto them. And let not thy hand be tied up to thy neck, neither open it with an unbounded expansion,[i] lest thou become worthy of reprehension, and be reduced to poverty. Verily thy LORD will enlarge the store of whom he pleaseth, and will be sparing *unto whom he pleaseth,* for he knoweth and regardeth his servants. Kill not your children for fear of being brought to want; we will provide for them and for you: verily the killing them is a great sin.[j] Draw not near unto fornication, for it is wickedness, and an evil way. Neither slay the soul which GOD hath forbidden *you to slay,* unless for a just cause,[k] and whosoever shall be slain unjustly we have given his heir power *to demand satisfaction,*[l] but let him not exceed the bounds *of moderation* in putting to death *the murderer*

[d] That is, receiving their support and maintenance from thee.

[e] Literally, *Lower the wing of humility,* &c.

[f] That is, friendship and affection, and assistance in time of need.

[g] Prodigality, and squandering away one's substance in folly or luxury, being a very great sin. The Arabs were particularly guilty of extravagance in killing camels, and distributing them by lot, merely out of vanity and ostentation; which they are forbidden by this passage, and commanded to bestow what they could spare on their poor relations, and other indigent people.[1]

[h] That is, If thy present circumstances will not permit thee to assist others, defer thy charity till GOD shall grant thee better ability.

[i] *i.e.,* Be neither niggardly nor profuse, but observe the mean between the two extremes, wherein consists true liberality.[2]

[j] See chapter 6, p. 101 and 103, and chapter 81.

[k] The crimes for which a man may justly be put to death are these: apostasy, adultery and murder.[3]

[l] It being at the election of the heir, or next of kin, either to take the life of the murderer or to accept of a fine in lieu of it.[4]

[1] Al Beidawi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] See chapter 2, p. 19.

in too cruel a manner, or by revenging his friend's blood on any other than the person who killed him, since he is assisted *by this law.*[m] And meddle not with the substance of the orphan, unless it be to improve it, until he attain his age of strength:[n] and perform *your* covenant, for the *performance of your* covenant shall be inquired into *hereafter.* And give full measure, when you measure *ought,* and weigh with a just balance This will be better, and more easy for determining *every man's due*[o] And follow not that whereof thou hast no knowledge;[p] for the hearing, and the sight, and the heart, every of these shall be examined *at the last day.* Walk not proudly in the land, for thou canst not cleave the earth, neither shalt thou equal the mountains in stature All this is evil, *and* abominable in the sight of thy LORD. These *precepts are a part* of the wisdom which thy LORD hath revealed unto thee. Set not up any other god *as equal* unto GOD, lest thou be cast into hell, reproved *and* rejected. Hath your LORD preferably granted unto you sons, and taken *for himself* daughters from among the angels?[q] Verily *in asserting this* ye utter a grievous saying And now have we used various *arguments and repetition*[r] in this Korân, that they may be warned; yet it only rendereth them more disposed to fly *from the truth* Say *unto the idolaters,* If there were *other* gods with him, as ye say, they would surely seek an occasion *of making some attempt* against the possessor of the throne[r] GOD forbid! and far, very far, be that from him which they utter! The seven heavens praise him, and the earth, and all who are therein: neither is there anything which doth not celebrate his praise, but ye understand not their celebration *thereof:* he is gracious and merciful When thou readest the Korân, we place between thee and those who believe not in the life to come, a dark veil; and we put coverings over their hearts, lest they should understand it, and in their ears thickness of hearing And when thou makest mention, in *repeating* the Korân, of thy LORD only,[s] they turn their backs, flying *the doctrine of his unity* We well know with what *design* they hearken, when they hearken unto thee, and when they privately discourse together when the ungodly say, Ye follow no other than a madman. Behold! what epithets they bestow on thee But they are deceived; neither can they *find* any *just* occasion *to reproach thee* They also say, After we shall have become bones and dust, shall we surely be raised a new creature? Answer, Be ye

[m] Some refer the pronoun *he* to the person slain, for the avenging whose death this law was made, some to the heir, who has a right granted him to demand satisfaction for his friend's blood,[1] and others to him who shall be slain by the heir, if he carry his vengeance too far[2]

[n] See chapter 4, p. 53, 54

[o] Or, *more advantageous in the end*[3]

[p] i.e., Vain and uncertain opinions, which thou hast not good reason to believe true, or at least probable Some interpret the words, *Accuse not* another of a crime *whereof thou hast no knowledge,* supposing they forbid the bearing false witness, or the spreading or giving credit to idle reports of others[4]

[q] See chapter 16, p 199.

[r] i e, They would in all probability contend with GOD for superiority, and endeavour to dethrone him, in the same manner as princes act with one another on earth

[s] Not allowing their gods to be his associates, nor praying their intercession with him.

[1] Yahya [2] Vide Al Beidâwi [3] Idem. Al Zamakh [4] Idem

stones, or iron, or some creature more improbable in your opinions *to be raised to life.* But they will say, Who shall restore us *to life*? Answer, He who created you the first time. and they will wag their heads at thee, saying, When *shall* this *be*? Answer, Peradventure it is nigh. On *that* day shall GOD call you *forth from your sepulchres*, and ye shall obey, with celebration of his praise,[t] and ye shall think that ye tarried[u] but a little while Speak unto my servants, that they speak mildly *unto the unbelievers, lest ye exasperate them;* for Satan soweth discord among them, and Satan is a declared enemy unto man. Your LORD well knoweth you; if he pleaseth, he will have mercy on you, or, if he pleaseth, he will punish you:[x] and we have not sent thee *to be* a steward over them Thy LORD well knoweth all persons in heaven and on earth.[y] We have bestowed peculiar favours on some of the prophets, preferably to others, and we gave unto David the psalms.[z] Say, Call upon those whom ye imagine *to be gods* besides him; yet they will not be able to free you from harm, or to turn *it on others.* Those whom ye invoke,[a] do *themselves* desire *to be admitted to* a near conjunction with their LORD; *striving* which of them shall approach nearest *unto him* they also hope for his mercy, and dread his punishment; for the punishment of thy LORD is terrible There is no city but we will destroy the same before the day of resurrection, or we will punish it with a grievous punishment. This is written in the book *of our eternal decrees.* Nothing hindered us from sending *thee* with miracles, except that the former *nations* have charged them with imposture We gave unto *the tribe of* Thamûd, *at their demand*, the she-camel visible *to their sight;* yet they dealt unjustly with her [b] and we send not *a prophet* with miracles, but to strike terror. *Remember* when we said unto thee, Verily thy LORD encompasseth men *by his knowledge and power* We have appointed the vision which we showed thee,[c] and

[t] The dead, says al Beidâwi, at his call shall immediately rise, and shaking the dust off their heads, shall say, *Praise be unto thee, O God*

[u] *viz*, In your graves, or, in the world

[x] These words are designed as a pattern for the Moslems to follow, in discoursing with the idolaters, by which they are taught to use soft and dubious expressions, and not to tell them directly that they are doomed to hell fire, which, besides the presumption in offering to determine the sentence of others, would only make them more irreconcilable enemies [1]

[y] And may choose whom he pleases for his ambassador This is an answer to the objections of the Koreish, that Mohammed was the orphan pupil of Abu Taleb, and followed by a parcel of naked and hungry fellows.[2]

[z] Which were a greater honour to him than his kingdom, and wherein Mohammed and his people are foretold by these words, among others [3] *The righteous shall inherit the earth* [4]

[a] *viz*, The angels and prophets, who are the servants of GOD as well as yourselves.

[b] See chapter 7, p. 112

[c] Mohammed's journey to heaven is generally agreed to be intended in this place; which occasioned great heats and debates among his followers, till they were quieted by Abu Becr's bearing testimony to the truth of it [5] The word *vision*, here used, is urged by those who take this journey to have been no more than a dream, as a plain confirmation of their opinion Some, however, suppose the vision meant in this passage was not the night-journey, but the dream Mohammed saw at al Hodeibiya, wherein he seemed to make his entrance into Mecca,[6] or that at Bedr,[7] or else a vision he had relating to the family of Ommeya, whom he saw

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Idem. [3] Vide Marracc. in Alc p 28, &c. Prid Life of Mah p. 122 [4] Psal xxxvii 28 Al Beid [5] Vide Abulf Vit Moh p 39, and not ibid Prideaux, Life of Mah p 50, and Prelim Disc. Sect. II p 36 [6] See Kor chapter 48 [7] See chapter 8 p 120

also the tree[d] cursed in the Korân, only for an occasion of dispute unto men, and to strike *them* with terror; but it shall cause them to transgress only the more enormously. And *remember* when we said unto the angels, Worship Adam, and they *all* worshipped him except Eblis, *who* said, Shall I worship him whom thou hast created *of* clay? *And* he said, What thinkest thou, *as to* this *man* whom thou hast honoured above me? verily, if thou grant me respite until the day of resurrection, I will extirpate his offspring, except a few. *God* answered, Begone, *I grant thee respite:* but whosoever of them shall follow thee, hell shall surely be your reward, an ample reward *for your demerits!*[e] And entice to vanity such of them as thou canst, by thy voice; and assault them on all sides with thy horsemen and thy footmen,[f] and partake with them in *their* riches, and *their* children,[g] and make them promises; (but the devil shall make them no other than deceitful promises:) *as to* my servants, thou shalt have no power over them, for thy LORD is a sufficient protector *of those who trust in him*. It is your LORD who driveth forward the ships for you in the sea, that ye may seek *to enrich yourselves* of his abundance *by commerce*, for he is merciful towards you. When a misfortune befalleth you at sea, the *false deities* whom ye invoke are forgotten *by you*, except him *alone*: yet when he bringeth you safe to dry land, ye retire afar off *from him, and return to your idols*, for man is ungrateful.[h] Are ye therefore secure that he will not cause the dry land to swallow you up, or *that he will not* send against you a *whirlwind* driving the sands *to overwhelm you?* then shall ye find none to protect you. Or are ye secure that he will not cause you again to commit yourselves to *the sea* another time, and send against you a tempestuous wind, and drown you, for that ye have been ungrateful? then shall ye find none to defend *you* against us, in that *distress*. And now have we honoured the children of Adam *by sundry peculiar privileges and endowments*, and we have given them conveniences of carriage by land and by sea, and have provided food for them of good things, and we have preferred them before many of *our creatures* which we have created, by granting *them great* prerogatives. On a *certain* day we will call all men *to judgment* with their *respective* leader;[i] and whosoever shall have his book given him into his right hand, they shall read their book *with joy and satisfaction*,[j] and they shall not be wronged a hair.[k] And whoever hath been blind in this *life*, shall

mount his pulpit, and jump about in it like monkeys, upon which he said, This is their portion in this world, which they have gained by their profession of Islam.[1] But if any of these latter expositions be true, the verse must have been revealed at Medina.

[d] Called al Zakkûm, which springs from the bottom of hell.[2]

[e] See chapter 2, p. 5, and chapter 7, p. 106, &c.

[f] *i. e.*, With all thy forces.

[g] Instigating them to get wealth by unlawful means, and to spend it in supporting vice and superstition, and tempting them to incestuous mixtures, and to give their children names in honour of their idols, as Abd Yaghuth, Abd' al Uzza, &c.[3]

[h] See chapter 10, p. 152.

[i] Some interpret this of the prophet sent to every people; others, of the heads of sects; others, of the various religions professed in the world; others, of the books which shall be given to every man at the resurrection, containing a register of their good and bad actions.

[j] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 70.

[k] See chapter 4, p. 60, note *.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] See chapter 37. [3] Al Beidâwi.

be also blind in the next, and shall wander more widely from the path *of salvation* It wanted little but *the unbelievers* had tempted thee to swerve from *the instructions* which we had revealed unto thee, that thou shouldest devise concerning us a different thing, [l] and then would they have taken thee for *their* friend and unless we had confirmed thee, thou hadst certainly been very near inclining unto them a little Then would we surely have caused thee to taste the punishment of life, and the punishment of death [m] and thou shouldest not have found any to protect thee against us The *unbelievers* had likewise almost caused thee to depart the land, that they might have expelled thee thence [n] but then should they not have tarried *therein* after thee, except a little while [o] *This is* the method of dealing *which we have prescribed ourselves* in respect to our apostles, whom we have already sent before thee and thou shalt not find any change in our *prescribed* method Regularly perform *thy* prayer at the declension of the sun,[p] at the first darkness of the night,[q] and the prayer of daybreak, [r] for the prayer of daybreak is borne witness unto *by the angels* [s] And watch *some part* of the night in the same *exercise*, as a work of supererogation for thee, peradventure thy LORD will

[l] These are generally supposed to have been the tribe of Thakif the inhabitants of al Tâyef who insisted on Mohammed's granting them several very extraordinary privileges as the terms of their submission to him for they demanded that they might be free from the legal contribution of alms and from observing the appointed times of prayer that they might be allowed to keep their idol Allât for a certain time [1] and that their territory might be declared a place of security and not be violated like that of Mecca &c And they added that if the other Arabs asked him the reason of these concessions he should say that GOD had commanded him so to do [2] According to which explication it is plain this verse must have been revealed long after the Hejra

Some however will have the passage to have been revealed at Mecca on occasion of the Koreish who told Mohammed they would not suffer him to kiss the black stone in the wall of Caaba unless he also visited their idols and touched them with his hand to show his respect

[m] *i e* Both of this life and the next. Some interpret the first of the punishment in the next world and the latter of the torture of the sepulchre [3]

[n] The commentators differ as to the place where this passage was delivered and the occasion of it Some think it was revealed at Mecca, and that it refers to the violent enmity which the Koreish bore Mohammed and their restless endeavours to make him leave Mecca [4] as he was at length obliged to do But as the persons here spoken of seem not to have prevailed in their project others suppose that the verse was revealed at Medina on the following occasion The Jews envious of Mohammed's good reception and stay there told him by way of counsel that Syria was the land of the prophets and that if he was really a prophet he ought to go thither Mohammed seriously reflecting on what they had said began to think they had advised him well and actually set out and proceeded a day's journey in his way to Syria whereupon GOD acquainted him with their design by the revelation of this verse, and he returned to Medina [5]

[o] This was fulfilled according to the former of the above mentioned explications by the loss of the Koreish at Bedr and according to the latter by the great slaughter of the Jews of Koreidha and al Nadîr [6]

[p] *i e* At the time of noon prayer when the sun declines from the meridian or as some choose to translate the words *at the setting of the sun* which is the time of the first evening prayer

[q] The time of the last evening prayer

[r] Literally, *the reading of the daybreak* whence some suppose the reading of the Koran at that time is here meant

[s] *viz* The guardian angels who according to some are relieved at that time, or else the angels appointed to make the change of night into day &c [7]

[1] See the Prelim. Disc p 14 [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin Vide Abulf Vit Moham p 126 &c [3] Al Beidâwi [4] Idem [5] Idem Jallalo'ddin [6] Idem [7] Al Beidâwi

raise thee to an honourable station[t] And say, O LORD, cause me to enter with a favourable entry, and cause me to come forth with a favourable coming forth,[u] and grant me from thee an assisting power And say, Truth is come, and falsehood is vanished for falsehood is of short continuance[x] We send down of the Korân that which is a medicine and a mercy unto the true believers, but it shall only increase the perdition of the unjust. When we bestow favours on man, he retireth and withdraweth himself *ungratefully from us* but when evil toucheth him, he despaireth *of our mercy* Say, Every one acteth after his own manner[y] but your LORD best knoweth who is most truly directed in *his* way They will ask thee concerning the spirit[z] answer, The spirit *was created* at the command of my LORD[a] but ye have no knowledge given unto you, except a little[b] If we pleased, we should certainly take away that which we have revealed unto thee,[c] in such case thou couldest not find any to assist thee therein against us, unless through mercy from thy LORD, for his favour towards thee hath been great Say, Verily if men and genii were purposely assembled, that they might produce *a book* like this Koran, they could not produce *one* like unto it, although the one of them assisted the other And we have variously propounded unto men in this Koran, every *kind of* figurative argument, but the greater part of men refuse *to receive it*, merely out of infidelity And they say, We will by no means believe on thee, until thou cause

[t] According to a tradition of Abu Horeira the honourable station here intended is that of intercessor for others[1]

[u] That is Grant that I may enter my grave with peace and come forth from it at the resurrection with honour and satisfaction In which sense this petition is the same with that of Balaam *Let me die the death of the righteous and let my last end be like his*[2]

But as the person here spoken to is generally supposed to be Mohammed the commentators say he was commanded to pray in these words for a safe departure from Mecca and a good reception at Medina or for a sure refuge in the cave where he hid himself when he fled from Mecca[3] or (which is the more common opinion) for a victorious entrance into Mecca and a safe return thence[4]

[x] These words Mohammed repeated when he entered the temple of Mecca after the taking of that city and cleansed it of the idols a great number of which are said to have fallen down on his touching them with the end of the stick he held in his hand[5]

[y] i e According to his judgment or opinion be it true or false, or according to the bent of his mind and the natural constitution of his body[6]

[z] Or the soul of man Some interpret it of the angel Gabriel or of the divine revelation.[7]

[a] viz By the word *Kun* i e *Be* consisting of an immaterial substance, and not generated like the body But according to a different opinion this passage should be translated *The spirit is of those things, the knowledge of which thy Lord hath reserved to himself* For it is said that the Jews bid the Koreish ask Mohammed to relate the history of those who slept in the cave[8] and of Dhu lkarnein[9] and to give them an account of the soul of man adding that if he pretended to answer all the three questions or could answer none of them they might be sure he was no prophet but if he gave an answer to one or two of the questions and was silent as to the other he was really a prophet. Accordingly when they propounded the questions to him, he told them the two histories, but acknowledged his ignorance as to the origin of the human soul[10]

[b] All your knowledge being acquired from the information of your senses, which must necessarily fail you in spiritual speculations, without the assistance of divine revelation[11]

[c] viz, The Korân, by razing it both from the written copies, and the memories of men

[1] Idem. [2] Numb xxiii 10. [3] See the Prelim. Disc Sect II p 39. [4] Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin [5] Iidem. Vide Gagnier Vie de Mahomet, tom 2, p 127 [6] Al Beidâwi [7] Idem. [8] See the next chapter [9] See ib. [10] Al Beidâwi [11] Idem.

a spring of water to gush forth for us out of the earth ,[d] or thou have a garden of palm-trees and vines, and thou cause rivers to spring forth from the midst thereof in abundance , or thou cause the heaven to fall down upon us, as thou hast given out, in pieces , or thou bring down GOD and the angels to vouch *for thee*, or thou have a house of gold , or thou ascend by a ladder to heaven neither will we believe thy ascending *thither alone*,[e] until thou cause a book to descend unto us, *bearing witness of thee*, which we may read. Answer, My LORD be praised ! Am I *other* than a man, *sent as* an apostle? And nothing hindereth men from believing, when a direction is come unto them, except that they say, Hath GOD sent a man *for his* apostle? Answer, If the angels had walked on earth *as* familiar inhabitants *thereof*, we had surely sent down unto them from heaven an angel *for our* apostle Say, GOD is a sufficient witness between me and you for he knoweth and regardeth his servants. Whom GOD shall direct, he shall be the *rightly* directed , and whom he shall cause to err, thou shalt find none to assist, besides him. And we will gather them together on the day of resurrection, *creeping* on their faces, blind, and dumb, and deaf [f] their abode *shall be* hell , so often as *the fire there of* shall be extinguished, we will rekindle a burning flame to *torment* them [g] This shall be their reward, because they disbelieve in our signs, and say, When we shall have been *reduced to* bones and dust, shall we surely be raised new creatures ? Do they not perceive that GOD, who created the heavens and the earth, *is* able to create *other bodies*, like *their present?* And he hath appointed them a limited term , [h] there is no doubt thereof but the ungodly reject *the truth*, merely out of unbelief Say If ye possessed the treasures of the mercy of my LORD, ye would surely refrain *from using them*, for fear of spending *them*, [i] for man is covetous We heretofore gave unto Moses *the power of working* nine evident signs [j] And do thou ask the children of Israel *as to the story of Moses*, [k] when he came unto

[d] This and the following miracles were demanded of Mohammed by the Koreish as proofs of his mission

[e] As thou pretendest to have done in thy night journey but of which no man was witness

[f] See the Prelim Disc Sect. IV p. 66.

[g] i e When the fire shall go out or abate for want of fuel, after the consumption of the skins and flesh of the damned we will add fresh vigour to the flames by giving them new bodies [1]

[h] Of life or resurrection

[i] That is lest they should be exhausted

[j] These were the changing his rod into a serpent the making his hand white and shining the producing locusts lice frogs and blood the dividing of the Red Sea the bringing water out of the rock and the shaking of Mount Sinai over the children of Israel In lieu of the three last some reckon the inundation of the Nile the blasting of the corn and scarcity of the fruits of the earth.[2] These words however are interpreted by others not of *nine miracles* but of *nine commandments* which Moses gave his people and were thus numbered up by Mohammed himself to a Jew who asked him the question *viz* That they should not be guilty of idolatry nor steal nor commit adultery or murder nor practise sorcery or usury nor accuse an innocent man to take away his life or a modest woman of whoredom, nor desert the army to which he added the observing of the sabbath as a tenth commandment, but which peculiarly regarded the Jews upon which answer it is said the Jew kissed the prophet s hands and feet.[3]

[k] Some think these words are directed to Moses who is hereby commanded to *demand the children of* Israel *of* Pharaoh that he might let them go with him.

[1] Al Beidâwi. See chapter 4, p. 60. [2] Idem, Jallalo ddin. [3] Al Beidâwi

them, and Pharaoh said unto him, Verily I esteem thee, O Moses, *to be* deluded by sorcery. *Moses* answered, Thou well knowest that none hath sent down these evident signs except the LORD of heaven and earth; and I surely esteem thee, O Pharaoh, a lost *man*. Wherefore *Pharaoh* sought to drive them out of the land; but we drowned him, and all those who were with him. And we said unto the children of Israel, after *his destruction*, Dwell ye in the land: and when the promise of the next life shall come *to be fulfilled*, we will bring you *both* promiscuously *to judgment*. We have sent down *the Korân* with truth, and it hath descended with truth: and we have not sent thee *otherwise* than *to be* a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer *of threats*. And we have divided the Korân, *revealing it by parcels*, that thou mightest read it unto men with deliberation; and we have sent it down, causing *it* to descend *as occasion required*.[l] Say, Whether ye believe therein, or do not believe, verily those who have been favoured with the knowledge *of the scriptures which were revealed* before it, when the same is rehearsed unto them, fall down on *their* faces,[m] worshipping, and say, Our LORD be praised, for that the promise of our LORD is surely fulfilled! And they fall down on *their* faces, weeping; and *the hearing thereof* increaseth their humility. Say, Call upon GOD, or call on the Merciful: by whichsoever *of the two names* ye invoke *him, it is equal*; for he hath most excellent names.[n] Pronounce not thy prayer aloud, neither pronounce it with too low a voice,[o] but follow a *middle way* between these: and say, Praise *be* unto GOD, who hath not begotten any child, who hath no partner in the kingdom, nor hath any to protect him from contempt: and magnify him by proclaiming his greatness.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ENTITLED, THE CAVE;[p] REVEALED AT MECCA.[q]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

PRAISE be unto GOD, who hath sent down unto his servant the book *of the Korân*, and hath not inserted therein any crookedness, *but hath made it* a straight *rule*: that he should threaten a

[l] See the Prelim. D[illegible] Sect. III. [illegible] 50.

[m] Literally, *on their chins*.

[n] The infidels hearing Mohammed say, O GOD, and O Merciful, imagined *the Merciful* was the name of a deity different from GOD, and that he preached the worship of two; which occasioned this passage. See chapter 7. p. 123.

[o] Neither so loud that the infidels may overhear thee, and thence take occasion to blaspheme and scoff; nor so softly as not to be heard by the assistants. Some suppose that by the word *prayer*, in this place, is meant the reading of the Korân.

[p] The chapter is thus inscribed because it makes mention of the cave wherein the seven sleepers concealed themselves.

[q] Some except one verse, [illegible] which begins thus, *Behave thyself with constancy*, &c.

grievous punishment *unto the unbelievers*, from his presence, and should bear good tidings unto the faithful, who work righteousness that they shall receive an excellent reward, *namely, paradise*, wherein they shall remain for ever, and that he should warn those who say, GOD hath begotten issue, of which matter they have no knowledge, neither *had* their fathers A grievous saying *it is*, which proceedeth from their mouths they speak no other than a lie Peradventure thou wilt kill thyself with grief after them, *out of thy earnest zeal for their conversion*, if they believe not in this new revelation *of the Korân*. Verily we have ordained whatsoever is on the earth for the ornament thereof, that we might make trial of *men, and see* which of them excelleth in works and we will surely reduce whatever is thereon, to dry dust Dost thou consider that the companions of the cave,[r] and Al Rakim,[s] were *one* of our signs, *and a great* miracle? When the young men took refuge in the cave, they said, O LORD, grant us mercy from before thee, and dispose our business for us to a right *issue* Wherefore we struck their ears *with deafness, so that they slept without disturbance* in the cave for a *great* number of years then we awaked them, that we might know which of the two parties[t] was more exact in computing the space which they had remained *there* We will relate unto thee their history with truth Verily they were young men who had believed in their LORD, and we had abundantly directed them and we fortified their hearts with constancy when they stood *before the tyrant*, and they said, Our LORD is the LORD of heaven and earth we will by no means call on any god besides him, *for* then should we surely utter an extravagance These our *fellow* people have taken *other* gods, besides him; although they bring no demonstrative argument for them and who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie concerning GOD? And *they said the one to the other*, When ye shall separate yourselves from them, and *from the deities* which they worship, except GOD,[u] fly into

[r] These were certain Christian youths, of a good family in Ephesus, who, to avoid the persecution of the emperor Decius, by the Arab writers called Decianus, hid themselves in a cave, where they slept for a great number of years [1]

This apocryphal story (for Baronius [2] treats it as no better, and Father Marracci [3] acknowledges it to be partly false, or at least doubtful, though he calls Hottinger *a monster of impiety*, and the *off-scum of heretics*, for terming it a fable[4]), was borrowed by Mohammed from the Christian traditions,[5] but has been embellished by him and his followers with several additional circumstances [6]

[s] What is meant by this word the commentators cannot agree Some will have it to be the name of the mountain, or the valley, wherein the cave was some say it was the name *of their dog*, and others (*who seem to come nearest the true signification*) that it was a brass plate, or stone table, placed near the mouth of the cave, on which the names of the young men were written

There are some, however, who take the companions of al Rakim to be different from the seven sleepers for they say the former were three men who were driven by ill weather into a cave for shelter, and were shut in there by the falling down of a vast stone which stopped the cave's mouth, but on their begging GOD's mercy and their relating each of them a meritorious action which they hoped might entitle them to it were miraculously delivered by the rock's rending in sunder to give them passage [7]

[t] *viz.*, Of the sleepers themselves, or others, who were divided in opinion as to the length of their stay in the cave.

[u] For they, like other idolaters, worshipped the true GOD and idols also [8]

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, &c [2] In Martyrol ad 27 Julii [3] In Alcor p 425 et in Prodr part. 4, p 103 [4] Hotting Hist Orient p 40. [5] Vide Greg Turon et Simeon Metaphrast [6] Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl Orient. p. 180 [7] Al Beidâwi ex trad Noomân Ebn Bashir [8] Idem

the cave your LORD will pour his mercy on you abundantly, and will dispose your business for you to advantage. And thou mightest have seen the sun, when it had risen, to decline from their cave towards the right hand, and when it went down, to leave them on the left hand [x] and they were in the spacious part of *the cave* [y] This *was one* of the signs of GOD Whomsoever GOD shall direct, he *shall be rightly* directed, and whomsoever he shall cause to err, thou shalt not find any to defend *or* to direct And thou wouldest have judged them to have been awake,[z] while they were sleeping, and we caused them to turn themselves to the right hand, and to the left [a] And their dog [b] stretched forth his fore legs in the mouth of the cave if thou hadst come suddenly upon them, verily thou wouldest have turned thy back and fled from them, and thou wouldest have been filled with fear *at the sight* of them [c] And so we awaked them from *their* sleep, that they might ask questions of one another One of them spake and said, How long have ye tarried *here?* They answered, We have tarried a day, or part of a day *The others* said Your LORD best knoweth the *time* ye have tarried [d] and now send one of you with this your money into the city,[e] and let him see which of its *inhabitants* hath the best and cheapest food, and let him bring you provision from him, and let him behave circumspectly, and not discover you to any one Verily, if they come up against you, they will stone you, or force you to return to their religion, and then shall ye not prosper for ever And so we made *their people* acquainted with *what had happened to* them, that they might know that the

[x] Lest it should be offensive to them the cave opening towards the south [1]

[y] *i e* In the midst of it where they were incommoded neither by the heat of the sun nor the closeness of the cave [2]

[z] Because of their having their eyes open or their frequent turning themselves from one side to the other [3]

[a] Lest their lying so long on the ground should consume their flesh [4]

[b] This dog had followed them as they passed by him when they fled to the cave and they drove him away whereupon GOD caused him to speak, and he said *I love those who are dear unto God go to sleep therefore and I will guard you* But some say it was a dog belonging to a shepherd who followed them and that the dog followed the shepherd which opinion is supported by reading as some do câlebohom *their dog's master* instead of calbohom their dog [5] Jallalo'ddin adds that the dog behaved as his masters did in turning himself in sleeping and in waking

The Mohammedans have a great respect for this dog and allow him a place in paradise with some other favourite brutes and they have a sort of proverb which they use in speaking of a covetous person *that he would not throw a bone to the dog of the seven sleepers* nay it is said that they have the superstition to write his name which they suppose to be Katmîr (though some as is observed above think he was called al Rakîm) on their letters which go far, or which pass the sea as a protection or kind of talisman to preserve them from miscarriage [6]

[c] For that GOD had given them terrible countenances or else because of the largeness of their bodies or the horror of the place

It is related that the Khalif Moâwiyah in an expedition he made against Natolia passed by the cave of the sevensleepers and would need send somebody into it notwithstanding Ebn Abbâs remonstrated to him the danger of it saying That a better man than him (meaning the prophet) had been forbidden to enter it and repeated this verse but the men the Khalif sent in had no sooner entered the cave than they were struck dead by a burning wind [7]

[d] As they entered the cave in the morning and waked about noon they at first imagined they had slept half a day or a day and a half at most, but when they found their nails and hair grown very long they used these words [8]

[e] Which some commentators suppose was Tarsus

[1] Idem [2] Idem [3] Idem [4] Idem Jallalo'ddin. [5] Idem [6] La Roque, Voy de l'Arabie Heur p. 74. [7] Vide D'Herbel. ubi sup. [8] Al Beidâwi [9] Idem.

promise of GOD is true, and that there is no doubt of the *last* hour,[f] when they disputed among themselves concerning their matter[g] And they said, Erect a building over them. their LORD best knoweth *their condition* Those who prevailed in their affair answered, We will surely build a chapel over them[h] *Some* say, *The sleepers were* three, *and* their dog *was* the fourth[i] and *others* say, *They were* five, and their dog *was* the sixth,[j] guessing at a secret matter and *others* say, *They were* seven, and their dog *was* the eighth[k] Say, My LORD best knoweth their number none shall know them, except a few Wherefore dispute not concerning them, unless with a clear disputation, *according to what hath been revealed unto thee* and ask not any of *the Christians* concerning them Say not of any matter, I will surely do this to-morrow, unless *thou add*, If GOD please[l] And remember thy LORD, when thou forgettest,[m] and say, My LORD is able to direct me with ease, that I may draw near unto *the truth of* this *matter* rightly. And they remained in their cave three hundred years, and nine *years* over[n] Say, GOD best knoweth how long they continued *there* unto him *are* the secrets of heaven and earth *known*, do thou make him to see and to hear[o] The *inhabitants thereof* have no protector besides him, neither doth he suffer any one to have a share in *the establishment or knowledge of* his decree Read that which hath been revealed unto thee, of the book of thy

[f] The long sleep of these young men and their waking after so many years being a representation of the state of those who die and are afterwards raised to life

[g] *i e* Concerning the resurrection some saying that the souls only should be raised others, that they should be raised with the body or concerning the sleepers after they were really dead one saying that they were dead and another they were only asleep or else concerning the erecting a building over them as it follows in the next words, some advising a dwelling house to be built there and others a temple[1]

[h] When the young man who was sent into the city went to pay for the provision he had bought his money was so old being the coin of Decianus that they imagined he had found a treasure and carried him before the prince who was a Christian and having heard his story sent some with him to the cave who saw and spoke to the others after which they fell asleep again and died and the prince ordered them to be buried in the same place and built a chapel over them

[i] This was the opinion of al Seyid a Jacobite Christian of Najrân

[j] Which was the opinion of certain Christians and particularly of a Nestorian prelate.

[k] And this is the true opinion.[2]

[l] It is said that when the Koreish, by the direction of the Jews put the three questions above mentioned to Mohammed he bid them come to him the next day and he would give them an answer but added not *if it please God* for which reason he had the mortification to wait above ten days before any revelation was vouchsafed him concerning those matters so that the Koreish triumphed and bitterly reproached him as a liar but at length Gabriel brought him directions what he should say, with this admonition, however that he should not be so confident for the future[3]

[m] *i e* Give the glory to him, and ask pardon for thy omission in case thou forget to say, *If it please God*

[n] Jallalo ddin supposes the whole space was three hundred solar years and that the odd nine are added to reduce them to lunar years

Some think these words are introduced as spoken by the Christians who differed among themselves about the time one saying it was three hundred years and another three hundred and nine years[4] The interval between the reign of Decius and that of Theodosius the younger, in whose time the sleepers are said to have awaked will not allow them to have slept quite two hundred years though Mohammed is somewhat excusable, since the number assigned by Simeon Metaphrastes[5] is three hundred and seventy two years.

[o] This is an ironical expression, intimating the folly and madness of man's presuming to instruct GOD[6]

[1] Idem. [2] Idem, Jallalo ddin. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. [5] Ubi sup. [6] Al Beidâwi Jallalo ddin

LORD, *without presuming to make any change therein* [p] there is none who hath power to change his words, and thou shalt not find any to fly to, besides him, *if thou attempt it* Behave thyself with constancy towards those who call upon their LORD morning and evening, and who seek his favour, and let not thine eyes be turned away from them, seeking the pomp of this life, [q] neither obey him whose heart we have caused to neglect the remembrance of us,[r] and who followeth his lusts, and leaveth *the truth* behind him, and say, The truth *is* from your LORD, wherefore let him who will, believe, and let him who will, be incredulous We have surely prepared for the unjust *hell* fire, the flame and smoke whereof shall surround them like a pavilion and if they beg relief, they shall be relieved with water like molten brass, which shall scald *their* faces O how miserable a portion, and how unhappy a couch! As to those who believe and do good works, we will not suffer the reward of him who shall work righteousness to perish for them *are prepared* gardens of eternal abode,[s] which shall be watered by rivers, they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and shall be clothed in green garments of fine silk and brocades reposing themselves therein on thrones O how happy a reward, and how easy a couch! And propound unto them as a parable two men [t] on the one of whom we had bestowed two vineyards, and had surrounded them with palm trees, and had caused corn *to grow* between them Each of the gardens brought forth its fruit *every season*, and failed not at all, and we caused a river to flow in the midst thereof and he had great abundance And he said unto his companion by way of debate, I am superior to thee in wealth and have a more powerful family And he went into his garden [u] being guilty of injustice against his own soul, *and* said, I do not think that this *garden* will decay for ever neither do I think that the *last* hour will come and although I should return unto my LORD, verily I shall find a better *garden* than this in exchange [x] *And* his companion said unto him, by way of debate, Dost thou not believe in him who created thee of the dust, and afterwards of seed, and then fashioned thee into a perfect man? But *as for me*, GOD is

[r] As the unbelievers would persuade thee to do [1]

[q] That is Despise not the poor believers because of their meanness nor honour the rich because of their wealth and grandeur

[r] The person more particularly intended here it is said was Ommeyah Ebn Khalf who desired Mohammed to discard his indigent companions out of respect to the Koreish. See chapter 6 p 93

[s] Literally of Eden See chapter 9 p 142 143

[t] Though these seem to be general characters only designed to represent the different end of the wicked and of the good yet it is supposed by some that two particular persons are [illegible] One say they were two Israelites and brothers who had a considerable sum left them by their father which they divided between them and that one of them being an unbeliever bought large fields and possessions with his portion while the other who was a true believer, disposed of his to pious uses but that in the end the former was ruined and the latter prospered Another thinks they were two men of the tribe of Makhzûm the one named al Aswad Ebn Abd al Ashadd an infidel and the other Abu Salma Ebn Abd allah the husband of Omm Salma (whom the prophet married after his death) and a true believer [2]

[u] Carrying his companion with him out of ostentation and to mortify him with the view of his large possessions [3]

[x] Vainly imagining that his prosperity was not so much the free gift of GOD, as due to his merit [4]

[1] Idem. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem [4] Idem

my LORD, and I will not associate any *other deity* with my LORD And when thou enterest thy garden, wilt thou not say, What GOD pleaseth *shall come to pass*, there is no power but in GOD *alone*? Although thou seest me to be inferior to thee in wealth and *number of* children, my LORD is well able to bestow on me a better *gift* than thy garden, and to shoot *his* arrows against the same from heaven, so that it shall become barren dust or its water may sink deep *into the earth*, that thou canst not draw thereof And his possessions were encompassed *with destruction, as his companion had forewarned him* wherefore he began to turn down the palms of his hands *out of sorrow and regret* for that which he had expended thereon for *the vines thereof* were fallen down on their trails and he said, Would to GOD that I had not associated any *other deity* with my LORD! And he had no party to assist him, besides GOD, neither was he able to defend himself *against his vengeance* In such case protection *belongeth* of right unto GOD *alone*, he is the best rewarder and the best giver of success And propound to them a similitude of the present life *It is* like water which we send down from heaven and the herb of the earth is mixed therewith and *after it hath been green and flourishing*, in the morning it becometh dry stubble which the winds scatter abroad and GOD is able to do all things Wealth and children *are* the ornament of this present life but good *works* which are permanent *are* better in the sight of thy LORD, with respect to the reward and better with respect to hope On a *certain* day we will cause the mountains to pass away[y] and thou shalt see the earth appearing plain *and even*, and we will gather *mankind* together and we will not leave any one of them behind And they shall be set before thy LORD in *distinct* order, *and he shall say unto them*, Now are ye come unto us *naked*, as we created you the first time but ye thought that we should not perform *our* promise unto you And the book *wherein every one's actions are recorded* shall be put *into his hand*, and thou shalt see the wicked in great terror, because of that which *is written* therein and they shall say, Ah for us! what *meaneth* this book? it omitteth neither a small *action* nor a great *one*, but it compriseth the same, and they shall find that which they have wrought, present *before their eyes* and thy LORD will not deal unjustly with any one *Remember* when we said unto the angels, Worship ye Adam and they *all* worshipped *him* except Eblis[z] *who* was *one* of the genii,[a] and departed from the command of his LORD Will ye therefore take him and his offspring for *your* patrons besides me, notwithstanding they are your enemies? Miserable *shall such* a change *be* to the ungodly! I called not them to be present at the creation of the heavens and of the earth, nor at the creation of themselves, neither

[y] For being torn up by the roots they shall fly in the air and be reduced to atoms.[1]

[z] See chapter 2 p 5 and chapter 7 p 10 &c

[a] Hence some imagine the *genii* are a species of angels others suppose the devil to have been originally a *genius* which was the occasion of his rebellion and call him *the father of the genii* whom he begat after his fall[2] it being a constant opinion among the Muhammedans, that the angels are impeccable and do not propagate their species[3]

[1] Idem See Prelim Disc Sect. IV p 64 [2] Jallalo ddin, &c [3] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p. 56 &c.

did I take *those* seducers for my assistants On a *certain* day, GOD all say *unto the idolaters*, Call those whom ye imagined *to be* my companions, *to protect you* and they shall call them, but they shall not answer them, and we will place a valley of destruction between them [b] and the wicked shall see *hell* fire, and they shall know that they shall be thrown into the same, and they shall find no way to avoid it And now have we variously propounded unto men, in this Korân, a parable of every kind, but man cavilleth at most things *therein*. Yet nothing hindereth men from believing, now a direction is come unto them, and from asking pardon of their LORD, excepting that *they wait until* the punishment of *their* predecessors come *to be inflicted* on them, or that the chastisement *of the next life* come upon them publicly We send not *our* messengers, but to bear good tidings, and to denounce threats Those who believe not, dispute with vain *arguments*, that they may thereby render the truth of no effect and they hold my signs, and the admonitions which have been made them in derision And who is more unjust than he who hath been acquainted with the signs of his LORD, and retireth afar off from the same and forgetteth that which his hands have formerly committed? Verily we have cast veils over their hearts, lest they should understand *the Korân*, and into their ears thickness of hearing if thou invite them to the *true* direction yet will they not therefore be directed for ever Thy LORD *is* gracious, endued with mercy, if he would have punished them for that which they have committed, he would doubtless have hastened their punishment but a threat *hath been denounced* against them,[c] and they shall find no refuge, besides him And those *former* cities[d] did we destroy, when they acted unjustly, and we gave them previous warning of their destruction And *remember* when Moses said unto his servant *Joshua, the son of Nun*, I will not cease *to go forward*, until I come to the place where the two seas meet, or I will travel for a long space of time[e] But when they were arrived at the meeting of the two *seas*,[f] they forgot their fish *which they had taken with them*,[g]

[b] *i.e* Between the idolaters and their false gods. Some suppose the meaning is no more than that GOD will set them at variance and division

[c] *viz* Of their calamity at Bedr (for the Koreish are the infidels here intended), or their punishment at the resurrection[1]

[d] That is the towns of the Adites Thamûdites Sodomites &c.

[e] The original word properly signifies the space of eighty years and upwards To explain this long passage the commentators tell the following story They say that Moses once preaching to the people they admired his knowledge and eloquence so much, that they asked him whether he knew any man in the world who was wiser than himself, to which he answered in the negative whereupon GOD in a revelation having reprehended him for his vanity (though some pretend that Moses asked GOD the question of his own accord) acquainted him that his servant al Khedr was more knowing than he and at Moses's request told him he might find that person at a certain rock, where the two seas met directing him to take a fish with him in a basket and that where he missed the fish that was the place. Accordingly Moses set out with his servant Joshua in search of al Khedr, which expedition is here described[2]

[f] *viz*, Those of Persia and Greece Some fancy that the meeting of Moses and al Khedr is here intended as of the two *seas* of knowledge[3]

[g] Moses forgot to inquire concerning it and Joshua forgot to tell him when he missed it. It is said that when they came to the rock Moses falling asleep the fish, which was roasted, leaped out of the basket into the sea, some add that Joshua making the ablution at th

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem, Al Zamakhshari, Al Bokhari, in Sonna &c. [3] Idem

and *the fish* took its way freely[h] in the sea And when they had passed beyond *that place*, *Moses* said unto his servant, Bring us our dinner for now are we fatigued with this our journey *His servant* answered, Dost thou know *what has befallen me?* When we took up our lodging at the rock, verily I forgot the fish and none made me to forget it, except Satan, that I should not remind *thee* of it. And *the fish* took its way in the sea, in a wonderful manner *Moses* said, This is what we sought after And they both went back, returning by the way they came. And *coming to the rock* they found one of our servants,[i] unto whom we had granted mercy from us, and whom we had taught wisdom from before us. *And* Moses said unto him, Shall I follow thee, that thou mayest teach me *part* of that which thou hast been taught, for a direction *unto me?* He answered, Verily thou canst not bear with me for how canst thou patiently suffer those things, the knowledge whereof thou dost not comprehend? *Moses* replied, Thou shalt find me patient, if GOD please, neither will I be disobedient unto thee in anything He said, If thou follow me therefore, ask me not concerning anything, until I shall declare the meaning thereof unto thee So they both went on *by the sea-shore*, until they went up into a ship, *and* he made a hole therein[j] *And Moses* said *unto him*, Hast thou made a hole therein, that thou mightest drown those who are on board? now hast thou done a strange thing He answered, Did I not tell thee that thou couldest not bear with me? *Moses* said, Rebuke me not, because I did forget, and impose not on me a difficulty in what I am commanded Wherefore they *left the ship and* proceeded, until they met with a youth, and he slew him[k] *Moses* said, Hast thou slain an innocent person, without *his having killed* another? Now hast thou committed an unjust action (XVI) He answered, Did I not tell thee that thou couldest not bear with me? *Moses* said, If I ask thee concerning anything hereafter, suffer me not to accompany thee now hast thou received an excuse from me They went forwards therefore, until they came to the inhabitants of a *certain*

fountain of life (of which immediately) some of the water happened to be sprinkled on the fish which immediately restored it to life[1]

[h] The word here translated *freely* signifying also a pipe or arched canal for conveyance of water some have imagined that the water of the sea was miraculously kept from touching the body of the fish, which passed through it as under an arch[2]

[i] This person, according to the general opinion was the prophet al Khedr whom the Mohammedans usually confound with Phineas Elias and St George saying that his soul passed by a metempsychosis successively through all three. Some however say his true name was Balya Ebn Malcân, and that he lived in the time of Afridûn one of the ancient kings of Persia and that he preceded Dhu lkarneir and lived to the time of Moses They suppose al Khedr having found out the fountain of life and drunk thereof became immortal, and that he had therefore this name from his *flourishing* and continual youth[3]

Part of these fictions they took from the Jews some of whom also fancy Phineas was Elias[4]

[j] For al Khedr took an axe, and knocked out two of her planks[5]

[k] By twisting his neck round, or dashing his head against a wall, or else by throwing him down and cutting his throat.[6]

[1] Idem. [2] Idem [3] Idem. Vide D Herbelot Bibl. Orient Art. Khedher Septem castrens. de Turcar Moribus Busbeq Epist 1 p 93 &c Hotting Hist. Orient p 58 &c 39, &c., 292, &c. [4] R. Levi Ben Gerson in Append l. 1, Reg 1 27 [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] Idem

city [l] *and* they asked food of the inhabitants thereof, but they refused to receive them And they found therein a wall, which was ready to fall down, and he set it upright [m] *Whereupon Moses* said *unto him,* If thou wouldest thou mightest doubtless have received a reward for it. He answered, This shall be a separation between me and thee *but* I will *first* declare unto thee the signification of that which thou couldest not bear with patience. The vessel belonged to certain poor men,[n] who did their business in the sea and I was minded to render it unserviceable, because there was a king[o] behind them, who took every *sound* ship by force As to the youth, his parents were true believers, and we feared lest he, *being an unbeliever,* should oblige them to suffer *his* perverseness and ingratitude wherefore we desired that their LORD might give them a more righteous *child* in exchange for him, and one more affectionate *towards them* [p] And the wall belonged to two orphan youths [q] in the city, and under it was a treasure *hidden which belonged* to them, and their father was a righteous man and thy LORD was pleased that they should attain their full age, and take forth their treasure, through the mercy of thy LORD And I did not *what thou hast seen* of mine own will, *but by God's direction* This is the interpretation of that which thou couldest not bear with patience The *Jews* will ask thee concerning Dhu'lkarnein [r] Answer, I will rehearse unto you an account of him We made him powerful in the earth, and we gave him means to *accomplish* everything *he pleased* And he followed *his* way, until he came to the place where the sun setteth, *and* he found it to set in a

[l] This city was Antioch or as some rather think Obollah near B sra or else Bâj rwân in Armenia [1]

[m] By only stroking it with his hand though others say he threw it down and rebuilt it [2]

[n] They were ten brothers five of whom were past their labour by reason of their age [3]

[o] Named Jaland Ebn Karkar or M nwâr Ebn Jaland al Azd [4]

[p] It is said that they had afterwards a daughter who was the wife and the mother of a prophet and that her converted a whole nation [5]

[q] Their names were A ram and Sarim [6]

[r] Or The two-horned The generality of the commentators [7] suppose the person here meant to be Alexander the Great or as they call him Iscander al Rûmi king of Persia and Greece but there are very different opinions as to the reason of this surname Some think it was given him because he was king of the East and of the West or because he had made expeditions to both those extreme parts of the earth or else because he had two horns on his diadem or two curls of hair like horns on his forehead or which is most probable by reason of his great valour Several modern writers [8] rather suppose the surname was occasioned by his being represented in his coins and statue with horns as the son of Jupiter Ammon or else by his being compared by the prophet Daniel to a he-goat [9] though he is there represented with but one horn [10]

There are some good writers however who believe the prince intended in this passage of the Korân was not Alexander the Grecian but another great conqueror who bore the same name and surname and was much more ancient than he being contemporary with Abraham, and one of the kings of Persia of the first race [11] or as others suppose a king of Yaman, named Asaab Ebn al Râyesh [12]

They all agree he was a true believer but whether he was a prophet or no is a disputed point

[1] Idem [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Idem [5] Idem [6] Idem. [7] Idem Al Zamakhshari Jallalo ddin Yahya [8] Scaliger de Emend temp L I in-pereur not. in Jachiad Dan viii 5. Gol in Alfrag p 58 &c [9] Schickard Tarikh Reg Pers p 73. [10] See Dan viii [11] Abulfeda Khondemir Tarikh Mo akhab &c. Vide D Herbel Bibl Orient. Art Escander [12] Ex trad Ebn Abbas Vide Poc. Spec. p. 58.

spring of black mud,[s] and he found near the same a certain people[t] And we said, O Dhu'lkarnein, either punish *this people*, or use gentleness towards them[u] He answered, Whosoever *of them* shall commit injustice, we will surely punish him *in this world*, afterwards shall he return unto his LORD, and he shall punish him with a severe punishment But whosoever believeth, and doth that which is right, shall receive the most excellent reward, and we will give him in command that which is easy Then he continued *his* way, until he came to the place where the sun riseth,[x] *and* he found it to rise on certain people, unto whom we had not given anything wherewith to shelter themselves therefrom.[y] Thus *it was*, and we comprehended with our knowledge the *forces* which were with him And he prosecuted *his* journey *from south to north*, until he came between the two mountains,[z] beneath which he found certain people, who could scarce understand what was said[a] *And* they said O Dhu'lkarnein, verily Gog and Magog waste the land,[b] shall we therefore pay the tribute, on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them? He answered, The *power* wherewith my LORD hath strengthened me, is better *than your tribute* but assist me strenuously, and I will set a strong wall between you and them Bring me iron in large pieces, until it fill up *the space* between the two sides *of these mountains* *And* he said *to the workmen*, Blow *with your bellows*, until it make *the iron red hot as* fire *And* he said *further*, Bring me molten brass, that I may pour upon it. Wherefore, *when this wall was finished*, *Gog and Magog* could not scale it, neither could they dig through it.[c] *And Dhu'lkarnein* said,

[s] That is, it seemed so to him when he came to the ocean and saw nothing but water [1]

[t] An unbelieving nation who were clothed in the skins of wild beasts and lived upon what the sea cast on shore [2]

[u] For GOD gave Dhu'lkarnein his choice either to destroy them for their *infidelity* or to instruct them in the true faith or according to others either to put them to the sword or to take them captives but the words which follow confirm the former interpretation by which it appears he chose to invite them to the true religion and to punish only the disobedient and incredulous

[x] *i e* That part of the habitable world on which the sun first rises

[y] Who had neither clothes nor houses their country not bearing any buildings but dwelt in holes underground into which they retreated from the heat of the sun [3] Jallalo'ddin says they were the Zenj a black nation lying south west of Ethiopia. They seem to be the Troglodytes of the ancients

[z] Between which Dhu'lkarnein built the famous rampart mentioned immediately, against the irruptions of Gog and Magog These mountains are situate in Armenia and Adherbijân or according to others much more northwards, on the confines of Turkestan [4] The relation of a journey taken to this rampart by one who was sent on purpose to view it by the Khalif al Wathec may be seen in D'Herbelot [5]

[a] By reason of the strangeness of their speech and their slowness of apprehension wherefore they were obliged to make use of an interpreter [6]

[b] The Arabs call them Yajûj and Majûj and say they are two nations or tribes descended from Japhet the son of Noah or as others write Gog are a tribe of the Turks and Magog of those of Gilân [7] the Geli and Gelæ of Ptolemy and Strabo [8]

It is said these barbarous people made their irruption into the neighbouring countries in the spring and destroyed and carried off all the fruits of the earth and some pretend they were man eaters [9]

[c] The commentators say the wall was built in this manner They dug till they found water, and having laid the foundation of stone and melted brass they built the superstructure of large pieces of iron between which they laid wood and coals till they equalled the height of the mountains, and then setting fire to the combustibles by the help of large bellows

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Iidem. [3] Iiden [4] Al Beidâwi
[5] Bibl. Orient Art. Jagiouge. [6] Al Beidawi. [7] Idem. Vide D'Herbel ubi supra.
[8] V Gol. in Alfrag. p 207 [9] Al Beidawi.

This *is* a mercy from my LORD: but when the prediction of my LORD shall come *to be fulfilled*,[d] he shall reduce *the wall* to dust; and the prediction of my LORD is true. On that day we will suffer some of them to press tumultuously like waves on others;[e] and the trumpet shall be sounded, and we will gather them in a body together. And we will set hell, on that day, before the unbelievers; whose eyes have been veiled from my remembrance, and who could not hear *my words*. Do the unbelievers think *that I will not punish them*, for that they take my servants for *their* protectors besides me? Verily we have prepared hell for the abode of the infidels. Say, Shall we declare unto you those whose works are vain, whose endeavour in the present life hath been wrongly directed, and who think they do the work which is right? These are they who believe not in the signs of their LORD, or that they shall be assembled before him; wherefore their works are vain, and we will not allow them any weight on the day of resurrection. This *shall be* their reward, *namely*, hell; for that they have disbelieved, and have held my signs and my apostles in derision. But *as for* those who believe and do good works, they shall have the gardens of paradise for their abode, they shall remain therein for ever; they shall wish for no change therein. Say, If the sea were ink to *write* the words of my LORD, verily the sea would fail, before the words of my LORD would fail; although we added *another sea* like unto it as a further supply. Say, Verily I am only a man as ye are. It is revealed unto me that your GOD is one only GOD: let him therefore who hopeth to meet his LORD, work a righteous work; and let him not make any other to partake in the worship of his LORD.

they made the iron red hot, and over it poured melted brass, which filling up the vacancies between the pieces of iron, rendered the whole work as firm as a rock. Some tell us that the whole was built of stones joined by cramps of iron, on which they poured melted brass to fasten them.[1]

[d] That is, when the time shall come for Gog and Magog to break forth from their confinement; which shall happen sometime before the resurrection.[2]

[e] These words represent either the violent irruption of Gog and Magog, or the tumultuous assembly of all creatures, men, genii, and brutes, at the resurrection.[3]

[1] Idem, &c. [2] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 63. [3] Vide ib. p. 67.

CHAPTER XIX.

ENTITLED, MARY,[f] REVEALED AT MECCA.[g]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

C. H. Y. A S[h] A commemoration of the mercy of thy LORD *towards* his servant Zacharias[i] When he called upon his LORD, invoking *him* in secret, *and* said, O LORD verily my bones are weakened, and my head is become white with hoariness, and I have never been unsuccessful in my prayers to thee, O LORD But now I fear my nephews, who are to succeed after me,[j] for my wife is barren wherefore give me a successor *of my own body* from before thee, who may be my heir, and may be an heir of the family of Jacob,[k] and grant, O LORD, that he may be acceptable *unto thee* *And the angel answered him*, O Zacharias, verily we bring thee tidings of a son, whose name *shall be* John, we have not caused any to bear the same name before him[l] *Zacharias* said, LORD, how shall I have a son, seeing my wife is barren, and I am now arrived at a great age,[m] *and am* decrepit? *The angel* said, So *shall it be* thy Lord saith, This is easy with me, since I created thee heretofore, when thou wast nothing *Zacharias* answered, O LORD, give me a sign *The angel* replied, Thy sign *shall be*, that thou shalt not speak to men for three nights, *although thou be* in perfect health And he went forth unto his people, from the chamber, and he made signs unto them,[n] *as if he should say*, Praise ye *God* in the morning and in the evening *And we said unto his son*, O John, receive the book *of the law*, with a resolution *to study and observe it* And we bestowed on him wisdom, *when he was yet* a child, and mercy from us, and purity *of*

[f] Several circumstances relating to the Virgin Mary being mentioned in this chapter, her name was pitched upon for the title

[g] Except the verse of *Adoration*

[h] See the Prelim. Disc Sect III p 46 47

[i] See chapter 3 p 36 &c

[j] These were his brother's sons, who were very wicked men and Zacharias was apprehensive lest after his death instead of confirming the people in the true religion they should seduce them to idolatry[1] And some commentators imagine that he made this prayer in private lest his nephews should overhear him.

[k] *viz*, In holiness and knowledge, or in the government and superintendence of the Israelites There are some who suppose it is not the patriarch who is here meant but another Jacob the brother of Zacharias or of Imrân Ebn Mâthân of the race of Solomon[2]

[l] For he was the first who bore the name of John or Yahya (as the Arabs pronounce it), which fancy seems to be occasioned by the words of St Luke misunderstood *that none of Zacharias's kindred was called by that name*[3] for otherwise John or as it is written in Hebrew Johanan was a common name among the Jews
Some expositors avoid this objection by observing that the original word *samiyyan* signifies not only one who *is actually called by the same name* but also one who by reason of his possessing the like qualities and privileges *deserves*, or *may pretend to the same name*

[m] The Mohammedan traditions greatly differ as to the age of Zacharias at this time we have mentioned one already[4] Jallalo'ddin says, he was an hundred and twenty and his wife ninety-eight and the Sonna takes notice of several other opinions.

[n] Some say he wrote the following words on the ground

[1] Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin. [2] Iidem [3] Luke i 61.

life;[o] and he was a devout person, and dutiful towards his parents, and was not proud *or* rebellious. Peace be on him the day whereon he was born, and the day whereon he shall die, and the day whereon he shall be raised to life. And remember in the book *of the Korân the story of* Mary; when she retired from her family to a place towards the east,[p] and took a veil *to conceal herself* from them; and we sent our spirit *Gabriel* unto her, and he appeared unto her *in the shape of* a perfect man[q] She said, I fly for refuge unto the merciful *God, that he may defend me* from thee if thou fearest *him, thou wilt not approach me* He answered, Verily I am the messenger of thy LORD, *and am sent* to give thee a holy son She said, how shall I have a son, seeing a man hath not touched me, and I am no harlot? *Gabriel* replied, So *shall it be* thy LORD saith, This is easy with me, and *we will perform it*, that we may ordain him for a sign unto men, and a mercy from us for it is a thing which is decreed Wherefore she conceived him[r] and she retired aside with him *in her womb* to a distant place,[s] and the pains of childbirth came upon her near the trunk of a palm-tree[t] She said, Would to GOD I had died before this, and had become a *thing* forgotten, and lost in oblivion! And he who was beneath her called to her,[u] *saying*, Be not grieved now hath GOD provided a rivulet under thee and do thou shake the body of the palm tree, and it shall let fall ripe dates upon thee, ready

[o] Or, as the word also signifies *The love of alms-deeds*

[p] *viz*, To the eastern part of the temple, or to a private chamber in the house, which opened to the east whence, says al Beidâwi, the Christians pray towards that quarter

There is a tradition that when the virgin was grown to years of puberty she used to leave her apartment in the temple and retire to Zacharias's house to her aunt when her courses came upon her and so soon as she was clean she returned again to the temple and that at the time of the angel's visiting her she was at her aunt's on the like occasion and was sitting to wash herself in an open place behind a veil to prevent her being seen[1] But others more prudently suppose the design of her retirement was to pray[2]

[q] I. e. a full grown but beardless youth Al Beidâwi not contented with having given one good reason why he appeared in that form *viz* to moderate her surprise that she might hear his message with less shyness adds that perhaps it might be to raise an emotion in her and assist her conception

[r] For Gabriel blew into the bosom of her shift which he opened with his fingers[3] and his breath reaching her womb caused the conception[4] The age of the Virgin Mary at the time of her conception was thirteen or as others say ten, and she went six seven eight or nine months with him, according to different traditions, though some say the child was conceived at its full growth of nine months and that she was delivered of him within an hour after[5]

[s] To conceal her delivery she went out of the city by night to a certain mountain

[t] The palm to which she fled that she might lean on it in her travail was a withered trunk without any head or verdure and this happened in the winter season notwithstanding which it miraculously supplied her with fruits for her refreshment[6] as is mentioned immediately

It has been observed, that the Mohammedan account of the delivery of the Virgin Mary very much resembles that of Latona, as described by the poets[7] not only in this circumstance of their laying hold on a palm tree[8] (though some say Latona embraced an olive tree or an olive and a palm or else two laurels) but also in that of their infants speaking which Apollo is fabled to have done in the womb[9]

[u] This some imagine to have been the child himself, but others suppose it was Gabriel who stood somewhat lower than she did[10] According to a different reading this passage may be rendered, *And he called to her from beneath her* &c And some refer the pronoun, translated *her* to the palm tree, and then it should be *beneath it* &c

[1] Yahya Al Beidâwi [2] Al Zamakh [3] Yahya [4] Jalalo'ddin Al Beidâwi [5] Al Beidâwi, Yahya [6] Idem Al Zamakh [7] Vide Sikii not in Evang Infant p 9 2 &c [8] Homer Hymn in Apoll Callimach Hymn in Delum [9] Callimach. ibid See Kor chapter 3, p 57 [10] Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin

gathered[x] And eat, and drink, and calm thy mind[y] Moreover if thou see any man, *and he question thee*, say, Verily I have vowed a fast unto the Merciful, wherefore I will by no means speak to a man this day[z] So she brought *the child* to her people, carrying him *in her arms* *And* they said *unto her*, O Mary, now hast thou done a strange thing O sister of Aaron,[a] thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot But she made signs unto *the child to answer them; and* they said, How shall we speak to him, who is an infant in the cradle?[2] *Whereupon the child* said, Verily I am the servant of God,[b] he hath given me the book *of the gospel*, and hath appointed me a prophet And he hath made me blessed, wheresoever I shall be; and hath commanded me *to observe* prayer, and *to give* alms, so long as I shall live, and *he hath made me* dutiful towards my mother, and hath not made me proud, *or* unhappy And peace *be* on me the day whereon I was born, and the day whereon I shall die, and the day whereon I shall be raised to life This *was* JESUS, the son of Mary, the Word of truth,[c] concerning whom they doubt It is not *meet* for GOD, that he should have any son GOD forbid! When he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is And verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD, wherefore serve him this is the right way Yet the sectaries differ among themselves *concerning Jesus*, but woe be unto those who are unbelievers, because of *their* appearance at the great day Do thou cause them to hear, and do thou cause *them* to see,[d] *on* the day *whereon* they shall come unto us *to be judged* but the ungodly are this day in a manifest error And do thou forewarn them of the day of sighing, when the matter shall be determined, while they are *now sunk* in negligence and do not believe Verily we will inherit the earth, and whatever *creatures* are therein[e] and unto us shall they *all* return And re-

[x] And accordingly she had no sooner spoken it than the dry trunk revived and shot forth green leaves and a head loaded with ripe fruit

[y] Literally *thine eye*

[z] During which she was not to speak to anybody, unless to acquaint them with the reason of her silence and some suppose she did that by signs

[a] Several Christian writers think the Korân stands convicted of a manifest falsehood in this particular but I am afraid the Mohammedans may avoid the charge,[1] as they do by several answers Some say the Virgin Mary had really a brother named Aaron who had the same father but a different mother others suppose Aaron the brother of Moses is here meant, but say Mary is called *his sister* either because she was of the Levitical race (as by her being related to Elizabeth it should seem she was) or by way of comparison others say that it was a different person of that name who was contemporary with her and conspicuous for his good or bad qualities and that they likened her to him either by way of commendation or of reproach[2] &c

[b] These were the first words which were put into the mouth of JESUS to obviate the imagination of his partaking of the divine nature or having a right to the worship of mankind on account of his miraculous speaking so soon after his birth[3]

[c] This expression may either be referred to JESUS as *the Word of* GOD, or to the account just given of him

[d] These words are variously expounded some taking them to express admiration[4] at the quickness of those senses in the wicked at the day of judgment when they shall plainly perceive the torments prepared for them though they have been deaf and blind in this life[4] and others supposing the words contain a threat to the unbelievers of what they shall then hear and see, or else a command to Mohammed to lay before them the terrors of that day[5]

[e] *i e*, Alone surviving when all creatures shall be dead and annihilated See chapter 15, p 192

[1] See chapter 3, p 34 35. [2] Al Zamakh Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin, Yahya &c [3] Al Beidâwi &c. [4] See chapter 18 p 290 [5] Al Beidâwi

member Abraham in the book *of the Koran,* for he was one of great veracity, *and* a prophet. When he said unto his father,[f] O my father, why dost thou worship that which heareth not, neither seeth, nor profiteth thee at all? O my father, verily *a degree* of knowledge hath been bestowed on me, which hath not been bestowed on thee: wherefore follow me, I will lead thee into an even way. O my father, serve not Satan, for Satan was rebellious unto the Merciful. O my father, verily I fear lest a punishment be inflicted on thee from the Merciful, and thou become a companion of Satan. *His father* answered, Dost thou reject my gods, O Abraham? If thou forbear not, I will surely stone thee: wherefore leave me for a long time. *Abraham* replied, Peace *be* on thee: I will ask pardon for thee of my LORD, for he is gracious unto me. And I will separate myself from you, and from the *idols* which ye invoke besides GOD, and I will call upon my LORD: it may be that I shall not be unsuccessful in calling on my LORD, *as ye are in calling upon them*. And when he had separated himself from them, and from the *idols* which they worshipped besides GOD,[g] we gave him Isaac and Jacob, and we made each of them a prophet, and we bestowed on them, through our mercy, *the gift of prophecy, and children, and wealth,* and we caused them to deserve the highest commendations.[h] And remember Moses in the book *of the Korân*: for he was sincerely upright, and was an apostle *and* a prophet. And we called unto him from the right side of mount *Sinai*, and caused him to draw near, *and* to discourse privately *with us*.[i] And we gave him, through our mercy, his brother Aaron, a prophet, *for his assistant*. Remember also Ismael in the *same* book: for he was true to *his* promise,[j] and was an apostle, *and* a prophet. And he commanded his family *to observe* prayer, and *to give* alms, and he was acceptable unto his LORD. And remember Edris[k] in the *same* book: for he was a just person, *and* a prophet: and we exalted him to a high place.[l] These are they unto whom GOD hath been bounteous, of the prophets of the posterity of Adam, and of those whom we carried *in the ark* with Noah, and of the

[f] See chapter 6, p. 95, &c.

[g] By flying to Harrân, and thence to Palestine.

[h] Literally, *We granted them a lofty tongue of truth.*

[i] Or, as some expound it, *And we raised him on high*: for say they he was raised to so great an elevation, that he heard the creaking of the pen writing on the table of GOD's decrees.[1]

[j] Being celebrated on that account, and particularly for his behaving with that resignation and constancy which he had promised his father, on his receiving GOD's command to sacrifice him,[2] for the Mohammedans say it was Ismael, and not Isaac, whom he was commanded to offer.

[k] Or Enoch, the great grandfather of Noah, who had that surname from his great *knowledge*; for he was favoured with no less than thirty books of divine revelations, and was the first who wrote with a pen, and studied the sciences of astronomy and arithmetic, &c.[3]

The learned Bartolocci endeavours to show, from the testimonies of the ancient Jews, that Enoch, surnamed Edris, was a very different person from the Enoch of Moses, and many ages younger.[4]

[l] Some understand by this the honour of the prophetic office, and his familiarity with GOD; but others suppose his translation is here meant: for they say that he was taken up by God into heaven at the age of three hundred and fifty, having first suffered death, and been restored to life; and that he is now alive in one of the seven heavens, or in paradise.[5]

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, &c. [4] Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. part 2, p. 845. [5] Iidem, Abulfeda.

posterity of Abraham, and of Israel, and of those whom we have directed and chosen. When the signs of the Merciful were read unto them, they fell down, worshipping, and wept: but a succeeding generation have come after them, who neglect prayer, and follow *their* lusts; and they shall surely fall into evil: except him who repenteth, and believeth, and doth that which is right, these shall enter paradise, and they shall not in the least be wronged; gardens of perpetual abode *shall be their reward*, which the Merciful hath promised unto his servants, as an object of faith; for his promise will surely come *to be fulfilled*. Therein shall they hear no vain discourse, but peace;[m] and their provision shall be prepared for them therein morning and evening. This is paradise, which we will give for an inheritance unto such of our servants as shall be pious. We descend not *from heaven*, unless by the command of thy LORD: unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is before us, and whatsoever is behind us, and whatsoever is in the intermediate space; neither is thy LORD forgetful *of thee*.[n] *He is* the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatsoever is between them: wherefore worship him, and be constant in his worship. Dost thou know any named like him?[o] Man saith,[p] After I shall have been dead, shall I really be brought forth alive *from the grave*? Doth not man remember that we created him heretofore, when he was nothing? But by thy LORD we will surely assemble them and the devils *to judgment*;[q] then will we set them round about hell on their knees: afterwards we will draw forth from every sect such of them *as shall have been* a more obstinate rebel against the Merciful;[r] and we best know which of them are more worthy to be burned therein.[s] There shall be none of you but shall approach near the same:[t] *this* is an established decree with thy LORD. Afterwards we will deliver those who shall have been pious, but we will leave the ungodly therein on their knees. When our manifest signs are read unto them, the infidels say unto the true believers, Which of the two parties *is* in the more eligible condition,

[m] *i.e.* Words of peace and comfort: or the salutations of the angels,[1] &c.

[n] These are generally supposed to have been the words of the angel Gabriel, in answer to Mohammed's complaint for his long delay of fifteen or, according to another tradition, of forty days, before he brought him instructions what solution he should give to the questions which had been asked him concerning the sleepers, Dhu'lkarnein, and the spirit.[2]

Others however are of opinion that they are the words which the godly will use at their entrance into paradise, and that their meaning is, *We take up our abode here at the command and through the mercy of God alone, who ruleth all things past, future, and present, and who is not forgetful of the works of his servants.*[3]

[o] That is, Deserving, or having a right to the name and attributes of GOD.

[p] Some suppose a particular person is here meant, namely, Obba Ebn Khalf.[4]

[q] It is said that every infidel will appear at the day of judgment, chained to the devil who seduced him.[5]

[r] Hence, says al Beidâwi, it appears that GOD will pardon some of the rebellious people. But perhaps the distinguishing the unbelievers into different classes, *in order to consign them* to different places and degrees of torment, is here meant.

[s] *viz.*, The more obstinate and perverse, and especially the heads of sects, who will suffer double punishment for their own errors and their seducing of others.

[t] For the true believers must also pass by or through hell; but the fire will be damped, and the flames abated, so as not to hurt them, though it will lay hold on the others. Some, however, suppose that the words intend no more than the passage over the narrow bridge, which is laid over hell.[6]

[1] See chapter 10, p. 151. [2] See before, p. 118, 119. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See chapter 16, p. 195. [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] Idem. See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 71.

and *formeth* the more excellent assembly?[w] But how many generations have we destroyed before them, which excelled them in wealth, and in outward appearance? Say, Whosoever is in error, the Merciful will grant him a long and prosperous life, until they see that with which they are threatened, whether it be the punishment *of this life*, or *that of* the *last* hour, and hereafter they shall know who is in the worse condition, and the weaker in forces GOD shall more fully direct those who receive direction, and the good works which remain *for ever*, are better in the sight of thy LORD *than worldly possessions*, in respect to the reward, and more eligible in respect to the future recompense Hast thou seen him who believeth not in our signs, and faith, I shall surely have riches and children bestowed on me?[x] Is he acquainted with the secrets *of futurity*, or hath he received a covenant from the Merciful *that it shall be so?* By no means. We will surely write down that which he saith, and increasing we will increase his punishment and we will be his heir as to that which he speaketh of,[y] and *on the last day* he shall appear before us alone *and naked* They have taken *other* gods, besides GOD, that they may be a glory unto them. By no means Hereafter shall they deny their worship,[z] and they shall become adversaries[a] unto them Dost thou not see that we send the devils against the infidels, to incite them *to sin* by *their* instigations? Wherefore be not in haste *to call down destruction* upon them, for we number unto them a *determined* number *of days of respite* On a certain day we will assemble the pious before the Merciful *in an honourable manner*, as ambassadors come *into the presence of a prince*, but we will drive the wicked into hell, *as cattle are driven* to water they shall obtain no intercession, except he only who hath received a covenant from the Merciful[b] They say, The Merciful hath begotten issue Now have ye uttered an impious thing it wanteth little but that on occasion thereof the heavens be rent, and the earth cleave in sunder, and the mountains be overthrown and fall for that they attribute children unto the Merciful, whereas it becometh not GOD to beget

[w] *viz* Of us or of you When the Koreish were unable to produce a composition to equal the Korân they began to glory in their wealth and nobility valuing themselves highly on that account and despising the followers of Mohammed

[x] This passage was revealed on account of al As Ebn Wayel who being indebted to Khabbâb when he demanded the money refused to pay it unless he would deny Mohammed to which proposal Khabbâb answered that he would never deny that prophet neither alive nor dead nor when he should be raised to life at the last day therefore replied al As when thou art raised again *come to me for I shall then have abundance of riches and children and I will pay you*[1]

[y] *i.e* He shall be obliged to leave all his wealth and his children behind him at his death

[z] *viz* At the resurrection when the idolaters shall disclaim their idols and the idols their worshippers and shall mutually accuse one another[2]

[a] Or *the contrary* that is to say a *disgrace* instead of an *honour*

[b] That is except he who shall be a subject properly disposed to receive that favour by having possessed Islâm Or the words may also be translated according to another exposition *They shall not obtain the intercession* of any *except* the intercession *of him* &c Or else *None shall be able to make intercession* for others *except he who shall have received a covenant* (or *permission*) *from God* *i e* who shall be qualified for that office by faith and good works according to GOD s promise or shall have special leave given him by GOD for that purpose[3]

[1] Idem Jallalo ddin. [2] See chapter 6 p 90 chapter 10 p 152 153 &c. [3] Al Beidâwi See chapter 2 p 28 &c.

children Verily there is none in heaven or on earth, but shall approach the Merciful *as his* servant He encompasseth them *by his knowledge and power*, and numbereth them with an *exact* computation and they shall all come unto him on the day of resurrection, destitute *both of helpers and followers* But as for those who believe and do good works, the Merciful will bestow on them love[c] Verily we have rendered the *Korân* easy for thy tongue, that thou mayest thereby declare *our* promises unto the pious, and mayest thereby denounce threats unto contentious people. And how many generations have we destroyed before them? Dost thou find one of them *remaining?* Or dost thou hear *so much as* a whisper concerning them?

CHAPTER XX

ENTITLED, T H[d] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

T. H We have not sent down the Korân unto thee, that thou shouldest be unhappy,[e] but for an admonition unto him who feareth *God* being sent down from him who created the earth, and the lofty heavens The Merciful sitteth on *his* throne unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and whatsoever is between them, and whatsoever is under the earth If thou pronounce *thy prayers* with a loud voice, *know that it is not necessary in respect to God*, for he knoweth that which is secret, and what is yet more hidden GOD[f] there is no god but he he hath most excellent names[f] Hast thou been informed of the history of Moses?[g] When

[c] *i.e.* The love of GOD and all the inhabitants of heaven. Some suppose this verse was revealed to comfort the Moslems who were hated and despised at Mecca on account of their faith by the promise of their gaining the love and esteem of mankind in a short time

[d] The signification of these letters, which being prefixed to the chapter are therefore taken for the title is uncertain[1] Some however imagine they stand for *Ya rajol i.e. O man!* which interpretation seeming not easily to be accounted for from the Arabic is by a certain tradition deduced from the Ethiopic[2] or for *Ta i.e. tread* telling us that Mohammed being employed in watching and prayer the night this passage was revealed stood on one foot only but was hereby commanded to ease himself by setting both feet to the ground. Others fancy the first letter stands for *Tûba beatitude* and the latter for *Hawiyat* the name of the lower apartment of hell *Tah* is also an interjection commanding silence and may properly enough be used in this place

[e] Either by reason of thy zeal and solicitude for the conversion of the infidels or thy fatiguing thyself by watching and other religious exercises for it seems the Koreish urged the extraordinary fatigues he underwent in these respects as the consequence of his having left their religion[3]

[f] See chapter 7, p 123, and chapter 17 p 216

[g] The relation of the story of Moses which takes up the greatest part of this chapter was designed to encourage Mohammed by his example, to discharge the prophetic office with firmness of mind as being assured of receiving the like assistance from GOD for it is said this chapter was one of the first that were revealed.[4]

[1] See the Prelim Disc Sect III p 46 &c [2] Moham Ebn Abd al Baki ex trad Acremæ Ebn Abi Sofian. [3] Al Beidawi [4] Jocam.

he saw fire, and said unto his family, Tarry ye *here*, for I perceive fire peradventure I may bring you a brand thereout, or may find a direction *in our way* by the fire[h] And when he was come near unto it, *a voice* called unto him, *saying*, O Moses! verily I am thy LORD wherefore put off thy shoes,[i] for thou art in the sacred valley Towa. And I have chosen thee, therefore hearken with attention unto that which is revealed *unto thee* Verily I am GOD, there is no god beside me wherefore worship me, and perform *thy* prayer in remembrance of me Verily the hour cometh I will surely manifest the same, that every soul may receive its reward for that which it hath deliberately done Let not him who believeth not therein, and who followeth his lust, prevent thee from *believing in* the same, lest thou perish Now what *is* that in thy right hand, O Moses? He answered, It is my rod whereon I lean, and with which I beat down leaves for my flock, and I have other uses for it[j] *God* said *unto him*, Cast it down, O Moses And he cast it down, and behold, it *became* a serpent,[k] which ran about. *God* said, Take hold on it, and fear not[l] we will reduce it to its former condition And put thy *right* hand under thy *left* arm it shall come forth white,[m] without any hurt. *This shall be* another sign that we may show thee *some* of our greatest signs Go unto Pharaoh for he is exceedingly impious. *Moses* answered, LORD, enlarge my breast and make what thou hast commanded me easy unto me and loose the knot of my tongue, that they may understand my speech.[n] And give me a counsellor[o] of my family, *namely*, Aaron my brother Gird up my loins by him, and make him my colleague in the business that we may praise thee greatly, and may remember thee often, for thou regardest us *God* replied, Now hast thou obtained thy request, O Moses and we have heretofore been gracious unto thee, another

[h] The commentators say that Moses having obtained leave of Shoaib or Jethro his father in law to visit his mother departed with his family from Midian towards Egypt but coming to the valley of Towa wherein Mount Sinai stands his wife fell in labour and was delivered of a son in a very dark and snowy night he had also lost his way and his cattle were scattered from him when on a sudden he saw a fire by the side of a mountain, which on his nearer approaching he found burning in a green bush.[1]

[i] This was a mark of humility and respect though some fancy there was some uncleanness in the shoes themselves because they were made of the skin of an ass not dressed[2]

[j] As to drive away wild beasts from my flock to carry my bottle of water on to stick up and hang my upper garment on to shade me from the sun and several other uses enumerated by the commentators.

[k] Which was at first no bigger than the rod but afterwards swelled to a prodigious size[3]

[l] *When Moses saw the serpent move* about *with great* nimbleness and *swallow* stones and trees, he was greatly terrified and fled from it but recovering his courage at these words of GOD he had the boldness to take the serpent by the jaws[4]

[m] See chapter 7 p. 116

[n] For Moses had an impediment in his speech which was occasioned by the following accident Pharaoh one day carrying him in his arms when a child he suddenly laid hold of his beard and plucked it in a very rough manner which put Pharaoh into such a passion, that he ordered him to be put to death but Asia his wife representing to him that he was but a child who could not distinguish between a burning coal and a ruby, he ordered the experiment to be made and a live coal and a ruby being set before Moses, he took the coal and put it into his mouth and burnt his tongue and thereupon he was pardoned. This is a Jewish story a little altered[5]

[o] The Arabic word is Wazir, which signifies one who has the chief administration of affairs under a prince.

[1] Idem [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Idem. [5] Vide Shalsh. Hakkab p 11

time, when we revealed unto thy mother that which was revealed *unto her*,[p] *saying*, Put him into the ark, and cast him into the river, and the river shall throw him on the shore, *and* my enemy and his enemy shall take him *and bring him up* [q] and I bestowed on thee love from me,[r] that thou mightest be bred up under my eye When thy sister went and said, Shall I bring you unto one who will nurse *the child?*[s] *So* we returned thee unto thy mother, that her mind might be set at ease, and that she might not be afflicted And thou slewest a soul, and we delivered thee from trouble [t] and we proved thee by *several* trials [u] and *afterwards* thou didst dwell some years[x] among the inhabitants of Madian Then thou camest *hither* according to *our* decree, O Moses, and I have chosen thee for myself *wherefore* go thou and thy brother[y] with my signs, and be not negligent in remembering me. Go ye unto Pharaoh, for he is excessively impious and speak mildly unto him, peradventure he will consider, or will fear *our threats* They answered, O LORD, verily we fear lest he be precipitately violent against us, or lest he transgress *more exorbitantly* *God* replied, Fear not, for I am with you I will hear and will see. Go ye therefore unto him, and say, Verily we are the messengers of thy LORD wherefore send the children of Israel with us, and do not afflict them Now are we come unto thee with a sign from thy LORD and peace be upon him who shall follow the *true* direction Verily it hath been revealed unto us, that a punishment *shall be inflicted* on him who shall charge *us* with imposture, and shall turn back. *And when they had delivered their message, Pharaoh* said, Who is your LORD, O Moses? He answered, Our LORD is he who giveth all things he hath created them, and directeth them *by his providence* *Pharaoh* said, What therefore is the

[p] The commentators are not agreed by what means this revelation was made whether by private inspiration by a dream by a prophet or by an angel

[q] The commentators say that his mother accordingly made an ark of the *papyrus* and pitched it and put in some cotton and having laid the child therein committed it to the river a branch of which went into Pharaoh's garden that the stream carried the ark thither into a fishpond at the head of which Pharaoh was then sitting with his wife Asia the daughter of Mozahem and that the king having commanded it to be taken up and opened and finding in it a beautiful child, took a fancy to it and ordered it to be brought up [1]

Some writers mention a miraculous preservation of Moses before he was put into the ark and tell us, that his mother having hid him from Pharaoh's officers in an oven his sister in her mother's absence kindled a large fire in the oven to heat it not knowing the child was there but that he was afterwards taken out unhurt [2]

[r] That is, I inspired the love of thee into the hearts of those who saw thee and particularly into the heart of Pharaoh.

[s] The Mohammedans pretend that several nurses were brought but the child refused to take the breast of any till his sister Miriam, who went to learn news of him told them she would find a nurse and brought his mother [3]

[t] Moses killed an Egyptian in defence of an Israelite and escaped the danger of being punished for it by flying to Midian which was eight days journey distant from Mesr [4]

The Jews pretend he was actually imprisoned for the fact and condemned to be beheaded, but that when he should have suffered his neck became as hard as ivory and the sword rebounded on the executioner [5]

[u] For he was obliged to abandon his country and his friends and to travel several days in great terror and want of necessary provisions to seek a refuge among strangers, and was afterwards forced to serve for hire, to gain a livelihood.

[x] *i.e.*, Ten [6]

[y] Aaron being by this time come out to meet his brother either by divine inspiration, or having notice of his design to return to Egypt.[7]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Abulfeda &c. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. [5] Shalsh Hakkab. p. 11. [6] Al Beidâwi. [7] Idem.

condition of the former generations?[a] *Moses* answered, The knowledge thereof is with my LORD, in the book *of his decrees* my LORD erreth not, neither doth he forget. *It is he* who hath spread the earth as a bed for you, and hath made you paths therein and who sendeth down rain from heaven, whereby we cause various kinds of vegetables to spring forth, *saying*, Eat *of part*, and feed your cattle *with other part thereof* Verily herein are signs unto those who are indued with understanding Out of *the ground* have we created you, and to the same will we cause you to return, and we will bring you forth from thence another time And we showed *Pharaoh* all our signs *which we had empowered Moses to perform* but he accused *him* of imposture, and refused *to believe, and* he said, Art thou come unto us that thou mayest dispossess us of our land by thy enchantments, O Moses? Verily we will meet thee with the like enchantments wherefore fix an appointment between us and thee, we will not fail it, neither shalt thou, in an equal place *Moses* answered, Let your appointment be on the day of *your* solemn feast [a] and let the people be assembled in open day And Pharaoh turned away *from Moses*, and gathered together *the most expert magicians to execute* his stratagem and them came *to the appointment* Moses said unto them, Woe be unto you! do not devise a lie against GOD [b] lest he utterly destroy you by some judgment for he shall not prosper who deviseth lies *And the magicians* disputed concerning their affair among themselves and discoursed in private and they said, These two are certainly magicians they seek to dispossess you of your land by their sorcery and to lead away *with them* your chiefest and most considerable men Wherefore collect *all* your cunning, and then come in order for he shall prosper this day, who shall be superior They said O Moses whether wilt thou cast down *thy rod first*, or shall we be the first who cast down *our rods*? He answered, Do ye cast down *your rods first* And behold, their cords and their rods appeared unto him, by their enchantment, to run about *like serpents* [c] wherefore Moses conceived fear in his heart *but* we said *unto him*, Fear not for thou shalt be superior therefore cast down *the rod* which is in thy right hand and it shall swallow up *the seeming serpents* which they have made for what they have made is only the deceit of an enchanter, and an enchanter shall not prosper, whithersoever he cometh And the magicians *when they saw the miracle which Moses performed*, fell down and worshipped, saying, We believe in the LORD of Aaron and of Moses *Pharaoh* said *unto them*, Do ye believe in him before I give you permission? Verily this is your master, who hath taught you magic But I will surely cut off your hands and your feet on the opposite sides, and I will crucify you on trunks of palm trees [d] and ye shall know which of us is more severe in punishing, and can longer protract *your*

[a] *viz*, As to happiness or misery after death
[a] Which was probably the first day of their new year
[b] By saying the miracles performed in his name are the effects of magic
[c] They rubbed them over with quicksilver which being wrought upon by the heat of the sun, caused them to move.[1] See chapter 7 p 16
[d] See Ibid.

[1] Idem.

pains. They answered, We will by no means have greater regard unto thee, than unto those evident miracles which have been shown us, or than unto him who hath created us. Pronounce therefore that sentence *against us* which thou art about to pronounce; for thou canst only give sentence *as to* this present life. Verily we believe in our LORD, that he may forgive us our sins, and the sorcery which thou hast forced us to *exercise* for GOD is better *to reward*, and more able to prolong *punishment than thou*. Verily whosoever shall appear before his LORD *on the day of judgment*, polluted with crimes, shall have hell *for his reward*, he shall not die therein, neither shall he live. But whoever shall appear before him, *having been* a true believer, *and* shall have worked righteousness, for these *are prepared* the highest degrees *of happiness*, *namely*, gardens of perpetual abode,[e] which shall be watered by rivers, they shall remain therein for ever. and this shall be the reward of him who shall be pure. And we spake by revelation unto Moses, *saying*, Go forth with my servants *out of Egypt* by night, and smite *the waters with the rod, and make* them a dry path through the sea[f] be not apprehensive of *Pharaoh's* overtaking *thee*, neither be thou afraid. And *when Moses had done so*, Pharaoh followed them with his forces, and *the waters* of the sea which overwhelmed them, overwhelmed them. And Pharaoh caused his people to err, neither did he direct *them aright*. Thus, O children of Israel, we delivered you from your enemy, and we appointed you the right side of mount *Sinai to discourse with Moses and to give him the law*, and we caused manna and quails to descend upon you,[g] *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food, and transgress not therein,[h] lest my indignation fall on you and on whomsoever my indignation shall fall, he shall go down headlong *into perdition*. But I *will be* gracious unto him who shall repent and believe, and shall do that which is right, and *who* shall be rightly directed. What hath caused thee to hasten from thy people, O Moses, *to receive the law*?[i] He answered, These *follow close* on my footsteps, but I have hastened unto thee, O LORD, that thou mightest be well pleased *with me*. *God* said, We have already made a trial of thy people, since *thy departure*,[j] and al Sameri[k] hath

[e] Literally *gardens of* Eden. see chapter 9 p 142 143.

[f] The expositors add that the sea was divided into twelve separate paths, one for each tribe[1] a fable borrowed from the Jews.[2]

[g] See chapter 2 p 7.

[h] By ingratitude excess or insolent behaviour.

[i] For Moses it seems outwent the seventy elders who had been chosen in obedience to the divine command to accompany him to the mount[3] and appeared before GOD while they were at some though no great distance behind him.

[j] They continued in the worship of the true GOD for the first twenty days of Moses's absence which by taking the nights also into their reckoning they computed to be forty, and at their expiration concluded they had stayed the full time which Moses had commanded them and so fell into the worship of the golden calf.[4]

[k] This was not his proper name but he had this appellation because he was of a certain tribe among the Jews called Samaritans (wherein the Mohammedans strangely betray their ignorance in history) though some say he was a proselyte but a hypocritical one and originally of Kirmân or some other country. His true name was Moses or Mûsa, Ebn Dhafar.[5]

Selden is of opinion that this person was no other than Aaron himself (who was really the maker of the calf) and that he is here called al Sâmeri from the Hebrew verb *shamar* to

[1] Idem Abulfed in Hist. [2] Vide R Eliezer Pirke chapter 42. [3] See chapter 2, p. 6, 7, chapter 7, p 120 &c. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem.

seduced them *to idolatry* Wherefore Moses returned unto his people[l] in great wrath, and exceedingly afflicted *And* he said, O my people, had not your LORD promised you a most excellent promise?[m] Did the time *of my absence* seem long unto you? Or did ye desire that indignation from your LORD should fall on you, and therefore fail to keep the promise which ye made me? They answered, We have not failed in what we promised thee of our own authority, but we were made to carry in *several* loads of *gold and silver, of* the ornaments of the people,[n] and we cast them *into the fire*, and in like manner al Sâmeri also cast in *what he had collected*, and he produced unto them a corporeal calf,[o] which lowed. And *al Sâmeri and his companions* said, This is your god, and the god of Moses, but he hath forgotten *him, and is gone to seek some other* Did they not therefore see that *their idol* returned them no answer, and was not able to cause them either hurt or profit? And Aaron had said unto them before, O my people, verily ye are only proved by this *calf*, for your LORD is the Merciful wherefore follow me, and obey my command. They answered, We will by no means cease to be devoted to its *worship*, until Moses return unto us *And when Moses was returned*, he said, O Aaron, what hindered thee, when thou sawest that they went astray, that thou didst not follow me?[p] Hast thou therefore been disobedient to my command? *Aaron* answered, O son of my mother, drag *me* not by my beard, nor by *the hair of* my head Verily I feared lest thou shouldest say, Thou hast made a division among the children of Israel, and thou hast not observed my saying[q] *Moses* said *unto al Sâmeri*, What *was* thy design, O Sâmeri? He answered, I saw that which they saw not,[r]

keep[1] because he was *the Keeper or Guard an* of the children of Israel during his brother's absence in the mount which is a very ingenious conjecture not absolutely inconsistent with the text of the Korân (though Mohammed seems to have mistaken al Sâmeri for the name of a different person) and offers a much more probable origin of that appellation than to derive it as the Mohammedans do from the Samaritans who were not formed into a people nor bore that name till many ages after

[l] *viz* After he had completed his forty days stay in the mount and had received the law.

[m] *i e* The law containing a light and certain direction to guide you in the right way

[n] These ornaments were rings bracelets and the like which the Israelites had borrowed of the Egyptians under pretence of decking themselves out for some feast and had not returned to them or as some think what they had stripped from the dead bodies of the Egyptians cast on shore by the sea and al Sameri conceiving them unlawful to be kept, and the occasion of much wickedness persuaded Aaron to let him collect them from the people which being done he threw them all into the fire to melt them down into one mass.[3]

It is observable that the Mohammedans generally suppose the cast metal's coming forth in the shape of a calf was beside the expectation of al Sameri who had not made a mould of that figure and that when Aaron excuses himself to his brother in the pentateuch he seems as if he would persuade him it was an accident[4]

[o] See chapter 7 p. 119 note[a]

[p] By these words Moses reprehends Aaron for not seconding his zeal in taking arms against the idolaters, or for not coming after him to the mountain to acquaint him with their rebellion.

[q] *i e* Lest if I had taken arms against the worshippers of the calf, thou shouldest say that I had raised a sedition, or if I had gone after thee thou shouldest blame me for abandoning my charge and not waiting thy return to rectify what was amiss

[r] Or I knew that which they knew not *viz*, That the messenger sent to them from GOD was a pure spirit, and that his footsteps gave life to whatever they touched, being no other than

[1] Selden de Dis Syris, Synt. 1 chapter 4. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. Vide D Herbel Bibl. Orient. p. 650, and Kor chapter 2, p. 6, &c. [4] See Exod. xxxii. 24.

wherefore I took a handful *of dust* from the footsteps of the messenger *of God*, and I cast it *into the molten calf*,[s] for so did my mind direct me. Moses said, Get thee gone, for thy *punishment* in *this* life shall be, that thou shalt say *unto those who shall meet thee*, Touch *me* not,[t] and a threat *is denounced* against thee *of more terrible pains, in the life to come*, which thou shalt by no means escape And behold now thy god, to whose *worship* thou hast continued assiduously devoted verily we will burn it,[u] and we will reduce it to powder, and scatter it in the sea. Your GOD is *the true* GOD, besides whom there is no other god he comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge. Thus do we recite unto thee, *O Mohammed*, relations of what hath passed heretofore, and we have given thee an admonition from us He who shall turn aside from it, shall surely carry a load *of guilt* on the day of resurrection they shall continue thereunder *for ever*, and a grievous burthen shall it be unto them on the day of resurrection[x] On *that* day the trumpet shall be sounded, and we will gather the wicked together on that day, having grey eyes[y] They shall speak with a low voice to one another, *saying*, Ye have not tarried[z] above ten days. We well know what they will say, when the most conspicuous among them for behaviour shall say, Ye have not tarried above one day They will ask thee concerning the mountains Answer, My LORD will reduce them to dust, and scatter them abroad[a] and he will leave them a plain equally extended thou shalt see no part of them higher or lower than another On that day *mankind* shall follow *the angel* who will call *them to judgment*,[b] none shall *have power to* turn aside from him, and *their* voices shall be low before the Merciful, neither shalt thou hear any more than the hollow sound *of their feet* On that day the intercession *of none* shall be of advantage *unto another*, except *the intercession* of him

the angel Gabriel mounted on the horse of life and therefore I made use of the dust of his feet to animate the molten calf It is said al Sâmeri knew the angel because he had saved and taken care of him when a child and exposed by his mother for fear of *Pharaoh*

[s] See chapter 2 p 6

[t] Lest they infect thee with a burning fever for that was the consequence of any man's touching him, and the same happened to the persons he touched for which reason he was obliged to avoid all communication with others and was also shunned by them wandering in the desert like a wild beast.[2]

Hence it is concluded that a tribe of Samaritan Jews, said to inhabit a certain isle in the Red Sea, are the descendants of our al Sâmeri because it is their peculiar [illegible] k of distinction, at this day to use the same words *viz La mesâs* i e. *Touch me not* to those they meet[3] It is not improbable that this story may owe its rise to the known hatred borne by the Samaritans to the Jews, and their superstitiously avoiding to have any commerce with them or any other strangers.[4]

[u] Or as the word may also be translated *We will file it down* but the other is the more received interpretation.

[x] See chapter 6 p 91

[y] For this with the Arabs is one mark of an enemy or a person they abominate to say a man has a black liver (though I think we express our aversion by the term white livered) reddish whiskers and grey eyes being a periphrasis for a foe and particularly a Greek which nation were the most inveterate enemies of the Arabs and have usually hair and eyes of those colours[5] The original word however signifies also those who are squint-eyed or even blind of a suffusion

[z] *viz*, In the world or in the grave.

[a] See the Prelim. Disc Sect. IV p 64.

[b] See ibid. p 56

Al Beidâwi Jallalo ddin [2] Idem [3] Vide Geogr Nub p 45. [4] Vide Selden ubi sup. [5] Al Beidâwi Jawhar in Lex

to whom the Merciful shall grant permission,[c] and who shall be acceptable unto him in what he saith. *God* knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them; but they comprehend not the same by *their* knowledge and their faces shall be humbled[d] before the living, the self-subsisting *God;* and he shall be wretched who shall bear *his* iniquity. But whosoever shall do good works, being a true believer shall not fear any injustice, or any diminution *of his reward from God.* And thus have we sent down *this book, being* a Korân in the Arabic tongue; and we have inserted various threats and promises therein, that *men* may fear *God,* or that it may awaken some consideration in them. wherefore let GOD be highly exalted, the King, the Truth! Be not overhasty in *receiving or repeating* the Korân, before the revelation thereof be completed unto thee;[e] and say, LORD, increase my knowledge. We heretofore gave a command unto Adam; but he forgot *the same,*[f] *and eat of the forbidden fruit;* and we found not in him a firm resolution. And *remember* when we said unto the angels, Worship ye Adam; and they worshipped *him* but Eblis refused[g] And we said, O Adam, verily this is an enemy unto thee, and thy wife: wherefore *beware* lest he turn you out of paradise; for *then* shalt thou be miserable. Verily *we have made a provision* for thee, that thou shalt not hunger therein, neither shalt thou be naked · and *there is* also *a provision made* for thee, that thou shalt not thirst therein, neither shalt thou be incommoded by heat. But Satan whispered *evil suggestions* unto him, saying, O Adam, shall I guide thee to the tree of eternity, and a kingdom which faileth not? And they both ate thereof. and their nakedness appeared unto them, and they began to sew together the leaves of paradise, to cover themselves.[h] And *thus* Adam became disobedient unto his LORD, and was seduced Afterwards his LORD accepted him, *on his repentance,* and was turned unto him, and directed *him* *And God* said, Get ye down hence, all *of you:* the one of you *shall be* an enemy unto the other But hereafter shall a direction come unto you from me.[i] and whosoever shall follow my direction, shall not err, neither shall he be unhappy; but whosoever shall turn aside from my admonition, verily he shall *lead* a miserable life, and we will cause him to appear *before us* on the day of resurrection, blind[j] *And* he shall say, O LORD, why hast thou brought me *before thee* blind, whereas before I saw clearly? *God* shall

[c] Or, Except unto him, &c See chapter 19, p 232

[d] The original word properly expresses the humility and dejected looks of captives in the presence of their conqueror

[e] Mohammed is here commanded not to be impatient at any delay in Gabriel's bringing the divine revelations, or not to repeat it too fast after the angel, so as to overtake him before he had finished the passage But some suppose the prohibition relates to the publishing any verse before the same was perfectly explained to him[1]

[f] Adam's so soon forgetting the divine command, has occasioned some Arab etymologists to derive the word Insân, *i e man,* from *nasiya, to forget;* and has also given rise to the following proverbial saying, *Awwalo nâsin awwalo 'nnâsi,* that is, *The first forgetful person was the first of men,* alluding to the like sound of the words

[g] See chapter 2, p 4, &c, chapter 7, p 105, &c

[h] See chapter 7, p 100

[i] See chapter 2, p 5

[j] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 66.

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin

answer, Thus *have we done, because* our signs came unto thee, and thou didst forget them, and in the same manner shalt thou be forgotten this day. And thus will we reward him who shall be negligent, and shall not believe in the signs of his LORD: and the punishment of the life to come shall be more severe, and more lasting, *than the punishment of this life*. Are not *the Meccans* therefore acquainted how many generations we have destroyed before them, in whose dwellings they walk?[k] Verily herein are signs unto those who are endued with understanding. And unless a decree had previously gone forth from thy LORD *for their respite*, verily *their destruction* had necessarily followed: but there is a certain time determined *by God for their punishment*. Wherefore do thou, *O Mohammed*, patiently bear that which they say; and celebrate the praise of thy LORD before the rising of the sun, and before the setting thereof, and praise *him* in the hours of the night, and in the extremities of the day,[l] that thou mayest be well pleased *with the prospect of receiving favour from God*. And cast not thine eyes on that which we have granted divers of the *unbelievers* to enjoy, *namely*, the splendour of this present life,[m] that we may prove them thereby: for the provision of thy LORD[n] *is* better, and more permanent. Command thy family *to observe* prayer; and do thou persevere therein. We require not of thee *that thou labour to gain necessary* provisions *for thyself and family*: we will provide for thee; for the *prosperous* issue *shall attend* on piety.[o] *The unbelievers* say, Unless he come unto us with a sign from his LORD, *we will not believe on him*. Hath not a plain declaration come unto them, of that which *is contained* in the former volumes *of scripture, by the revelation of the Korân?* If we had destroyed them by a judgment before *the same had been revealed*, they would have said, *at the resurrection*, O LORD, *how could we believe* since thou didst not send unto us an apostle, that we might follow thy signs, before we were humbled and covered with shame? Say, Each *of us* wait *the issue*: wait therefore; for ye shall surely know hereafter who *have been* the followers of the even way, and who have been *rightly* directed.

[k] Seeing the footsteps of their destruction, as of the tribes of Ad and Thamûd.

[l] *i.e.*, Evening and morning; which times are repeated as the principal hours of prayer. But some suppose these words intend the prayer of noon, the first half of the day ending and the second half beginning at that time.[1]

[m] That is, do not envy or covet their pomp and prosperity in this world.[2]

[n] *viz.* The reward laid up for thee in the next life; or the gift of prophecy and the revelations with which GOD has favoured thee.

[o] It is said that when Mahommed's family were in any strait or affliction, he used to order them to go to prayers, and to repeat this verse.[3]

[1] Idem. [2] See chapter 15, p. 94. [3] Al Beidâwi.

CHAPTER XXI

INTITLED, THE PROPHETS,[p] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

(XVII.) *THE time of giving up* their account draweth nigh unto the people *of Mecca*, while they are *sunk* in negligence, turning aside *from the consideration thereof* No admonition cometh unto them from their LORD, being lately revealed *in the Korân*, but when they hear it, they turn it to sport their hearts *are* taken up with delights And they who act unjustly discourse privately together, *saying*, Is this *Mohammed* any more than a man like yourselves? Will ye therefore come to *hear* a piece of sorcery, when ye plainly perceive it *to be so*? Say, My LORD knoweth whatever is spoken in heaven and on earth *it is* he *who* heareth *and* knoweth But they say, *The Korân is* a confused heap of dreams nay, he hath forged it, nay, he is a poet let him come unto us therefore with some miracle, in like manner as the former *prophets* were sent None of the cities which we have destroyed, believed *the miracles which they saw performed*, before them will these therefore believe, *if they see a miracle*? We sent none *as our apostles* before thee, other than men, unto whom we revealed *our will* Ask those who are acquainted with the scripture, if ye know not *this* We gave them not a body *which could be supported* without their eating food neither were they immortal But we made good *our* promise unto them wherefore we delivered them, and those whom we pleased, but we destroyed the exorbitant transgressors Now have we sent down unto you, *O Koreish*, the book *of the Koran*, wherein there is *honourable* mention of you will ye not therefore understand? And how many cities have we overthrown, which were ungodly and caused other nations to rise up after them? And when they felt our severe vengeance, behold, they fled swiftly from those *cities* *And the angels said, scoffingly, unto them*, Do not fly but return to that wherein ye delighted, and to your habitations peradventure ye will be asked[q] They answered, Alas for us! verily we have been unjust[r] And this their lamentation ceased not, until we had rendered them *like* corn which is mowed down, *and* utterly extinct We created not the heavens and the earth, and that which is between them, by way of

[p] The chapter bears this title because some particulars relating to several of the ancient prophets are here recited

[q] *i e* Concerning the present posture of affairs by way of consultation or that ye may be examined as to your deeds that ye may receive the reward thereof[1]

[r] It is related that a prophet was sent to the inhabitants of certain towns in Yaman, but instead of hearkening to his remonstrances they killed him upon which GOD delivered them into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar who put them to the sword, a voice at the same time crying from heaven Vengeance for the blood of the prophets! Upon which they repented and used the words of this passage.

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakh.

sport.[s] If we had pleased to take diversion, verily we had taken it with *that which beseemeth* us;[t] if we had *resolved to have* done this. But we will oppose truth to vanity, and it shall confound the same; and behold, it shall vanish away. Woe be unto you, for that which ye *impiously* utter *concerning God!* since whoever *is* in heaven and on earth *is subject* unto him; and *the angels* who are in his presence do not insolently disdain his service, neither are they tired *therewith*. They praise *him* night and day: they faint not. Have they taken gods from the earth? Shall they raise *the dead* to life? If there were either in *heaven or on earth* gods besides GOD, verily both would be corrupted.[u] But far be that which they utter, from GOD, the LORD of the throne! No account shall be demanded of him for what he shall do; but an account shall be demanded of them. Have they taken *other* gods besides him? Say, Produce your proof *thereof*. This is the admonition of those who *are contemporary* with me, and the admonition of those who *have been* before me:[x] but the greater part of them know not the truth, and turn aside *from the same*. We have sent no apostle before thee, but we revealed unto him that there is no god besides myself; wherefore serve me. They say, The Merciful hath begotten issue; *and the angels are his daughters*.[y] GOD forbid! They are his honoured servants: they prevent him not in anything which they say,[z] and they execute his command. He knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them: they shall not intercede *for any*, except for whom it shall please him; and they tremble for fear of him. Whoever of them shall say, I am a god besides him, that *angel* will we reward with hell; *for* so will we reward the unjust. Do not the unbelievers therefore know, that the heavens and the earth were solid, and we clave the same in sunder,[a] and made every living thing of water? Will they not therefore believe? And we placed stable *mountains* on the earth, lest it should move with them,[b] and we made broad passages between them for paths, that they might be directed *in their journeys*: and we made

[s] But for the manifestation of our power and wisdom to people of understanding, that they may seriously consider the wonders of the creation, and direct their actions to the attainment of future happiness, neglecting the vain pomp and fleeting pleasures of this world.

[t] *viz.*, We had sought our pleasure in our own perfections; or, in the spiritual beings which are in our immediate presence; and not in raising of material buildings, with painted roofs, and fine floors, which is the diversion of man.

Some think the original word, translated diversion, signifies in this place a wife, or a child; and that the passage is particularly levelled against the Christians.[1]

[u] That is, the whole creation would necessarily fall into confusion and be overturned, by the competition of such mighty antagonists.

[x] *i.e.*, This is the constant doctrine of all the sacred books, not only of the Korân, but of those which were revealed in former ages; all of them bearing witness to the great and fundamental truth of the unity of God.

[y] This passage was revealed on account of the Khozâites, who held the angels to be the daughters of GOD.

[z] *i.e.*, They presume not to say anything, until he hath spoken it; behaving as servants who know their duty.

[a] That is, They were one continued mass of matter, till we separated them, and divided the heaven into seven heavens, and the earth into as many stories; and distinguished the various orbs of the one, and the different climates of the other, &c. Or, as some choose to translate the words, *The heavens and the earth were shut up, and we opened the same*; their meaning being, that the heavens did not rain, nor the earth produce vegetables, till GOD interposed his power.[3]

[b] See chapter 16, p. 196.

[1] Idem. Al Beidâwi. Jallalo'ddin.

the heaven a roof well supported. Yet they turn aside from the signs thereof, *not considering that they are the workmanship of God* It is he who hath created the night, and the day, and the sun, and the moon, all *the celestial bodies* move swiftly, *each* in *its respective* orb We have not granted unto any man before thee, *eternal* permanency *in this world*, if thou die therefore, will they be immortal?[c] Every soul shall taste of death and we will prove you with evil, and with good, for a trial *of you*, and unto us shall ye return When the unbelievers see thee, they receive thee only with scoffing, *saying*, *Is* this he who mentioneth your gods *with contempt?* Yet themselves believe not what is mentioned *to them* of the Merciful[d] Man is created of precipitation[e] Hereafter will I show you my signs, so that ye shall not wish them to be hastened. They say, When *will* this threat *be accomplished*, if ye speak truth? If they who believe not, knew *that the time will surely come*, when they shall not *be able to* drive back the fire *of hell* from their faces, nor from their backs, neither shall they be helped, *they would not hasten it* But *the day of vengeance* shall come upon them suddenly, and shall strike them with astonishment they shall not be able to avert it, neither shall they be respited *Other* apostles have been mocked before thee but the *punishment* which they scoffed at, fell upon such of them as mocked Say *unto the scoffers*, Who shall save you by night and by day from the Merciful? Yet they utterly neglect the remembrance of their LORD Have they gods who will defend them, besides us? They are not able to help themselves neither shall they be assisted against us by their companions But we have permitted these *men* and their fathers to enjoy *worldly prosperity*, so long as life was continued unto them Do they not perceive that we come unto the land *of the unbelievers*, *and* straiten the borders thereof? Shall they therefore be the conquerors? Say, I only preach unto you the revelation *of God* but the deaf will not hear *thy* call, when ever they are preached unto Yet if *the least* breath of the punishment of thy LORD touch them, they will surely say, Alas for us! verily we have been unjust We will appoint just balances for the day of resurrection, neither shall any soul be injured at all although *the merit or guilt of an action* be of the weight of a grain of mustard seed *only*, we will produce it *publicly*, and there will be sufficient accountants with us We formerly gave unto Moses and Aaron the *Law*, *being a* distinction[f] *between good and evil*, and a light and admonition unto the pious, who fear their LORD in secret, and who dread the hour *of judgment* And this *book also* is a blessed admonition, which we have sent down *from heaven* will ye therefore deny it? And we

[c] This passage was revealed when the infidels said We expect to see Mohammed die like the rest of mankind

[d] Denying his unity or rejecting his apostles and the scriptures which were given for their instruction, and particularly the Korân

[e] Being hasty and inconsiderate [1] It is said this passage was revealed on account of al Nodar Ebn al Hareth when he desired Mohammed to hasten the divine vengeance with which he threatened the unbelievers [2]

[f] Arab al Forkân See the Prelim Disc Sect III p 44

[1] See chapter 17 p 208 &c [2] Al Beidâwi

gave unto Abraham his direction[g] heretofore, and we knew him *to be worthy of the revelations wherewith he was favoured. Remember* when he said unto his father, and his people, What are these images to which ye are *so* entirely devoted?[h] They answered, We found our fathers worshipping them. He said, Verily both ye and your fathers have been in a manifest error. They said, Dost thou *seriously* tell us the truth, or art thou one who jestest *with us?* He replied, Verily your LORD is the LORD of the heavens and the earth; *it is he* who hath created them: and I am *one* of those who bear witness thereof. By GOD, I will surely devise a plot against your idols, after ye shall have retired *from them*, and shall have turned your backs. And *in the people's absence he went into the temple where the idols stood and* he brake them *all* in pieces, except the biggest of them; that they might lay the blame upon that.[i] *And when they were returned, and saw the havock which had been made*, they said, Who hath done this to our gods? He is certainly an impious person. *And certain of them* answered, We heard a young man speak *reproachfully* of them: he is named Abraham. They said, Bring him therefore before the eyes of the people, that they may bear witness *against him. And when he was brought before the assembly*, they said *unto him*, Hast thou done this unto our gods, O Abraham? He answered, Nay, that biggest of them hath done it: but ask them, if they *can* speak. And they returned unto themselves,[j] and said *the one to the other*, Verily ye are the impious *persons*. Afterwards they relapsed into their former obstinacy[k] *and said*, Verily thou knowest that these speak not. *Abraham* answered, Do ye therefore worship, beside GOD, that which cannot profit you at all, neither can it hurt you? Fie on you, and upon that which ye worship besides GOD! Do ye not understand? They said, Burn him, and avenge your gods, if ye do this *it will be well*.[l] *And when Abraham was cast into the burning pile*, we said, O fire, be thou cold, and a preservation unto

[g] *viz.* The knowledge of divine revelations which were given him.

[h] See chapter 6, p. 95, &c., chapter 19, p. 230, and chapter 2, p. 26.

[i] Abraham took his opportunity to do this while the Chaldeans were abroad in the fields celebrating a great festival; and some say he hid himself in the temple; and when he had accomplished his design, that he might the more evidently convince them of their folly in worshipping them, he left hanging the axe with which he had hewn and broken the images on the neck of the chief idol, named by some writers Baal, as if he had been the author of all the mischief.[2] For this story, which, though it be false, is not ill invented, Mohammed stands indebted to the Jews, who tell it with a little variation; for they say Abraham performed this exploit in his father's shop during his absence, that Terah on his return demanding the occasion of the disorder, his son told him that the idols had quarrelled and fallen together by the ears about an offering of fine flour which had been brought them by an old woman; and that the father finding he could not insist on the impossibility of what Abraham pretended without confessing the impotence of his gods, fell into a violent passion, and carried him to Nimrod, that he might be exemplarily punished for his insolence.[3]

[j] That is, They became sensible of their folly.

[k] Literally, *They were turned down upon their heads.*

[l] Perceiving they could not prevail against Abraham by dint of argument, says al Beidâwi, they had recourse to persecution and torments. The same commentator tells us the person who gave this counsel was a Persian Curd,[4] named Heyyûn, and that the earth opened and swallowed him up alive: some however say it was Andeshân, a Magian priest;[5] and others, that it was Nimrod himself.

[1] See the Prel. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 57. [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, &c. Vide Hyde, de Rel. vet. Pers. c. 2. [3] R. Gedal. in Shalshel hakkabb. p. 8. Vide Maimon. Yad hazzaka, c. 1, de idol. [4] Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Dhokak, et Schultens, Indic. Geogr. in Vit. Saladini, voce Curdi. [5] Vide D'Herbel. p. 128.

Abraham.[m] And they sought to lay a plot against him: but we caused them to be the sufferers.[n] And we delivered him, and Lot, *by bringing them* into the land wherein we have blessed all creatures.[o] And we bestowed on him Isaac, and Jacob, as an additional gift: and we made all *of them* righteous persons. We also made them models of religion,[p] that they might direct *others* by our command: and we inspired into them the doing of good works, and the observance of prayer, and the giving of alms; and they served us. And unto Lot we gave wisdom and knowledge, and we delivered him out of the city which committed filthy crimes; for they were a wicked *and* insolent people:[q] and we led him into our mercy; for he was an upright person. And *remember* Noah, when he called *for destruction on his people*,[r] before *the prophets above mentioned*; and we heard him, and

[m] The commentators relate that by Nimrod's order a large space was enclosed at Cûtha, and filled with a vast quantity of wood, which being set on fire burned so fiercely that none dared to venture near it: then they bound Abraham, and putting him into an engine (which some suppose to have been of the devil's invention) shot him into the midst of the fire; from which he was preserved by the angel Gabriel who was sent to his assistance, the fire burning only the cords with which he was bound.[1] They add that the fire having miraculously lost its heat, in respect to Abraham, became an odoriferous air, and that the pile changed to a pleasant meadow; though it raged so furiously otherwise, that, according to some writers, about two thousand of the idolaters were consumed by it.[2]

This story seems to have had no other foundation than that passage of Moses, where God is said to have brought Abraham *out of* Ur *of the* Chaldees,[3] misunderstood: which words the Jews, the most trifling interpreters of scripture, and some moderns who have followed them, have translated, *out of the fire of the* Chaldees; taking the word *Ur*, not for the proper name of a city, as it really is, but for an appellative, signifying *fire*.[4] However it is a fable of some antiquity, and credited not only by the Jews, but by several of the eastern Christians; the twenty-fifth of the second Canûn, or January, being set apart in the Syrian calendar for the commemoration of Abraham's being cast into the fire.[5]

The Jews also mention some other persecutions which Abraham underwent on account of his religion; particularly a ten years imprisonment;[6] some saying he was imprisoned by Nimrod,[7] and others by his father Terah.[8]

[n] Some tell us that Nimrod, on seeing this miraculous deliverance from his palace, cried out, that he would make an offering to the God of Abraham; and that he accordingly sacrificed four thousand kine.[9] But if he ever relented, he soon relapsed into his former infidelity: for he built a tower that he might ascend to heaven to see Abraham's God; which being overthrown,[10] still persisting in his design, he would be carried to heaven in a chest borne by four monstrous birds; but after wandering for some time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with such a force, that he made it shake: whereto (as some fancy) a passage in the Korân[1] alludes, which may be translated, *although their contrivances be such as to make the mountains tremble.*

Nimrod, disappointed in his design of making war with God, turned his arms against Abraham, who, being a great prince, raised forces to defend himself: but God dividing Nimrod's subjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued those who adhered to him by swarms of gnats, which destroyed almost all of them: and one of those gnats having entered into the nostril or ear of Nimrod, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where growing bigger every day, it gave him such intolerable pain, that he was obliged to cause his head to be beaten with a mallet, in order to procure some ease; which torture he suffered four hundred years; God being willing to punish, by one of the smallest of his creatures, him who insolently boasted himself to be lord of all.[12] A Syrian calendar places the death of Nimrod, as if the time were well known, on the eighth of Thamûz, or July.[3]

[o] i. e. Palestine; in which country the greater part of the prophets appeared.

[p] See chapter 2, p. 14.

[q] See chapter 7, p. 113, &c. and chapter 11, p. 166.

[r] See chapter 8, p. 132, note [a].

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, &c. Vide Morgan's Mahometism Expl. v. 1. chapter 4.
[2] The MS. Gospel of Barnabas, chapter 28.
[3] Genes. xv. 7.
[4] Vide Targ. Jonath. et Hierosol. in Genes. c. 11. et 15. et Hyde de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 74. &c.
[5] Vide Hyde ibid. p. 73.
[6] R. Eliez. Pirke, c. 26, &c. Vide Maim. More Nev. l. 3. c. 29.
[7] Glossa Talmud. in Gemar. Bava Bathra, 91. 1.
[8] In Aggada.
[9] Al Beidâwi.
[10] See chapter 16, p. 196.
[1] Chapter 14, p. 190.
[12] Vide D'Herbel. Orient. Art. Nemrod. Hyde ubi supra.
[13] Vide Hyde ibid. p. 74.

delivered him and his family from a great strait and we protected him from the people who accused our signs of falsehood, for they were a wicked people, wherefore we drowned them all And *remember* David, and Solomon, when they pronounced judgment concerning a field, when the sheep of *certain* people had fed therein by night, having no shepherd, and we were witnesses of their judgment and we gave the understanding thereof unto Solomon [s] And on all *of them* we bestowed wisdom, and knowledge And we compelled the mountains to praise us with David, and the birds also [t] and we did *this* And we taught him the art of making coats of mail for you,[u] that they may defend you in your wars will ye therefore be thankful? And unto Solomon *we subjected* a strong wind,[x] it ran at his command to the land whereon we had bestowed *our* blessing [y] and we knew all things And *we also subjected unto his command divers* of the devils, who might dive *to get pearls* for him, and perform *other* work besides this,[z] and we watched over them.[a] And *remember* Job,[b] when he cried unto his

[s] Some sheep, in their shepherd's absence having broken into another man's field (or vineyard, say others) by night and eaten up the corn a dispute arose thereupon and the cause being brought before David and Solomon the former said that the owner of the land should take the sheep in compensation of the damage which he had sustained but Solomon who was then but eleven years old was of opinion that it would be more just for the owner of the field to take only the profit of the sheep *viz* their milk lambs and wool till the shepherd should by his own labour and at his own expense put the field into as good condition as when the sheep entered it after which the sheep might be returned to their master And this judgment of Solomon was approved by David himself as better than his own [1]

[t] Mohammed it seems taking the visions of the Talmudists for truth believed that when David was fatigued with singing psalms the mountains birds and other parts of the creation both animate and inanimate relieved him in chanting the divine praises This consequence the Jews draw from the words of the psalmist when he calls on the several parts of nature to join with him in celebrating the praise of GOD [2] it being their perverse custom to expound passages in the most literal manner which cannot bear a literal sense without a manifest absurdity and on the contrary to turn the plainest passages into allegorical fancies.

[u] Men before his inventing them used to arm themselves with broad plates of metal Lest this fable should want something of the marvellous one writer tells us that the iron which David used became soft in his hands like wax [3]

[x] Which transported his throne with prodigious swiftness Some say this wind was violent or gentle just as Solomon pleased [4]

[y] *viz* Palestine whither the wind brought back Solomon's throne in the evening after having carried it to a distant country in the morning

[z] Such as the building of cities and palaces the fetching of rare pieces of art from foreign countries and the like

[a] Lest they should swerve from his orders or do mischief according to their natural inclinations Jallalo'ddin says that when they had finished any piece of building they pulled it down before night if they were not employed in something new

[b] The Mohammedan writers tell us that Job was of the race of Esau and was blessed with a numerous family and abundant riches but that GOD proved him by taking away all that he had even his children who were killed by the fall of a house notwithstanding which he continued to serve GOD and to return him thanks as usual that he was then struck with a filthy disease his body being full of worms and so offensive that as he lay on the dunghill none could bear to come near him that his wife however (whom some call Rahmat the daughter of Ephraim the son of Joseph and others Makhir the daughter of Manasses) attended him with great patience supporting him with what she earned by her labour, but that the devil appeared to her one day after having reminded her of her past prosperity, promised her that if she would worship him he would restore all they had lost whereupon she asked her husband's consent who was so angry at the proposal that he swore, if he recovered to give his wife a hundred stripes that Job having pronounced the prayer recorded in this passage GOD sent Gabriel who taking him by the hand raised him up, and at the same time a fountain sprang up at his feet of which having drank the worms fell off his body, and washing therein he recovered his former health and beauty that GOD then restored all to him double his wife also becoming young and handsome again and

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin &c. [2] See Psalm cxlviii [3] Tarikh Montakhab Vide D'Herbel. p. 284. [4] See chapter 27

LORD, *saying*, Verily evil hath afflicted me, but thou art the most merciful of those who show mercy. Wherefore we heard him, and relieved *him from* the evil which was upon him and we restored unto him his family, and as many more with them, through our mercy, and for an admonition unto those who serve GOD And *remember* Ismael, and Edris,[c] and Dhu'lkefl [d] All *these* were patient persons wherefore we led them into our mercy, for they were righteous doers. And *remember* Dhu'lnun,[e] when he departed in wrath,[f] and thought that we could not exercise our power over him. And he cried out in the darkness,[g] *saying*, There is no GOD, besides thee praise be unto thee! Verily I have been one of the unjust Wherefore we heard him, and delivered him from affliction [h] fo so do we deliver the true believers And *remember* Zacharias, when he called upon his LORD, *saying*, O LORD, leave me not childless yet thou art the best heir Wherefore we heard him, and we gave him John, and we rendered his wife fit *for bearing a child* unto him These strove to excel in good works, and called upon us with love, and with fear, and humbled themselves before us And *remember* her who preserved her virginity,[i] and into whom we breathed of our spirit, ordaining her and her son for a sign unto all creatures Verily this your religion is one religion;[j] and I am your LORD, wherefore serve me But *the Jews and Christians* have made schisms in the affair of their *religion* among themselves *but* all of them shall appear before us Whosoever shall do good works, being a true believer, there shall be no denial *of the reward due* to his endeavours, and we will surely write *it* down unto him. An inviolable prohibition *is laid* on *every* city which we shall have destroyed, for that they shall not return *any more into the*

bearing him twenty six sons and that Job to satisfy his oath was directed by GOD to strike her one blow with a palm branch having a hundred leaves[1] Some to express the great riches which were bestowed on Job after his sufferings, say he had two threshing-floors, one for wheat, and the other for barley and that GOD sent two clouds which rained gold on the one, and silver on the other till they ran over[2] The traditions differ as to the continuance of Job's calamities one will have it to be eighteen years another thirteen another three and another exactly seven years seven months and seven hours

[c] See chapter 19 p 2 0

[d] Who this prophet was is very uncertain One commentator will have him to be Elias, or Joshua or Zacharias[3] another supposes him to have been the son of Job and to have dwelt in Syria to which some add that he was first a very wicked man but afterwards repenting died, upon which these words appeared miraculously written over his d or *Now hath God been merciful unto* Dhu'lkefl[4] and a third tells us he was a person of great strictness of life and one who used to decide causes to the satisfaction of all parties because he was never in a passion and that he was called Dhu'lkefl from his continual fasting, and other religious exercises[5]

[e] This is the surname of Jonas which was given him because he was *swallowed by the fish* See chapter 10 p 157

[f] Some suppose Jonas's anger was against the Ninevites being tired with preaching to them for so long a time and greatly disgusted at their obstinacy and ill usage of him, but others, more agreeably to scripture say the reason of his ill humour was GOD's pardoning of that people on their repentance and averting the judgment which Jonas had threatened them with so that he thought he had been made a liar[6]

[g] i e Out of the belly of the fish.

[h] See chapter 37

[i] Namely, the Virgin Mary

[j] Being the same which was professed by all the prophets and holy men and women, without any fundamental difference or variation.

[1] Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin Abu'lfeda &c See D'Herbel Bibl Orient Art Aioub
[2] Jallalo'ddin [3] Al Beidâwi [4] Abu'lf. [5] Jallalo'ddin. [6] Al Beidâwi

world, until Gog and Magog shall have a passage opened for them,[h] and they shall hasten from every high hill;[l] and the certain promise shall draw near *to be fulfilled*: and behold, the eyes of the infidels shall be fixed *with astonishment, and they shall say*, Alas for us! we were formerly regardless of this *day*; yea, we were wicked doers. Verily *both* ye, *O men of Mecca*, and *the idols* which ye worship besides GOD, *shall be* cast *as fuel* into hell *fire*: ye shall go down into the same. If these were *really* gods, they would not go down into the same: and all *of them* shall remain therein for ever. In that *place* shall they groan *for anguish*; and they shall not hear *ought* therein.[m] *As for* those unto whom the most excellent *reward of paradise* hath been predestinated by us, they shall be transported far off from the same;[n] they shall not hear the least sound thereof: and they shall continue for ever in the *felicity* which their souls desire. The greatest terror shall not trouble them; and the angels shall meet them *to congratulate them, saying*, This is your day which ye were promised. On *that* day we will roll up the heavens, as *the angel* al Sijil rolleth up the book *wherein every man's actions are recorded*.[o] As we made the first creature *out of nothing, so* we will also reproduce it *at the resurrection*. *This is* a promise *which it lieth* on us *to fulfil*: we will surely perform *it*. And now have we written in the psalms, *after the promulgation of* the law, that my servants the righteous shall inherit the earth.[p] Verily in this *book are contained* sufficient means *of salvation*, unto people who serve *God*. We have not sent thee, *O Mohammed*, but *as* a mercy unto all creatures. Say, No other hath been revealed unto me, than that your GOD is one GOD: *will* ye therefore *be* resigned *unto him*? But if they turn their backs *to the confession of God's unity*, say, I proclaim *war* against you *all* equally:[q] but I know not whether that which ye are threatened with[r] *be* nigh, or whether *it be* far distant. Verily, *God* knoweth the discourse which is spoken in public, and he *also* knoweth that which ye hold in private. I know not *but* peradventure *the respite granted you is for a* trial of you, and that he may enjoy

[h] *i.e.* Until the resurrection; one sign of the approach whereof will be the eruption of those barbarians.[1]

[l] In this passage some copies, instead of *hadabin*, i.e. *an elevated part of the earth*, have *jadathin*, which signifies *a grave*: and if we follow the latter reading, the pronoun *they* must not refer to Gog and Magog, but to mankind in general.

[m] Because of their astonishment and the insupportable torments they shall endure; or, as others expound the words, *they shall not hear therein* any thing which may give them the least comfort.

[n] One Ebn al Zabari objected to the preceding words, *both ye and that which ye worship besides* GOD *shall be cast into hell*, because, being general, they asserted an absolute falsehood; some of the objects of idolatrous worship being so far from any danger of damnation, that they were in the highest favour with GOD, as JESUS, Ezra, and the angels: wherefore this passage was revealed, excepting those who were predestined to salvation.[2]

[o] Whose office it is to write down the actions of every man's life, which at his death, he rolls up as completed. Some pretend one of Mohammed's scribes is here meant: and others take the word Sijil, or as it is also written, Sijjill, for an appellative signifying a *book* or *written scroll*; and accordingly render the passage, *as a written scroll is rolled up*.[3]

[p] These words are taken from Psalm xxxvii. v. 29.

[q] Or, *I have publicly declared unto you* what I was commanded.

[r] *viz.* The losses and disgraces which ye shall suffer by the future successes of the Moslems; or the day of judgment.

[1] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 63. [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [3] Idem, &c.

the prosperity of this world for a time Say, LORD, judge *between me and my adversaries* with truth. Our LORD is the Merciful, whose assistance *is* to be implored against the *blasphemies and calumnies* which ye utter

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CHAPTER XXII

ENTITLED, THE PILGRIMAGE,[a] REVEALED AT MECCA[b]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O Men *of Mecca*, fear your LORD Verily the shock of the *last* hour[u] *will be* a terrible thing On the day whereon ye shall see it, every woman who giveth suck shall forget *the infant* which she suckleth,[x] and every *female* that is with young shall cast her burthen, and thou shalt see men *seemingly* drunk, yet they shall not be *really* drunk but the punishment of GOD *will be* severe There is a man who disputeth concerning GOD without knowledge,[y] and followeth every rebellious devil against whom it is written, that whoever shall take him for his patron, he shall surely seduce him, and shall lead him into the torment of hell O men, if ye be in doubt concerning the resurrection, *consider that* we *first* created you of the dust of the ground, afterwards, of seed afterwards, of a little coagulated blood,[z] afterwards of a piece of flesh, perfectly formed *in part,* and *in part* imperfectly formed that we might make *our power* manifest unto you and we cause that which we please to rest in the wombs, until the appointed time *of delivery* Then we bring you forth infants, and afterwards *we permit* you to attain your age of full strength and one of you dieth *in his youth*, and another of you is postponed to a decrepit age, so that he forgetteth whatever he knew Thou seest the earth *sometimes* dried up and barren but when we send down rain thereon it is put in motion and swelleth, and produceth every kind of luxuriant *vegetables* This *showeth* that GOD is the truth, and that he raiseth the dead to life, and that he is almighty, and that the hour *of judgment* will surely come (there is no doubt

[a] Some ceremonies used at the pilgrimage of Mecca being mentioned in this chapter gave occasion to the inscription

[b] Some[1] except two verses beginning at these words *There are some men who serve* GOD *in a wavering manner* &c And others[2] six verses beginning at *These are two opposite parties* &c.

[u] Or the earthquake which some say is to happen a little before the sun rises from the west one sign of the near approach of the day of judgment[3]

[x] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 64.

[y] This passage was revealed on account of al Nodar Ebn al Hareth who maintained that the angels were the daughters of GOD that the Korân was a fardel of old fables, and denied the resurrection.[4]

[z] See chapter 96

[1] Jallalo ddin. [2] Al Beidâwi [3] See the Prelim Disc Sect. IV p 61 &c [4] Al Beidâwi.

thereof), and that GOD will raise again those who are in the graves. There is a man who disputeth concerning GOD without either knowledge, or a direction, or an enlightening book,[a] proudly turning his side, that he may seduce *men* from the way of GOD Ignominy *shall attend* him in this world, and on the day of resurrection we will make him take the torment of burning, *when it shall be said unto him*, This *thou sufferest* because of that which thy hands have formerly committed, for GOD is not unjust towards mankind There are some men who serve GOD *in a wavering manner, standing, as it were* on the verge[b] *of the true religion* If good befall *one of them*, he resteth satisfied therein, but if any tribulation befall him, he turneth himself round, with the loss *both* of this world, and of the life to come This is manifest perdition He will call upon that besides GOD, which can neither hurt him, or profit him This is an error remote *from truth* He will invoke him who will sooner be of hurt *to his worshipper* than of advantage *Such is* surely a miserable patron, and a miserable companion But GOD will introduce those who shall believe, and do righteous works, into gardens through which rivers flow, for GOD doth that which he pleaseth Whoso thinketh that GOD will not assist *his apostle* in this world, and in the world to come, let him strain a rope towards heaven, then let him put an end to his life, and see whether his devices can render that ineffectual, for which he was angry[c] Thus do we send down *the Korân, being* evident signs, for GOD directeth whom he pleaseth As *to* the true believers and those who Judaize, and the Sabians, and the Christians, and the Magians and the idolaters, verily GOD shall judge between them on the day of resurrection for GOD is witness of all things Dost thou not perceive that all *creatures* both in heaven and on earth adore GOD[d] and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the mountains, and the trees, and the beasts, and many men? But many are worthy of chastisement and whomsoever GOD shall render despicable, there shall be none to honour, for GOD doth that which he pleaseth These are two

[a] The person here meant it is said was Abu Jahl[1] a principal man among the Koreish and a most inveterate enemy of Mohammed and his religion His true name was Amru Ebn Heshâm of the family of Makhzûm and he was surnamed Abu'lhcm, i e *the father of wisdom* which was afterwards changed into Abu Jahl or *the father of folly* He was slain in the battle of Bedr[2]

[b] This expression alludes to one who being posted in the skirts of an army if he sees the victory inclining to his own side stands his ground but if the enemy is likely to prevail, takes to his heel

The passage they say was revealed on account of certain Arabs of the desert who came to Medina, and having professed Mohammedism were well enough pleased with it so long as their affairs prospered but if they met with any adversity were sure to lay the blame on their new religion A tradition of Abu Saîd mentions another accident as the occasion of this passage viz that a certain Jew embraced Islâm but afterwards taking a dislike to it on account of some misfortunes which had befallen him went to Mohammed and desired he might renounce it and be freed from the obligations of it but the prophet told him that no such thing was allowed in his religion[3]

[c] Or *Let him tie a rope to the roof of his house and hang himself* that is let him carry his anger and resentment to ever so great a height even to be driven to the most desperate extremities and see whether with all his endeavours he will be able to intercept the divine assistance[4]

[d] Confessing his power and obeying his supreme command

[1] Jallalo'ddin [2] See chapter 8 p 133 [3] Al Beidâwi [4] Idem.

opposite parties, who dispute concerning their LORD.[e] And they who believe not, shall have garments of fire fitted unto them: boiling water shall be poured on their heads; their bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and *also* their skins; and they shall *be beaten* with maces of iron. So often as they shall endeavour to get out of *hell*, because of the anguish *of their torments*, they shall be dragged back into the same; and *their tormentors shall say unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning. GOD will introduce those who shall believe, and act righteously, into gardens through which rivers flow: they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and pearls; and their vestures therein shall be silk. They are directed unto a good saying;[f] and are directed into the honourable way. But they who shall disbelieve, and obstruct the way of GOD, and *hinder men from visiting* the holy temple *of Mecca*, which we have appointed *for a place of worship* unto *all* men: the inhabitant thereof, and the stranger *have an* equal *right to visit it*: and whosoever shall seek impiously to profane it, we will cause him to taste a grievous torment. *Call to mind* when we gave the site of the house *of the Caaba* for an abode unto Abraham,[g] *saying*, Do not associate anything with me, and cleanse my house for those who compass *it*, and who stand up, and who bow down to worship. And proclaim unto the people a solemn pilgrimage;[h] let them come unto thee on foot, and on every lean *camel*, arriving from every distant road; that they may be witnesses of the advantages which accrue to them *from the visiting this holy place*,[i] and may commemorate the name of GOD on the appointed days,[j] *in gratitude* for the brute cattle which he hath bestowed on them. Wherefore eat thereof, and feed the needy, *and* the poor. Afterwards let them put an end to the neglect of their persons;[k] and let them pay their vows,[l]

[e] *viz.*, The true believers, and the infidels. The passage is said to have been revealed on occasion of a dispute between the Jews and the Mohammedans, the former insisting that they were in greater favour with GOD, their prophet and revelations being prior to those of the latter; and the others replying, that they were more in GOD'S favour, for that they believed not only in Moses but also in Mohammed, and in all the scriptures without exception, whereas the Jews rejected Mohammed though they knew him to be a prophet, out of envy.[1]

[f] *viz.*, The profession of GOD'S unity; or these words, which they shall use at their entrance into paradise: *Praise be unto* GOD, *who hath fulfilled his promise unto us.*[2]

[g] *i.e.*, For a place of religious worship, showing him the spot where it had stood, and also the model of the old building, which had been taken up to heaven at the flood.[3]

[h] It is related that Abraham, in obedience to this command, went up to Mount Abu kobeis, near Mecca, and cried from thence, *O men, perform the pilgrimage to the house of your* LORD; and that GOD caused those who were then in the loins of their fathers, and the wombs of their mothers, from east to west, and who, he knew beforehand, would perform the pilgrimage, to hear his voice. Some say, however, that these words were directed to Mohammed, commanding him to proclaim the pilgrimage of valediction;[4] according to which exposition the passage must have been revealed at Medina.

[i] *viz.*, The temporal advantage made by the great trade driven at Mecca during the pilgrimage, and the spiritual advantage of having performed so meritorious a work.

[j] Namely, The ten first days of Dhu'lhajja; or the tenth day of the same month, on which they slay the sacrifices, and the three following days.[5]

[k] By shaving their heads, and other parts of their bodies, and cutting their beards and nails in the valley of Mina, which the pilgrims are not allowed to do from the time they become Mohrims, and have solemnly dedicated themselves to the performance of the pilgrimage, till they have finished the ceremonies, and slain their victims.[6]

[l] By doing the good works which they have vowed to do in their pilgrimage. Some understand the words only of the performance of the requisite ceremonies.

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. Jallalo'ddin. [6] Idem. See [illegible] p. 14, chapter 5, p. 85, and Bobov. de Peregr. Meccana, p. 15, &c.

and compass the ancient house[m] This *let them do* And whoever shall regard the sacred ordinances of GOD;[n] this will be better for him in the sight of his LORD *All sorts of* cattle are allowed you *to eat*, except what hath been read unto you, *in former passages of the Korân, to be forbidden.* But depart from the abomination of idols, and avoid speaking that which is false,[o] being orthodox in respect to GOD, associating *no other god* with him, for whoever associateth *any other* with GOD, is like that which falleth from heaven, and which the birds snatch away, or the wind bloweth to a far distant place.[p] This *is so*. And whoso maketh valuable offerings unto GOD;[q] verily they *proceed* from the piety of *men's* hearts Ye receive various advantages from the *cattle designed for sacrifices*, until a determined time *for slaying them*, then the place of sacrificing them *is* at the ancient house. Unto the possessors of every religion[r] have we appointed certain rites, that they may commemorate the name of GOD on *slaying* the brute cattle which he hath provided for them Your GOD is one GOD wherefore resign yourselves *wholly* unto him. And do thou bear good tidings unto those who humble themselves; whose hearts, when mention is made of GOD, are struck with fear, and *unto* those who patiently endure that which befalleth them, and who duly perform their prayers, and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them The camels *slain for sacrifice* have we appointed for you as symbols of your obedience unto GOD ye *also* receive *other* advantages from them Wherefore commemorate the name of GOD over them, *when ye slay them*, standing on their feet disposed in right order[s] and when they are fallen down *dead*, eat of them; and give to eat *thereof both* unto him who is content *with what is given him, without asking*, and unto him who asketh[t] Thus have we given you

[m] *i e*, The Caaba, which the Mohammedans pretend was the first edifice built and appointed for the worship of GOD[1] The going round this chapel is a principal ceremony of the pilgrimage, and is often repeated, but the last time of their doing it, when they take their farewell of the temple, seems to be more particularly meant in this place

[n] By observing what he has commanded, and avoiding what he has forbidden, or, as the words also signify, *Whoever shall honour what God hath forbidden*, or commanded not to be profaned, as the temple and territory of Mecca, and the sacred months, &c

[o] Either by asserting wrong and impious things of the Deity, or by bearing false witness against your neighbours

[p] Because he who falls into idolatry, sinketh from the height of faith into the depth of infidelity, has his thoughts distracted by wicked lusts, and is hurried by the devil into the most absurd errors[2]

[q] By choosing a well-favoured and costly victim in honour of him to whom it is destined They say Mohammed once offered a hundred fat camels and among them one which had belonged to Abu Jahl, having in his nose a ring of gold and that Omar offered a noble camel, for which he had been bid three hundred *dinars*[3]

The original may also be translated generally, *Whoso regardeth the rites of the pilgrimage*, &c But the *victims* seem to be more particularly intended in this place

[r] Jallalo'ddin understands this passage in a restrained sense, of the former nations who were true believers to whom God appointed a sacrifice, and a fixed place and proper ceremonies for the offering of it

[s] That is, as some expound the word, standing on three feet, having one of their fore feet tied up, which is the manner of tying camels to prevent their moving from the place Some copies instead of *sawâffa* read *sawâffena*, from the verb *safana*, which properly signifies the posture of a horse, when he stands on three feet the edge of the fourth only touching the ground.

[t] Or, as the words may also be rendered, *Unto him who asketh in a modest and humble manner, and unto him who wanteth but dareth not ask*

[1] See chapter 3, p 42, and the Prelim Disc Sect IV [2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem.

dominion over them, that ye might return *us* thanks. Their flesh is not accepted of GOD, neither their blood; but your piety is accepted of him. Thus have we given you dominion over them, that ye might magnify GOD, for *the revelations* whereby he hath directed you. And bear good tidings unto the righteous, that GOD will repel *the ill designs of the infidels* from the true believers; for GOD loveth not every perfidious unbeliever. Permission is granted unto those who take arms *against the unbelievers*, for that they have been unjustly persecuted *by them*: (and GOD is certainly able to assist them.) who have been turned out of their habitations injuriously, *and for no other reason* than because they say, Our LORD is GOD[u] And if GOD did not repel *the violence of* some men by others, verily monasteries, and churches, and synagogues, and the temples *of the Moslems*, wherein the name of GOD is frequently commemorated, would be utterly demolished[x] And GOD will certainly assist him who shall be on his side. for GOD *is* strong *and* mighty *And he will assist those* who, if we establish them in the earth, will observe prayer, and give alms, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is unjust. And unto GOD *shall be* the end of *all* things If they accuse thee, *O Mohammed*, of imposture, *consider that*, before them, the people of Noah, and *the tribes of* Ad and Thamud, and the people of Abraham, and the people of Lot, and the inhabitants of Madian, accused *their prophets* of imposture: and Moses was also charged with falsehood And I granted a long respite unto the unbelievers. *but* afterwards I chastised them, and how *different* was the change I made *in their condition!* How many cities have we destroyed, which were ungodly, and which *are now* fallen to ruin on their roofs? And *how many* wells have been abandoned,[y] and lofty castles? Do they not therefore journey through the land? And have they not hearts to understand with, or ears to hear with? Surely as to these things *their* eyes are not blind, but the hearts are blind which *are* in *their* breasts. They will urge thee to hasten the *threatened* punishment; but GOD will not fail *to perform* what he hath threatened. and verily *one* day with thy LORD *is* as a thousand years, of those which ye compute.[z] Unto how many cities have I granted respite, though they were wicked? Yet afterwards I chastised them and unto me shall they come *to be judged, at the last day.* Say, O men, verily I am only a

[u] This was the first passage of the Korân which allowed Mohammed and his followers to defend themselves against their enemies by force, and was revealed a little before the flight to Medina, till which time the prophet had exhorted his Moslems to suffer the injuries offered them with patience, which is also commanded in above seventy different places of the Korân[1]

[x] That is, The public exercise of any religion, whether true or false, is supported only by force; and therefore, as Mohammed would argue, the true religion must be established by the same means.

[y] That is, How many spots in the deserts, which were formerly inhabited, are now abandoned? a neglected well being the proper sign of such a deserted dwelling in those parts, as ruins are of a demolished town.

Some imagine that this passage intends more particularly a well at the foot of a certain hill in the province of Hadramaut, and a castle built on the top of the same hill, both belonging to the people of Handha Ebn Safwân, a remnant of the Thamudites, who having killed their prophet, were utterly destroyed by GOD, and their dwelling abandoned[2]

[z] See 2 Pet iii 8

[1] Vide the Prelim Disc. Sect. II p. 38, &c. [2] Idem

public preacher unto you. And they who believe, and do good works, shall obtain forgiveness and an honourable provision. But those who endeavour to make our signs of none effect, *shall be* the inhabitants of hell. We have sent no apostle, or prophet, before thee, but, when he read, Satan suggested *some error* in his reading[a]. But GOD shall make void that which Satan hath suggested: then shall GOD confirm his signs; for GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. *But this he permitteth*, that he may make that which Satan hath suggested, a temptation unto those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, and whose hearts are hardened (for the ungodly are certainly in a wide disagreement *from the truth*): and that they on whom knowledge hath been bestowed, may know that *this book* is the truth from thy LORD, and may believe therein; and that their hearts may acquiesce in the same: for GOD *is* surely the director of those who believe, into the right way. But the infidels will not cease to doubt concerning it, until the hour *of judgment* cometh suddenly upon them; or until the punishment of a grievous day[b] overtake them. On that day the kingdom shall be GOD'S: he shall judge between them. And they who shall have believed, and shall have wrought righteousness, *shall be* in gardens of pleasure: but they who shall have disbelieved, and shall have charged our signs with falsehood, those shall suffer a shameful punishment. And *as to those* who shall have fled their country for the sake of GOD'S true religion, and afterwards shall have been slain, or shall have died, on them will GOD bestow an excellent provision; and GOD is the best provider. He will surely introduce them with an introduction with which they shall be well pleased: for GOD *is* knowing *and* gracious. This *is so*. Whoever shall take a vengeance equal to the injury which hath been done him,[c] and shall afterwards be unjustly treated,[d] verily GOD will assist him: for GOD *is* merciful, *and* ready to forgive. This *shall be done*, for that GOD causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night; and for that GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth. This, because GOD is truth, and because what they invoke besides him is

[a] The occasion of the passage is thus related. Mohammed one day reading the 53rd chapter of the Korân, when he came to this verse, *What think ye of* Allât *and* al Uzza, *and of* Manâh *the other third goddess?* the devil put the following words into his mouth, which he pronounced through inadvertence, or, as some tell us, because he was then half asleep, viz. *These are the most high and beauteous damsels, whose intercession is to be hoped for.* The Koreish, who were sitting near Mohammed, greatly rejoiced at what they had heard, and when he had finished the chapter, joined with him and his followers in making their adoration: but the prophet, being acquainted by the angel Gabriel with the reason of their compliance, and with what he had uttered, was deeply concerned at his mistake, till this verse was revealed for his consolation.[1]

We are told however by Al Beidâwi, that the more intelligent and accurate persons reject the aforesaid story; and the verb here translated *read*, signifying also *to wish for* anything, interpret the passage of the suggestions of the devil to debauch the affections of those holy persons, or to employ their minds in vain wishes and desires.

[b] Or, *a day which maketh childless*; by which some great misfortune in war is expressed, as the overthrow the infidels received at Bedr. Some suppose the resurrection is here intended.

[c] And shall not take a more severe revenge than the fact deserves.

[d] By the aggressor's seeking to revenge himself again of the person injured, by offering him some further violence.

The passage seems to relate to the vengeance which the Moslems should take of the infidels, for their unjust persecution of them.

Yahya.

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, &c. See chapter 16, p. 203.

vanity, and for that GOD is the high, the mighty Dost thou not see that GOD sendeth down water from heaven, and the earth becometh green? for GOD *is* gracious *and* wise Unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth and GOD is self sufficient, worthy to be praised Dost thou not see that GOD hath subjected whatever is in the earth to your service and *also* the ships which sail in the sea, by his command? And he withholdeth the heaven that it fall not on the earth, unless by his permission [e] for GOD *is* gracious unto mankind, *and* merciful It is he who hath given you life, and will hereafter cause you to die afterwards he will *ag n* raise you to life, *at the resurrection* but man *is* surely ungrateful! Unto the professors of every religion have we appointed certain rites which they observe Let them not therefore dispute with thee concerning *this* matter, but invite *them* unto thy LORD for thou followest the right direction. But if they enter into debate with thee answer GOD well knoweth that which ye do GOD will judge between you on the day of resurrection concerning that wherein ye *now* disagree Dost thou not know that GOD knoweth whatever is in heaven and on earth? Verily this *is written* in the book *of his decrees* this is easy with GOD They worship besides GOD that concerning which he hath sent down onvincing p f u d concerning which they have no knowledge but the unjust doers shall have none to assist them And when our evident signs are rehearsed unto them, thou mayest perceive in the countenances of the unbelievers a disdain *thereof* it wanteth little but that they rush with violence on those who rehearse our signs unto them Say, Shall I declare unto you a worse thing than this? The fire *of hell* which GOD hath threatened unto those who believe not *is worse*, and an unhappy journey *shall it be thither* O men, a parable is propounded *unto you* wherefore hearken unto it Verily *the idols* which ye invoke besides GOD can never create a single fly although they were *all* assembled for that *purpose* and if the fly snatch anything from them they cannot recover the same from it [f] Weak is the petitioner and the petitioned They judge not of GOD according to his due estimation for GOD *is* powerful *and* mighty God chooseth messengers from among the angels,[g] and from among men for God *is* he who heareth *and* seeth He knoweth that which is before them and that which is behind them and unto GOD shall *all* things return. O true believers, bow down and prostrate yourselves and worship your LORD and work righteousness, that ye may be happy and fight in defence of GOD's true religion, as it behoveth *you* to fight for the same He hath chosen you, and hath not imposed on you any difficulty in the religion

[e] Which t will do at the last day

[f] The commentators say that the Arabs used to anoint the images of their gods with some odoriferous compo tion and with honey which the flies eat though the doors of the temple were carefully h t getting i at the windows or crevices

Perhaps Mohammed took this argument from the Jews, who pretend that the temple of Jerusalem and the sacrifices there offered to the true GOD were never annoyed by flies [1] whereas swarms of those insects infested the heathen temples being drawn thither by the eam of the sac fices [2]

[g] Who r the bearers of the divine revelations to the prophets but ought not to be the bject r orship

[1] Pirke Aboth c. 5 Sect 6 7 [2] Vide Selden de Dus Syris Synt 2 c. 6.

which he hath given you, the religion of your father Abraham he hath named you Moslems heretofore, and in this *book*, that *our* apostle may be a witness against you *at the day of judgment*, and that ye may be witnesses against *the rest of* mankind Wherefore be ye constant at prayer, and give alms and adhere firmly unto GOD. He is your master, and he is the best master, and the best protector

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CHAPTER XXIII

ENTITLED, THE TRUE BELIEVERS, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

(XVIII) NOW are the true believers happy who humble themselves in their prayer and who eschew *all* vain discourse, and who *are* doers of alms deeds and who keep themselves from carnal knowledge *of any women* except their wives or the captives which their right hands possess (for *as to them* they shall be blameless but whoever coveteth any *woman* beyond these they *are* transgressors and who acquit themselves faithfully of their trust, and *justly perform* their covenant and who observe their *appointed times of* prayer) these shall be the heirs who shall inherit paradise they shall continue therein for ever We formerly created man of a finer sort of clay afterwards we placed him *in the form of* seed in a sure receptacle [h] afterwards we made the seed coagulated blood and we formed the coagulated blood into a piece of flesh then we formed the piece of flesh into bones and we clothed those bones with flesh then we produced the same by another creation [i] Wherefore blessed be GOD, the most excellent Creator [j] After this shall ye die and afterwards shall ye be restored to life, on the day of resurrection And we have created over you seven heavens [k] and we are not negligent of what we have created And we send down rain from heaven, by measure, and we cause it to remain on the earth we are also certainly able to deprive you of the same And we cause gardens of palm trees, and vineyards, to spring forth for you by means thereof, wherein ye have many fruits and whereof ye eat And *we also raise for you* a tree springing from Mount Sinai,[l] which produceth oil, and

[h] *viz* The womb.

[i] *i e* Producing a perfect man composed of soul and body

[j] See chapter 6 p 97 note [e]

[k] Literally *seven paths* by which the heavens are meant, because according to some expositors they are the *paths* of the angels and of the celestial bodies though the original word also signifies things which are *folded* or *placed like stories* one above another as the Mohammedans suppose the heavens to be

[l] *viz* The olive The garden near this mountain are yet famous for the excellent fruit trees of almost all sorts which grow there

Vide Voyages de Thevenot liv 2, ch. 9

a sauce for those who eat Ye have likewise an instruction in the cattle we give you to drink of the *milk* which *is* in their bellies, and ye receive many advantages from them, and of them do ye eat and on them, and on ships, are ye carried [m] We sent Noah heretofore unto his people, and he said, O my people, serve GOD ye have no GOD besides him, will ye not therefore fear *the consequence of your worshipping other gods?* And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, said, This is no other than a man, as ye are he seeketh to raise himself to a superiority over you If GOD had pleased *to have sent a messenger unto you*, he would surely have sent angels we have not heard this of our forefathers Verily he is no other than a man *disturbed* with frenzy wherefore wait concerning him for a time *Noah* said, O LORD, do thou protect me, for that they accuse me of falsehood And we revealed *our orders* unto him, *saying*, Make the ark in our sight, and *according to* our revelation And when our decree cometh *to be executed*, and the oven shall boil *and pour forth water*, carry into it of every *species of animals* one pair, and also thy family, except such of them on whom a previous sentence *of destruction* hath passed [n] and speak not unto me in behalf of those who have been unjust for they *shall be* drowned. And when thou and they who *shall be* with thee, shall go up into the ark, say, Praise be unto GOD who hath delivered us from the ungodly people! And say, O LORD, cause me to come down *from this ark* with a blessed descent for thou art best able to bring me down *from the same with safety* Verily herein *were* signs *of our omnipotence*, and we proved *mankind thereby* Afterwards we raised up another generation [o] after them, and we sent unto them an apostle from among them,[p] *who said*, Worship GOD ye have no GOD besides him will ye not therefore fear *his vengeance?* And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, and who denied the meeting of the life to come, and on whom we had bestowed affluence in this present life, said, This is no other than a man, as ye are he eateth of that whereof ye eat, and he drinketh of that whereof ye drink and if ye obey a man like unto yourselves, ye will surely be sufferers Doth he threaten you that after ye shall be dead, and shall become dust and bones, ye shall be brought forth *alive from your graves?* Away, away with that ye are threatened with There is *no other life* besides our present life we die, and we live and we shall not be raised again This is no other than a man, who deviseth a lie concerning GOD but we will not believe him *Their apostle* said, O LORD, defend me, for that they have accused me of imposture *God* answered, After a little while they shall surely repent *their obstinacy* Wherefore a severe punishment was justly inflicted on them, and we rendered them *like* the refuse *which is carried down by a stream* Away therefore with the ungodly people! Afterwards we raised up other generations [q] after

[m] The beast more particularly meant in this place is the camel which is chiefly used for carriage in the east being called by the Arabs the *land ship* on which they pass those *seas of sand* the deserts

[n] See chapter 11 p. 160 &c.

[o] Namely the tribe of Ad or of Thamud

[p] *viz*, The prophet Hûd or Sâleh

[q] As the Sodomites Midianites, &c

them No nation shall be punished before their determined time. neither shall they be respited *after* Afterwards we sent our apostles, one after another. So often as their apostle came unto any nation they charged him with imposture and we caused them successively to follow one another *to destruction*, and we made them *only subjects of* traditional stories Away therefore with the unbelieving nations! Afterwards we sent Moses, and Aaron his brother, with our signs and manifest power, unto Pharaoh and his princes but they proudly refused *to believe on him*, for they were a haughty people And they said, Shall we believe on two men like unto ourselves, whose people are our servants? And they accused them of imposture wherefore they became of *the number of* those who were destroyed And we heretofore gave the book *of the law* unto Moses, that *the children of Israel* might be directed *thereby* And we appointed the son of Mary, and his mother, for a sign and we prepared an abode for them in an elevated part of the earth,[r] being *a place* of quiet *and security, and* watered with running springs O apostles, eat of those things which are good,[s] and work righteousness for I well know that which ye do This your religion is one religion[t], and I am your LORD wherefore fear me But *men* have rent the affair of their *religion* into various sects every party rejoiceth in that which they follow. Wherefore leave them in their confusion, until a certain time[u] Do they think that we hasten unto them the wealth and children which we have abundantly bestowed on them, for their good? But they do not understand Verily they who stand in awe, for fear of their LORD, and who believe in the signs of their LORD, and who attribute not companions unto their LORD, and who give that which they give *in alms*, their hearts being struck with dread, for that they must return unto their LORD these hasten unto good, and are foremost to *obtain* the same We will not impose any difficulty on a soul, except according to its ability, with us *is* a book, which speaketh the truth, and they shall not be injured But their hearts are *drowned* in negligence, as to this *matter*, and they have works different from those *we have mentioned*, which they will continue to do, until, when we chastise such of them as enjoy an affluence of fortune, by a *severe* punishment,[x] behold, they cry aloud for help *but it shall be*

[r] The commentators tell us the place here intended is Jerusalem or Damascus or Ramlah or Palestine or Egypt[1]
But perhaps the passage means the hill to which the Virgin Mary retired to be delivered according to the Mohammedan tradition[2]

[s] These words are addressed to the apostles in general to whom it was permitted to eat of all clean and wholesome food and were spoken to them severally at the time of their respective mission Some however think them directed particularly to the Virgin Mary and JESUS or singly to the latter (in which case the plural number must be used out of respect only) proposing the practice of the prophets for their imitation Mohammed probably designed in this passage to condemn the abstinence observed by the Christian monks.[3]

[t] See chapter 21 p 248

[u] *i e* Till they shall be slain or shall die a natural death

[x] By which is intended either the overthrow at Bedr where several of the chief Koreishites lost their lives or the famine with which the Meccans were afflicted, at the prayer of the prophet conceived in these words O God *set thy foot strongly on* Modar (an ancestor of the Koreish) *and give them years like the years of* Joseph whereupon so great a dearth ensued, that they were obliged to feed on dogs carrion, and burnt bones.[4]

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo ddin. [2] See chapter 19 p. 228. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem.

answered them, Cry not for help to-day for ye shall not be assisted by us. My signs were read unto you, but ye turned back on your heels proudly elating yourselves because of *your possessing the holy temple*, discoursing together by night, *and* talking foolishly Do they not therefore attentively consider that which is spoken *unto them*, whether *a revelation* is come unto them which came not unto their forefathers? Or do they not know their apostle and therefore reject him? Or do they say, He is a madman? Nay, he hath come unto them with the truth but the greater part of them detest the truth If the truth had followed their desires verily the heavens and the earth and whoever therein *is*, had been corrupted[y] But we have brought them their admonition and they turn aside from their admonition Dost thou ask of them any maintenance *for thy preaching*? since the maintenance of thy LORD is better for he is the most bounteous provider Thou certainly invitest them to the right way and they who believe not in the life to come, do surely deviate from *that* way If we had had compassion on them and had taken off from them the calamity which had befallen them[z] they would surely have more obstinately persisted in their error wandering *in confusion* We formerly chastised them with a punishment[a] yet they did not humble themselves before their LORD neither did they make supplications *unto him*, until when we have opened upon them a door, from which a severe punishment[b] *hath issued* behold they are driven to despair thereat It is *God* who hath created in you *the senses of* hearing and *of* sight *that ye may perceive our judgments* and hearts *that ye may seriously consider them* *yet* how few of you give thanks! It is he who hath produced you in the earth and before him shall ye be assembled It is he who giveth life and putteth to death and to him *is to be attributed* the vicissitude of night and day do ye not therefore understand? But the *unbelieving Meccans* say as *their* predecessors said they say When we shall be dead and shall have become dust and bones shall we really be raised to life? We have already been threatened with this, and our fathers also heretofore this is nothing but fables of the ancients Say, Whose is the earth and whoever therein *is* if ye know? They will answer GOD'S Say, Will ye not therefore consider? Say, Who is the LORD of the seven heavens and the LORD of the magnificent throne? They will answer, *They are* GOD'S Say Will ye not therefore fear *him*? Say In whose hand is the kingdom of all things who protecteth *whom he pleaseth*, but is himself protected of none, if ye know? They will answer, *In* GOD'S Say, How therefore are ye bewitched? Yea,

y That is, If there had been a plurality of gods as the idolaters contend[1] or if the doctrine taught by Mohammed had been agreeable to their inclinations &c.

z *viz* The famine. It is said that the Meccans being reduced to eat ilhiz which is a sort of miserable food made of blood and camels hair used by the Arabs in time of scarcity Abu Sofiân came to Mohammed and said *Tell me I adjure thee by God and the relation that is between us, dost thou think thou art sent as a mercy unto all creatures, since thou hast slain the fathers with the sword and the children with hunger?*[2]

a Namely the slaughter at Bedr

b *viz* Famine which is more terrible than the calamities of war[3]

According to these explications the passage must have been revealed at Medina; unless be taken in a prophetical sense

[1] See chapter 21 p 243. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem.

we have brought them the truth, and they are certainly liars *in denying the same*. GOD hath not begotten issue; neither is there any *other* god with him: otherwise every god had surely taken away that which he had created,[c] and some of them had exalted themselves above the others.[d] Far be that from GOD, which they affirm of *him*. He knoweth that which is concealed, and that which is made public: wherefore far be it from him *to have those sharers in his honour* which they attribute to him! Say, O LORD, If thou wilt surely cause me to see *the vengeance* with which they have been threatened; O LORD, set me not among the ungodly people: for we are surely able to make thee to see that with which we have threatened them. Turn aside evil with that which is better:[e] we well know *the calumnies* which they utter *against thee*. And say, O LORD, I fly unto thee for refuge, against the suggestions of the devils: and I have recourse unto thee, O LORD, *to drive them away*, that they be not present with me.[f] *The gainsaying of the unbelievers ceaseth not* until, when death overtaketh any of them, he saith, O LORD, suffer me to return *to life*, that I may do that which is right, in *professing the true faith* which I have neglected.[g] By no means. Verily these are the words which he shall speak: but behind them there shall be a bar,[h] until the day of resurrection. When therefore the trumpet shall be sounded, there shall be no relation between them *which shall be regarded* on that day; neither shall they ask *assistance* of each other. They whose balances shall be heavy *with good works*, shall be happy: but they whose balances shall be light, are those who shall lose their souls, *and* shall remain in hell for ever.[i] The fire shall scorch their faces, and they shall writhe their mouths therein *for anguish*: *and it shall be said unto them*, Were not my signs rehearsed unto you? and did ye not charge them with falsehood? They shall answer, O LORD, our unhappiness prevailed over us, and we were people who went astray. O LORD, take us forth from this *fire*: if we return *to our*

[c] And set up a distinct creation and kingdom of his own.

[d] See chapter 17, p. 210.

[e] That is, By forgiving injuries, and returning of good for them: which rule is to be qualified, however, with this proviso, that the true religion receive no prejudice by such mildness and clemency.[1]

[f] To besiege me: or, as it may also be translated, *That they be not present with me.*

[g] Or, as the word may also import, *In the world which I have left*; that is, during the further term of life which shall be granted me, and from which I have been cut off.[2]

[h] The original word barzakh, here translated *bar*, primarily signifies any partition or interstice which divides one thing from another: but is used by the Arabs not always in the same, and sometimes in an obscure sense. They seem generally to express by it what the Greeks did by the word Hades; one while using it for the place of the dead, another while for the time of their continuance in that state, and another while for the state itself. It is defined by their critics to be the interval or space between this world and the next, or between death and the resurrection: every person who dies being said to enter into al Barzakh, or, as the Greek expresses it, καταβηναι εις ᾳδου.[3] One lexicographer[4] tells us that in the Korân it denotes the grave: but the commentators on this passage expound it a bar, or invincible obstacle, cutting off all possibility of return into the world after death. See chapter 25, where the word again occurs.

Some interpreters understand the words we have rendered behind them to mean before them (it being one of those words of which there are several in the Arabic tongue that have direct contrary significations), considering al Barzakh as a future space and lying before and not behind them.

[i] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV, p. 60.

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] Vide Pocock not. in Port. Mosis, p. 248, &c., and the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 60. [4] Ebn Maruf, apud Gol. Lex. Arab. col. 254.

former wickedness, we shall surely be unjust *God* will say *unto them* Be ye driven away with ignominy thereinto and speak not unto me *to deliver you* Verily there were a party of my servants, who said, O LORD, we believe wherefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us; for thou art the best of those who show mercy But ye received them with scoffs, so that they suffered you to forget my admonition,[j] and ye laughed them to scorn I have this day rewarded them, for that they suffered *the injuries ye offered them* with patience verily they enjoy great felicity *God* will say, What number of years have ye continued on earth? They will answer, We have continued *there* a day, or part of a day[k] but ask those who keep account.[l] *God* will say, Ye have tarried but a little, if ye knew *it* Did ye think that we had created you in sport and that ye should not be brought again before us? Wherefore let GOD be exalted the King, the Truth! There is no GOD besides him, the LORD of the honourable throne Whoever together with *the true* GOD shall invoke another god, concerning whom he hath no demonstrative proof, shall surely be brought to an account for the same before his LORD Verily the infidels shall not prosper Say, O LORD, pardon, and show mercy for thou art the best of those who show mercy

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CHAPTER XXIV

ENTITLED, LIGHT[m] REVEALED AT MEDINA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THIS Sura have we sent down *from heaven*, and have ratified the same and we have revealed therein evident signs, that ye may be warned The whore, and the whoremonger, shall ye scourge with an hundred stripes[n] And let not compassion towards them prevent you from *executing* the judgment of GOD,[o] if ye believe in GOD

[j] Being unable to prevail on you by their remonstrances because of the contempt wherein ye held them

[k] The time will seem thus short to them in comparison to the eternal duration of their torments or because the time of their living in the world was the time of their joy and pleasure it being usual for the Arabs to describe what they like as of short and what they dislike as of long continuance

[l] That is, the angels who keep account of the length of men's lives and of their works or any other who may have leisure to compute and not us whose torments distract our thoughts and attention

[m] This title is taken from an allegorical comparison made between light and GOD, or faith in him about the middle of the chapter

[n] This law is not to be understood to relate to married people who are of free condition, because adultery in such according to the Sonna is to be punished by stoning[1]

[o] *i e*, Be not moved by pity either to forgive the offenders, or to mitigate their punishment. Mohammed was for so strict and impartial an execution of the laws that he is reported to have said, *If* Fâtema *the daughter of* Mohammed *steal let her hand be struck off*[2]

[1] See chapter 4 p 55 and 57 [2] Al Beidâwi

and the last day: and let some of the true believers be witnesses of their punishment.[p] The whoremonger shall not marry *any other* than a harlot, or an idolatress. And a harlot shall no *man* take in marriage, except a whoremonger, or an idolater. And this *kind of marriage* is forbidden the true believers.[q] But *as to* those who accuse women of reputation *of whoredom*,[r] and produce not four witnesses *of the fact*,[s] scourge them with fourscore stripes, and receive not their testimony for ever; for such are infamous prevaricators: excepting those who shall afterwards repent, and amend; for *unto such will* GOD *be* gracious *and* merciful. They who shall accuse *their wives* of adultery, and shall have no witnesses *thereof* besides themselves; the testimony *which shall be required* of one of them *shall be*, that he swear four times by GOD that he speaketh the truth: and the fifth *time that he imprecate* the curse of GOD on him, if he be a liar. And it shall avert the punishment from *the wife*, if she swear four times by GOD that he is a liar, and if the fifth *time she imprecate* the wrath of GOD on her, if he speaketh the truth.[t] If *it were* not *for* the indulgence of God towards you, and his mercy, and that GOD is easy to be reconciled, *and* wise, *he would immediately discover your crimes. As to* the party among you who have published the falsehood *concerning Ayesha*,[u] think it not to be an evil

[p] That is, Let the punishment be inflicted in public, and not in private; because the ignominy of it is more intolerable than the smart, and more likely to work a reformation on the offender. Some say there ought to be three persons present at the least, but others think two, or even one, to be sufficient.[1]

[q] The preceding passage was revealed on account of the meaner and more indigent Mohâjerins, or refugees, who sought to marry the whores of the infidels, taken captives in war, for the sake of the gain which they made by prostituting themselves. Some think the prohibition was special, and regarded only the Mohâjerins before mentioned, and others are of opinion it was general; but it is agreed to have been abrogated by the words which follow in this chapter, *Marry the single women among you*, harlots being comprised under the appellation of *single women*.[2]

It is supposed by some that not *marriage*, but *unlawful commerce* with such women is here forbidden.

[r] The Arabic word, *mohsanât*, properly signifies *women of unblamable conduct*, but to bring the chastisement after mentioned on the calumniator, it is also requisite that they be free women, of ripe age, having their understandings perfect, and of the Mohammedan religion. Though the word be of the feminine gender, yet *men* are also supposed to be comprised in this law.

Abu Hanifa was of opinion that the slanderer ought to be scourged in public, as well as the fornicator; but the generality are against him.[3]

[s] See chapter 4, p. 55.

[t] In case both swear, the man's oath discharges him from the imputation and penalty of slander, and the woman's oath frees her from the imputation and penalty of adultery: but though the woman do swear to her innocence, yet the marriage is actually void, or ought to be declared void by the judge; because it is not fit they should continue together after they have come to these extremities.[4]

[u] For the understanding of this passage, it is necessary to relate the following story. Mohammed having undertaken an expedition against the tribe of Mostalek, in the sixth year of the Hejra, took his wife Ayesha with him, to accompany him. In their return, when they were not far from Medina, the army removing by night, Ayesha, on the road, alighted from her camel, and stepped aside on a private occasion: but, on her return, perceiving she had dropped her necklace, which was of onyxes of Dhafâr, she went back to look for it; and in the meantime her attendants, taking it for granted that she was got into her pavilion (or little tent surrounded with curtains, wherein women are carried in the east) set it again on the camel, and led it away. When she came back to the road, and saw her camel was gone, she sat down there, expecting that when she was missed some would be sent back to fetch her; and in a little time she fell asleep. Early in the morning, Safwân Ebn al Moattel, who had stayed behind to rest himself, coming by, and perceiving somebody asleep, went to see who it was, and knew her to be Ayesha; upon which he waked her, by twice pronounc

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. Jallalo'ddin. [3] Idem. [4] Idem.

unto you: on the contrary, it is better for you.[x] Every man of them *shall be punished* according to the injustice of which he hath been guilty;[y] and he among them who hath undertaken to aggravate the same,[z] shall suffer a grievous punishment. Did not the faithful men, and the faithful women, when ye heard this, judge in their own minds for the best; and say, This is a manifest falsehood? Have they produced four witnesses thereof? wherefore since they have not produced the witnesses, they are surely liars in the sight of GOD. *Had it not been for* the indulgence of GOD towards you, and his mercy, in this world and in that which is to come, verily a grievous punishment had been inflicted on you, for the *calumny* which ye have spread: when ye published that with your tongues, and spoke that with your mouths, of which ye had no knowledge; and esteemed it to be light, whereas it was a matter of importance in the sight of GOD. When ye heard it, did ye say, It belongeth not unto us, that we should talk of this *matter*: GOD forbid! this is a grievous calumny? GOD warneth you, that ye return not to the like *crime* for ever; if ye be true believers. And GOD declareth unto you *his* signs; for GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. Verily they who love that scandal be published of those who believe, shall receive a severe punishment *both* in this world, and in the next. GOD knoweth, but ye know not. *Had it* not *been for* the indulgence of GOD towards you, and his mercy, and that GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful, *ye had felt his vengeance.* O true believers, follow not the steps of the devil: for whosoever shall follow the steps of the devil, he will command him filthy crimes, and that which is unlawful. If *it were* not *for* the indulgence of GOD, and his mercy towards you, there had not been so much as one of you cleansed *from his guilt* for ever: but GOD cleanseth whom he pleaseth; for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Let not those among you who possess abundance *of wealth*, and *have* ability, swear that

ing with a low voice these words, *We are God's, and unto him must we return.* Then Ayesha immediately covered herself with her veil; and Safwân set her on his own camel, and led her after the army, which they overtook by noon, as they were resting.

This accident had like to have ruined Ayesha, whose reputation was publicly called in question, as if she had been guilty of adultery with Safwân; and Mohammed himself knew not what to think, when he reflected on the circumstances of the affair, which were improved by some malicious people very much to Ayesha's dishonour; and notwithstanding his wife's protestations of her innocence, he could not get rid of his perplexity, nor stop the mouths of the censorious, till about a month after, when this passage was revealed, declaring the accusation to be unjust.[1]

[x] The words are directed to the prophet, and to Abu Becr, Ayesha, and Safwân, the persons concerned in this false report, since, besides the amends they might expect in the next world, GOD had done them the honour to clear their reputations by revealing eighteen verses expressly for that purpose.[2]

[y] The persons concerned in spreading the scandal were Abd'allah Ebn Obba (who first raised it, and inflamed the matter to the utmost, out of hatred to Mohammed), Zeid Ebn Refâa, Hassân Ebn Thabet, Mestah Ebn Othâtha, a great-grandson of Abd'almotalleb's, and Hamna Bint Jahash; and every one of them received fourscore stripes, pursuant to the law ordained in this chapter, except only Abd'allah, who was exempted, being a man of great consideration.[3]

It is said that, as a farther punishment, Hassân and Mestah became blind, and that the former of them also lost the use of both his hands.[4]

[z] *viz.*, Abd'allah Ebn Obba, who had not the grace to become a true believer, but died an infidel.[5]

[1] Al Bokhari in Sonna, Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, &c. Vide Abu'lf. Vit. Moh. p. 82, &c., and Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, lib. 4, c. 7. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 82. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] See chapter 9, p. 144.

they will not give unto *their* kindred, and the poor, and those who have fled their country for the sake of GOD'S true religion: but let them forgive, and act with benevolence *towards them*. Do ye not desire that GOD should pardon you?[a] And GOD *is* gracious and merciful. Moreover they who falsely accuse modest women, who behave in a negligent manner,[b] *and are* true believers, shall be cursed in this world, and *in* the world to come, and they shall suffer a severe punishment.[c] One day their own tongues shall bear witness against them, and their hands, and their feet, concerning that which they have done. On that day shall GOD render unto them their just due; and they shall know that GOD is the evident truth. The wicked women *should be joined* to the wicked men, and the wicked men to the wicked women, but the good women *should be married* to the good men, and the good men to the good women These shall be cleared from *the calumnies* which *slanderers* speak *of them*.[d] they shall obtain pardon, and an honourable provision. O true believers, enter not any houses, besides your own houses, until ye have asked leave, and have saluted the family thereof[e] this *is* better for you, peradventure ye will be admonished. And if ye shall find no person in the *houses*, yet do not enter them, until leave be granted you and if it be said unto you, Return back, do ye return back This *will be* more decent for you;[f] and GOD knoweth that which ye do It shall be no crime in you, that ye enter uninhabited houses,[g] wherein ye may meet with a convenience. GOD knoweth that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal Speak unto the true believers, that they restrain their eyes, and keep themselves from immodest actions. this will be more pure for them, for GOD is well acquainted with that which they do And speak unto the believing women, that they restrain their eyes, and preserve their modesty, and discover not their

[a] This passage was revealed on account of Abu Becr who swore that he would not for the future bestow anything on Mestah, though he was his mother's sister's son, and a poor Mohâjer or refugee, because he had joined in scandalizing his daughter Ayesha But on Mohammed's reading this verse to him, he continued Mestah's pension[1]

[b] *i e*, Who may be less careful in their conduct, and more free in their behaviour, as being conscious of no ill

[c] Though the words be general, yet they principally regard those who should calumniate the prophet's wives According to a saying of Ebn Abbas, if the threats contained in the whole Korân be examined, there are none so severe as those occasioned by the false accusation of Ayesha; wherefore he thought even repentance would stand her slanderers in no stead[2]

[d] Al Beidâwi observes, on this passage, that GOD cleared four persons by four extraordinary testimonies for he cleared Joseph by the testimony of a child in his mistress's family[3] Moses, by means of the stone which fled away with his garments,[4] Mary by the testimony of her infant,[5] and Ayesha, by these verses of the Korân

[e] To enter suddenly or abruptly into any man's house or apartment, is reckoned a great incivility in the east; because a person may possibly be surprised in an indecent action or posture, or may have something discovered which he would conceal It is said, that a man came to Mohammed, and wanted to know whether he must ask leave to go in to his sister; which being answered in the affirmative, he told the prophet that his sister had nobody else to attend upon her, and it would be troublesome to ask leave every time he went in to her *What*, replied Mohammed, *wouldest thou see her naked?*[6]

[f] Than to be importunate for admission, or to wait at the door

[g] *i e*, Which are not the private habitation of a family; such as public inns, shops sheds, &c

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Al Beidâwi [3] See chapter 12, p 172 [4] See chapter 2, p. 7, and chapter 33 [5] See chapter 19, p. seq. [6] Al Beidâwi.

ornaments,[h] except what *necessarily* appeareth thereof:[i] and let them throw their veils over their bosoms,[j] and not show their ornaments, unless to their husbands,[k] or their fathers, or their husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their husbands' sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons,[l] or their women,[m] or the *captives* which their right hands shall possess,[n] or unto such men as attend *them*, and have no need *of women*,[o] or unto children, who distinguish not the nakedness of women. And let them not make a noise with their feet, that their ornaments which they hide may *thereby* be discovered.[p] And be ye all turned unto GOD, O true believers, that ye may be happy. Marry those who are single[q] among you, and such as are honest of your men-servants, and your maid-servants: if they be poor, GOD will enrich them of his abundance; for GOD *is* bounteous *and* wise. And let those who find not a match, keep themselves *from fornication*, until GOD shall enrich them of his abundance. And unto such of your slaves[r] as desire a written instrument *allowing them to redeem themselves on paying a certain sum*,[s] write *one*, if ye know good in

[h] As their clothes, jewels, and the furniture of their toilet, much less such parts of their bodies as ought not be seen

[i] Some think their outward garments are here meant, and others their hands and faces it is generally held, however, that a free woman ought not to discover even those parts, unless to the persons after excepted, or on some unavoidable occasion, as their giving evidence in public, taking advice or medicines in case of sickness, &c.

[j] Taking care to cover their heads, necks, and breasts

[k] For whose sake it is that they adorn themselves, and who alone have the privilege to see their whole body

[l] These near relations are also excepted, because they cannot avoid seeing them frequently, and there is no great danger to be apprehended from them They are allowed, therefore, to see what cannot well be concealed in so familiar an intercourse,[1] but no other part of their body, particularly whatever is between the navel and the knees [2]

Uncles not being here particularly mentioned, it is a doubt whether they may be admitted to see their nieces Some think they are included under the appellation of *brothers* but others are of opinion that they are not comprised in this exception, and give this reason for it, *viz*, lest they should describe the persons of their nieces to their sons [3]

[m] That is, such as are of the Mohammedan religion; it being reckoned by some unlawful, or, at least, indecent, for a woman, who is a true believer, to uncover herself before one who is an infidel, because she will hardly refrain describing her to the men but others suppose all women in general are here excepted, for, in this particular, doctors differ [4]

[n] Slaves of either sex are included in this exception, and, as some think, domestic servants who are not slaves, as those of a different nation It is related, that Mohammed once made a present of a man slave to his daughter Fâtema, and when he brought him to her, she had on a garment which was so scanty that she was obliged to leave either her head or her feet uncovered and that the prophet, seeing her in great confusion on that account, told her, she need be under no concern, for that there was none present besides her father and her slave [5]

[o] Or have no desire to enjoy them, such as decrepit old men, and deformed or silly persons, who follow people as hangers-on for their spare victuals, being too despicable to raise either a woman's passion, or a man's jealousy Whether eunuchs are comprehended under this general designation, is a question among the learned [6]

[p] By shaking the rings, which the women in the east wear about their ankles, and are usually of gold or silver [7] The pride which the Jewish ladies of old took in making *a tinkling* with these *ornaments of their feet*, is (among other things of that nature) severely reproved by the prophet Isaiah.[8]

[q] *i e*, Those who are unmarried of either sex, whether they have been married before or not.

[r] Of either sex

[s] Whereby the master obliges himself to set his slave at liberty, on receiving a certain sum of money, which the slave undertakes to pay

[1] Idem. [2] Jallalo'ddin. [3] Al Beidâwi [4] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [5] Idem
[6] Idem, Yahya, &c. [7] Idem [8] Isaiah iii. 16 and 18

them;[t] and give them of the riches of GOD, which he hath given you.[u] And compel not your maid-servants to prostitute themselves, if they be willing to live chastely, that ye may seek the casual *advantage* of this present life:[x] but whoever shall compel them *thereto*, verily GOD *will be* gracious *and* merciful *unto such women* after their compulsion. And now have we revealed unto you evident signs, and a *history* like unto some *of the histories* of those who have gone before you,[y] and an admonition unto the pious. GOD *is* the light of heaven and earth: the similitude of his light is as a niche in a wall, wherein a lamp *is placed*, *and* the lamp *enclosed* in a *case of* glass; the glass *appears* as it were a shining star. It is lighted with *the oil of* a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east, nor of the west.[z] it wanteth little but that the oil thereof would give light, although no fire touched it. *This is* light *added* unto light.[a] GOD will direct unto his light whom he pleaseth. GOD propoundeth parables unto men; for GOD knoweth all things. In the houses which GOD hath permitted to be raised,[b] and that his name be commemorated therein. men celebrate his praise in the same morning and evening, whom neither merchandizing, nor selling diverteth from the remembering of GOD, and the observance of prayer, and the giving of alms; fearing the day whereon *men's* hearts and eyes shall be troubled, that GOD may recompense them according to the utmost merit of what they shall have wrought, and may add unto them of his abundance *a more excellent reward*, for GOD bestoweth on whom he pleaseth without measure. But *as to* the unbelievers, their works are like the vapour in a plain,[c] which the thirsty *traveller* thinketh to be water, until,

[t] That is, if ye have found them faithful, and have reason to believe they will perform their engagement.

[u] Either by bestowing something on them of your own substance, or by abating them a part of their ransom. Some suppose these words are directed, not to the masters only, but to all Moslems in general, recommending it to them to assist those who have obtained their freedom, and paid their ransom, either out of their own stock, or by admitting them to have a share in the public alms.[1]

[x] It seems Abda'llah Ebn Obba had six women-slaves, on whom he laid a certain tax, which he obliged them to earn by the prostitution of their bodies, and one of them made her complaint to Mohammed, which occasioned the revelation of this passage.[2]

[y] *i. e.*, The story of the false accusation of Ayesha, which resembles those of Joseph and the Virgin Mary.[3]

[z] But of a more excellent kind. Some think the meaning to be that the tree grows neither in the eastern nor the western parts, but in the midst of the world, namely, in Syria, where the best olives grow.[4]

[a] Or a light whose brightness is doubly increased by the circumstances above mentioned. The commentators explain this allegory, and every particular of it, with great subtlety; interpreting the *light* here described to be the *light* revealed in the Korân, or God's *enlightening grace* in the heart of man, and in divers other manners.

[b] The connection of these words is not very obvious. Some suppose they ought to be joined with the preceding words, Like a niche, or It is lighted in the houses, &c., and that the comparison is more strong and just, by being made to the lamps in Mosques, which are larger than those in private houses. Some think they are rather to be connected with the following words, *Men praise*, &c. And others are of opinion they are an imperfect beginning of a sentence, and that the words, Praise ye God, or the like, are to be understood. However, the houses here intended are those set apart for divine worship; or particularly the three principal temples of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.[5]

The Arabic word *Serâb* signifies that false appearance which, in the eastern countries, is often seen in sandy plains about noon, resembling a large lake of water in motion, and is occasioned by the reverberation of the sunbeams. It sometimes tempts thirsty travellers out

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [3] Idem. [4] Idem. [5] Al Beidâwi.

when he cometh thereto, he findeth it *to be* nothing; but he findeth GOD with him,[d] and he will fully pay him his account; and GOD is swift in taking an account: or, as the darkness in a deep sea, covered by waves *riding* on waves, above which are clouds, being *additions of* darkness one over the other; when *one* stretcheth forth his hand, he is far from seeing it. And unto whomsoever GOD shall not grant *his* light, he shall enjoy no light at all. Dost thou not perceive that all *creatures* both in heaven and earth praise GOD, and the birds *also*, extending their wings? Every one knoweth his prayer, and his praise; and GOD knoweth that which they do. Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and unto GOD *shall be* the return *at the last day*. Dost thou not see that GOD gently driveth forward the clouds, and gathereth them together, and then layeth them on heaps? Thou also seest the rain, which falleth from the midst thereof; and GOD sendeth down from heaven *as it were* mountains, wherein there is hail; he striketh therewith whom he pleaseth, and turneth the same away from whom he pleaseth: the brightness of his lightning wanteth but little of taking away the sight. GOD shifteth the night, and the day: verily herein is an instruction unto those who have sight. And GOD hath created every animal of water;[e] one of them goeth on his belly, and another of them walketh upon two feet, and another of them walketh upon four *feet*: GOD createth that which he pleaseth; for GOD is almighty. Now have we sent down evident signs: and GOD directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. The *hypocrites* say, We believe in GOD, and on *his* apostle; and we obey *them*: yet a part of them turneth back, after this; but these are not *really* believers. And when they are summoned before GOD and his apostle, that he may judge between them; behold, a part of them retire: but if the right had been on their side, they would have come and submitted themselves unto him. Is there an infirmity in their hearts? Do they doubt? Or do they fear lest GOD and his apostle act unjustly towards them? But themselves are the unjust doers.[f] The saying of the true believers, when they are summoned before GOD and his apostle, that he may judge between them, is no other than that they say, We have heard, and do obey: and these are they who shall prosper. Whoever shall obey GOD and his apostle, and shall fear GOD, and shall be devout towards him; these shall enjoy great felicity. They swear by GOD, with a most solemn oath, that if thou commandest them, they will go forth *from their houses and possessions*. Say, Swear not *to a falsehood*: obedience is

of their way, but deceives them when they come near, either going forward (for it always appears at the same distance), or quite vanishing.[1]

[d] That is, He will not escape the notice or vengeance of GOD.

[e] This assertion, which has already occurred in another place,[2] being not true in strictness, the commentators suppose that by water is meant seed; or else that water is mentioned only as the chief cause of the growth of animals, and a considerable and necessary constituent part of their bodies.

[f] This passage was occasioned by Bashir the hypocrite, who, having a controversy with a Jew, appealed to Caab Ebn al Ashraf, whereas the Jew appealed to Mohammed;[3] or, as others tell us, by Mogheira Ebn Wayel, who refused to submit a dispute he had with Ali to the prophet's decision.[4]

[1] Vide Q. Curt. de rebus Alex. lib. 7, et Golius in Alfrag. p. 111, et in Adag. Arab. ad calcem Gram. Erp. p. 93. [2] Chapter 21, p. 243. [3] See chapter 4, p. 6-. [4] Al Beidâwi.

more requisite, and GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. Say, Obey GOD, and obey the apostle: but if ye turn back, verily *it is expected* of him *that he perform* his duty, and of you *that ye perform* your duty; and if ye obey him, ye shall be directed: but the duty of *our* apostle is only public preaching. GOD promiseth unto such of you as believe, and do good works, that he will cause them to succeed *the unbelievers* in the earth, as he caused those who were before you to succeed *the infidels of their time*,[g] and that he will establish for them their religion which pleaseth them, and will change their fear into security. They shall worship me; and shall not associate any *other* with me. But whoever shall disbelieve after this; they will be the wicked doers. Observe prayer, and give alms, and obey the apostle: that ye may obtain mercy. Think not that the unbelievers shall frustrate *the designs of* GOD on earth: and their abode *hereafter* shall be *hell* fire; a miserable journey *shall it be thither!* O true believers, let your slaves and those among you who shall not have attained the age of puberty, ask leave of you, *before they come into your presence*, three times *in the day*;[h] *namely*, before the morning prayer,[i] and when ye lay aside your garments at noon,[j] and after the evening prayer.[k] *These are the* three times for you *to be private*: it shall be no crime in you, or in them, *if they go in to you without asking permission* after these *times*, while ye are in frequent attendance, the one of you on the other. Thus GOD declareth *his* signs unto you; for GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. And when your children attain *the age of* puberty, let them ask leave *to come into your presence at all times*, in the same manner as those who *have attained that age* before them, ask leave. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. *As to* such women as are past child-bearing, who hope not to marry *again, because of their advanced age;* it shall be no crime in them, if they lay aside their *outer* garments, not showing *their* ornaments; but if they abstain *from this, it will be* better for them. GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. It shall be no crime in the blind, nor shall it be any crime in the lame, neither shall it be any crime in the sick, or in yourselves, that ye eat in your houses,[m] or in

[g] *i.e.*, As he caused the Israelites to dispossess the Canaanites, &c.

[h] Because there are certain times when it is not convenient, even for a domestic, or a child, to come in to one without notice. It is said this passage was revealed on account of Asma Bint Morthed, whose servant entered suddenly upon her, at an improper time; but others say, it was occasioned by Modraj Ebn Amru, then a boy, who, being sent by Mohammed to call Omar to him, went directly into the room where he was, without giving notice, and found him taking his noon's nap, and in no very decent posture; at which Omar was so ruffled, that he wished GOD would forbid even their fathers, and children, to come in to them abruptly, at such times.[1]

[i] Which is the time of people's rising from their beds, and dressing themselves for the day.

[j] That is, when ye take off your upper garments to sleep at noon, which is a common custom in the east, and all warm countries.

[k] When ye undress yourselves to prepare for bed. Al Beidâwi adds a fourth season, when permission to enter must be asked, *viz.*, at night: but this follows of course.

[l] See before, p. 266.

[m] *i.e.*, Where your wives or families are; or in the houses of your sons, which may be looked on as your own.

This passage was designed to remove some scruples or superstitions of the Arabs in Mohammed's time: some of whom thought their eating with maimed or sick people defiled them; others imagined they ought not to eat in the house of another, though ever so nearly

[1] Idem.

the house of your fathers, or the houses of your mothers, or in the houses of your brothers, or the houses of your sisters, or the houses of your uncles on the father's side, or the houses of your aunts on the father's side, or the houses of your uncles on the mother's side, or the houses of your aunts on the mother's side, or *in those houses* the keys whereof ye have in your possession, or *in the house* of your friend. It shall not be any crime in you whether ye eat together, or separately.[n] And when ye enter any houses, salute one another[o] on the part of GOD, with a blessed and a welcome salutation. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, that ye may understand. Verily they only *are* true believers, who believe in GOD and his apostle, and when they are assembled with him on any affair,[p] depart not, until they have obtained leave of him. Verily they who ask leave of thee, are those who believe in GOD and his apostle. When therefore they ask leave of thee *to depart*, on account of any business of their own, grant leave unto such of them as thou shalt think fit, and ask pardon for them of GOD,[q] for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. Let not the calling of the apostle be esteemed among you, as your calling the one to the other.[r] GOD knoweth such of you as privately withdraw themselves *from the assembly*, taking shelter behind one another. But let those who withstand his command, take heed; lest some calamity befall them *in this world*, or a grievous punishment be inflicted on them *in the life to come*. *Doth* not whatever is in heaven and on earth *belong* unto GOD? He well knoweth what ye are about: and on a certain day they shall be assembled before him; and he shall declare unto them that which they have done; for GOD knoweth all things.

related to them, or though they were entrusted with the key and care of the house in the master's absence, and might therefore conclude it would be no offence, and others declined eating with their friends though invited, lest they should be burthensome.[1] The whole passage seems to be no more than a declaration that the things scrupled were perfectly innocent, however, the commentators say it is now abrogated, and that it related only to the old Arabs, in the infancy of Mohammedism.

[n] As the tribe of Leith thought it unlawful for a man to eat alone, and some of the Ansârs, if they had a guest with them, never ate but in his company, so there were others who refused to eat with any, out of a superstitious caution lest they should be defiled, or out of a hoggish greediness.[2]

[o] Literally yourselves, that is, according to al Beidâwi, the people of the house, to whom ye are united by the ties of blood, and by the common bond of religion. And if there be nobody in the house, says Jallalo'ddin, salute yourselves, and say, *Peace be on us, and on the righteous servants of God*, for the angels will return your salutation.

[p] As, at public prayers, or a solemn feast, or at council, or on a military expedition.

[q] Because such departure, though with leave, and on a reasonable excuse, is a kind of failure in the exact performance of their duty, seeing they prefer their temporal affairs to the advancement of the true religion.[3]

[r] These words are variously interpreted, for their meaning may be, either, Make not light of the apostle's summons, as ye would of another person's of equal condition with yourselves, by not obeying it, or by departing out of, or coming into, his presence without leave first obtained, or, Think not that when the apostle calls upon God in prayer, it is with him, as with you, when ye prefer a petition to a superior, who sometimes grants, but as often denies, your suit, or, Call not to the apostle, as ye do to one another, that is, by name, or familiarly and with a loud voice, but make use of some honourable compellation, as, O apostle of GOD, or, O prophet of GOD, and speak in an humble modest manner.[4]

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Iidem. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, &c.

CHAPTER XXV.

ENTITLED AL FORKAN, REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BLESSED be he who hath revealed the Forkan[a] unto his servant, that he may be a preacher unto all creatures. unto whom *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth who hath begotten no issue; and hath no partner in *his* kingdom · *who* hath created all things; and disposed the same according to his determinate will Yet have they taken *other* gods besides him; which have created nothing, but are themselves created,[t] and are able neither to avert evil from, nor to procure good unto themselves, and have not the power of death, or of life, or of raising *the dead.* And the unbelievers say, This *Korân* is no other than a forgery which he hath contrived, and other people have assisted him therein [u] but they utter an unjust thing, and a falsehood. They also say, *These are* fables of the ancients, which he hath caused to be written down; and they are dictated unto him morning and evening Say, He hath revealed it, who knoweth the secrets in heaven and earth verily he is gracious *and* merciful And they say What *kind* of apostle is this? He eateth food, and walketh in the streets,[x] *as we do* unless an angel be sent down unto him, and become a *fellow* preacher with him; or *unless* a treasure be cast down unto him; or he have a garden, *of the fruit* whereof he may eat, *we will not believe* The ungodly also say, Ye follow no other than a man who is distracted. Behold, what they liken thee unto But they are deceived, neither can they *find* a *just* occasion *to reproach thee.* Blessed be he, who, if he pleaseth, will make for thee a better *provision* than this *which they speak of, namely,* gardens through which rivers flow and he will provide thee palaces But they reject the belief of the hour *of judgment,* as a falsehood. and we have prepared for him. who shall reject the belief of *that* hour, burning fire, when it shall see them from a distant place, they shall hear it furiously raging, and roaring. And when they shall be cast bound together into a strait place thereof, they shall there call for death · *but it shall be answered them,* Call not this day for one death, but call for many deaths Say, Is this better, or a garden of eternal duration, which is promised unto the pious? It

[a] Which is one of the names of the Korân See the Prelim Disc. Sect. III p 44

[t] Being either the heavenly bodies, or idols, the works of men's hands

[u] See chapter 16, p 203. It is supposed the Jews are particularly intended in this place; because they used to repeat passages of ancient history to Mohammed, on which he used to discourse and make observations

[x] Being subject to the same wants and infirmities of nature, and obliged to submit to the same low means of supporting himself and his family, with ourselves The Meccans were acquainted with Mohammed, and with his circumstances and way of life, too well to change their old familiarity into the reverence due to the messenger of God for a prophet hath no honour in his own country

shall be *given* unto them for a reward, and a retreat: therein shall they have whatever they please; continuing *in the same* for ever. *This* is a promise to be demanded at the hands of thy LORD On a certain day he shall assemble them, and whatever they worship, besides GOD, and shall say *unto the worshipped*, Did ye seduce these my servants, or did they wander *of themselves* from the *right* way? They shall answer GOD forbid! It was not fitting for us, that we should take any protectors besides thee but thou didst permit them and their fathers to enjoy abundance, so that they forgot *thy* admonition, and became lost people *And God shall say unto their worshippers*, Now have these convinced you of falsehood, in that which ye say they can neither avert *your punishment*, nor *give you* any assistance And whoever of you shall be guilty of injustice, him will we cause to taste a grievous torment We have sent no messengers before thee, but they ate food, and walked through the streets and we make some of you an occasion of trial unto others [y] Will ye persevere with patience? since your LORD regardeth *your perseverance* (XIX) They who hope not to meet us *at the resurrection* say, Unless the angels be sent down unto us, or we see our LORD *himself, we will not believe* Verily they behave themselves arrogantly, and have transgressed with an enormous transgression The day *whereon* they shall see the angels,[z] there shall be no glad tidings on that day for the wicked, and they shall say, *Be this* removed far from us! and we will come unto the work which they shall have wrought, and we will make it *as* dust scattered abroad On that day shall they who are destined to paradise be more happy in an abode, and have a preferable place of repose at noon [a] On that day the heaven shall be cloven in sunder by the clouds, and the angels shall be sent down, descending *visibly therein* [b] On that day the kingdom shall of right belong wholly unto the Merciful, and that day shall be grievous for the unbelievers On that day, the unjust person[c] shall bite his hands *for anguish and despair, and* shall

[y] Giving occasion of envy repining and malice to the poor, mean and sick for example when they compare their own condition with that of the rich the noble and those who are in health and trying the people to whom prophets are sent by those prophets [1]

[z] *i.e.* At their death or at the resurrection

[a] For the business of the day of judgment will be over by that time and the blessed will pass their noon in paradise, and the damned in hell

[b] *i.e.* They shall part and make way for the clouds which shall descend with the angels, bearing the books wherein every man's actions are recorded

[c] It is supposed by some that these words particularly relate to Okba Ebn Abi Moait who used to be much in Mohammed's company and having once invited him to an entertainment the prophet refused to taste of his meat unless he would profess Islâm, which accordingly he did Soon after Okba meeting Obba Ebn Khalf his intimate friend and being reproached by him for changing his religion, assured him that he had not but had only pronounced the profession of faith to engage Mohammed to eat with him because he could not for shame let him go out of his house without eating However, Obba protested that he would not be satisfied, unless he went to Mohammed and set his foot on his neck, and spit in his face which Okba rather than break with his friend performed in the public hall where he found Mohammed sitting whereupon the prophet told him that if ever he met him out of Mecca, he would cut off his head And he was as good as his word for Okba, being afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Bedr had his head struck off by Ali at Mohammed's command As for Obba, he received a wound from the prophet's own hand, at the battle of Ohod, of which he died at his return to Mecca [3]

[1] Idem, Jallal [2] Idem [3] Al Beidâwi Vide Gagnier, Vie de Mahom. vol 1 p. 362

say, O that I had taken the way *of truth* with the apostle! Alas for me! O that I had not taken such a one[d] for *my* friend! He seduced me from the admonition *of God*, after it had come unto me: for the devil is the betrayer of man. And the apostle shall say, O LORD, verily my people esteemed this Korân *to be* a vain *composition*. In like manner did we ordain unto every prophet an enemy from among the wicked: but thy LORD is a sufficient director, and defender. The unbelievers say, Unless the Korân be sent down unto him entire at once,[e] *we will not believe*. *But* in this manner *have we revealed it* that we might confirm thy heart thereby,[f] and we have dictated it gradually, by distinct parcels. They shall not come unto thee with any strange question; but we will bring thee the truth *in answer* and a most excellent interpretation. They who shall be dragged on their faces into hell, shall be in the worst condition, and shall stray most widely from the way *of salvation*. We heretofore delivered unto Moses the book *of the law*, and we appointed him Aaron his brother for a counsellor. And we said *unto them*, Go ye to the people who charge our signs with falsehood. And we destroyed them with a *signal* destruction. *And remember* the people of Noah, when they accused *our* apostles of imposture: we drowned them, and made them a sign unto mankind. And we have prepared for the unjust a painful torment. *Remember* also Ad and Thamûd, and those who dwelt at al Rass,[g] and many *other* generations, within this *period*. Unto each *of them* did we propound examples *for their admonition*, and each *of them* did we destroy with an *utter* destruction. *The Koreish* have passed *frequently* near the city which was rained on by a fatal rain:[h] have they not seen *where* it *once*

[d] According to the preceding note, this was Obba Ebn Khalf.

[e] As were the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, according to the Mohammedan notion; whereas it was twenty three years before the Korân was completely revealed.[1]

[f] Both to infuse courage and constancy into thy mind, and to strengthen thy memory and understanding. For, say the commentators, the prophet's receiving the divine direction from time to time how to behave and to speak on any emergency, and the frequent visits of the angel Gabriel, greatly encouraged and supported him under all his difficulties; and the revealing of the Korân by degrees was a great aid to him, a necessary help for his retaining and understanding it; which it would have been impossible for him to have done with any exactness, had it been revealed at once: Mohammed's case being entirely different from that of Moses, David, and Jesus, who could all read and write, whereas he was perfectly illiterate.[2]

[g] The commentators are at a loss where to place al Rass. According to one opinion, it was the name of a well (as the word signifies) near Midian, about which some idolaters having fixed their habitations, the prophet Shoaib was sent to preach to them; but they not believing on him, the well fell in, and they and their houses were all swallowed up. Another supposes it to have been a town in Yamâma, where a remnant of the Thamûdites settled, to whom a prophet was also sent; but they slaying him, were utterly destroyed. Another thinks it was a well near Antioch, where Habib al Najjâr (whose tomb is still to be seen there, being frequently visited by the Mohammedans) was martyred.[3] And a fourth takes al Rass to be a well in Hadramaut, by which dwelt some idolatrous Thamûdites, whose prophet was Handha, or Khantala (for I find the name written both ways), Ebn Safwân.[4] These people were first annoyed by certain monstrous birds, called Ankâ, which lodged in the mountain above them, and used to snatch away their children when they wanted other prey; but this calamity was so far from humbling them, that on their prophet calling down a judgment upon them, they killed him, and were all destroyed.[5]

[h] *viz.*, Sodom; for the Koreish often passed by the place where it once stood in the journeys they took to Syria for the sake of trade.

[1] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. III. p. 50, &c. [2] Al Beidâwi, &c. [3] Abulf. Geog. Vide Vit. Saladini, p. 86. [4] See chapter 22, p. 254, note [v]. [5] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

stood? Yet have they not dreaded the resurrection When they see thee, they will receive thee only with scoffing, *saying*, Is this he, whom GOD hath sent *as his* apostle? Verily he had almost drawn us aside from *the worship of* our gods, if we had not firmly persevered *in our devotion* towards them But they shall know hereafter, when they shall see the punishment *prepared for them*, who hath strayed more widely from the *right* path What thinkest thou? He who taketh his lust for his god, canst thou be his guardian?[i] Dost thou imagine that the greater part of them hear, or understand? They are no other than like the *brute* cattle, yea, they stray more widely from the *true* path Dost thou not consider *the works of* thy LORD, how he stretcheth forth the shadow *before sunrise*? If he had pleased, he would have made it immovable *for ever* Then we cause the sun to *rise, and to* show the same, *and* afterwards we contract it by an easy *and gradual* contraction It is he who hath ordained the night to *cover* you *as* a garment, and sleep *to give you* rest, and hath ordained the day for waking It is he who sendeth the winds, driving abroad the pregnant clouds, as the forerunners of his mercy [j] and we send down pure water[k] from heaven, that we may thereby revive a dead country, and give to drink thereof unto what we have created, both of cattle and men, in great numbers [l] and we distribute the same among them at various times, that they may consider but the greater part of men refuse *to consider*, only out of ingratitude [m] If we had pleased, we had sent a preacher unto every city [n] wherefore do not thou obey the unbelievers, but oppose them herewith, with a strong opposition It is he who hath let loose the two seas, this fresh *and* sweet and that salt *and* bitter and hath placed between them a bar,[o] and a bound which cannot be passed It is he who hath created man of water,[p] and hath made him *to bear the double relation of* consanguinity and affinity for the LORD is powerful They worship besides GOD, that which can neither profit them nor hurt them and the unbeliever is an assistant *of the devil* against his LORD [q] We have sent thee *to be* no other than a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats Say, I ask not of you any

[i] *i e* Dost thou expect to reclaim such a one from idolatry and infidelity?

[j] See chapter 7 p 110 There is the same various reading here as is mentioned in the notes to that passage

[k] Properly *purifying* water which epithet may perhaps refer to the cleansing quality of that element of so great use both on religious and on common occasions

[l] That is To such as live in the dry deserts and are obliged to drink rain water which the inhabitants of towns and places well watered have no occasion to do

[m] Or, out of *infidelity* for the old Arabs used to think themselves indebted for their rains not to GOD but to the influence of some particular stars[1]

[n] And had not given thee O Mohammed the honour and trouble of being a preacher to the whole world in general

[o] To keep them asunder and prevent their mixing with each other The original word is *barzakh* which has been already explained

[p] With which Adam's primitive clay was mixed or of *seed*. See chapter 24 p 268.

[q] Joining with him in his rebellion and infidelity Some think Abu Jahl is particularly struck at in this passage The words may also be translated *The unbeliever is contemptible in the sight of his Lord*

[1] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect I p. 24. [2] In not ad cap. 23, p. 261

reward for this *my preaching;* besides *the conversion* of him who shall desire to take the way unto his LORD.[a] And do thou trust in him who liveth, and dieth not; and celebrate his praise: (he is sufficiently acquainted with the faults of his servants:) who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, in six days; and then ascended *his* throne; the Merciful. Ask now the knowing concerning him. When it is said unto *the unbelievers*, Adore the Merciful; they reply, And who *is* the Merciful?[b] Shall we adore that which thou commandest us? And this *precept* causeth them to fly the faster *from the faith.* Blessed be he who hath placed *the twelve* signs in the heavens; and hath placed therein a lamp[c] *by day*, and the moon which shineth *by night!* It is he who hath ordained the night and the day to succeed each other, for *the observation of* him who will consider, or desireth *to show his* gratitude. The servants of the Merciful are those who walk meekly on the earth, and, when the ignorant speak unto them, answer, Peace:[d] and who pass the night adoring their LORD, and standing up *to pray unto him;* and who say, O LORD, avert from us the torment of hell, for the torment thereof *is* perpetual; verily the same is a miserable abode, and *a wretched* station: and who, when they bestow, are neither profuse nor niggardly, but *observe* a just medium between these;[e] and who invoke not another god together with *the true* GOD; neither slay the soul, which GOD hath forbidden *to be slain*, unless for a just cause: and who are not guilty of fornication. But he who shall do this, shall meet the reward of *his* wickedness: *his* punishment shall be doubled unto him on the day of resurrection; and he shall remain therein, covered with ignominy, *for ever*: except him who shall repent, and believe, and shall work a righteous work; unto them will GOD change their *former* evils into good;[f] for GOD is ready to forgive, *and* merciful. And whoever repenteth, and doth that which is right; verily he turneth unto GOD with an *acceptable* conversion. And they who do not bear false witness; and when they pass by vain discourse, pass by the same with decency: and who, when they are admonished by the signs of their LORD, fall not down *as if they were* deaf and blind, *but stand up and are attentive* thereto: and who say, O LORD, grant us of our wives and our offspring such as may be the satisfaction of *our* eyes; and make us patterns unto those who fear *thee.* These shall be rewarded with the highest apartments *in paradise*, because they have persevered with constancy; and they shall meet therein with greeting and salutation; they shall remain in the same for ever: it shall be an excellent abode and a *delightful* station. Say, My

[a] Seeking to draw near unto him, by embracing the religion taught by me his apostle; which is the best return I expect from you for my labours.[1] The passage, however, is capable of another meaning, viz., that Mohammed desires none to give, but him who shall contribute freely and voluntarily towards the advancement of GOD's true religion.

[b] See chapter 17, p. 237.

[c] *i e.*, The sun

[d] This is intended here not as a salutation, but as a waiving all farther discourse and communication with the idolaters.

[e] See chapter 17, p. 230.

[f] Blotting out their former rebellion, on their repentance, and confirming and increasing their faith and obedience.[2]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem.

LORD is not solicitous on your account, if ye do not invoke him ye have already charged *his apostle* with imposture, but hereafter shall there be a lasting punishment *inflicted on you.*

CHAPTER XXVI

ENTITLED THE POETS [g] REVEALED AT MECCA.[h]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

T S M [i] These *are* the signs of the perspicuous book Peradventure thou afflictest thyself unto death lest *the Meccans* become not true believers If we pleased we could send down unto them a *convincing* sign from heaven unto which their necks would humbly submit But there cometh unto them no admonition from the Merciful being newly revealed *as occasions require* but they turn aside from the same and they have charged *it* with falsehood but a message shall come unto them which they shall not laugh to scorn Do they not behold the earth how many *vegetables* we cause to spring up therein of every noble species? Verily herein is a sign but the greater part of them do not believe Verily thy LORD is the mighty the merciful *God* *Remember* when thy LORD called Moses *saying* Go to the unjust people the people of Pharaoh will they not dread *me?* *Moses* answered O LORD verily I fear lest they accuse me of falsehood and lest my breast become straitened and my tongue be not ready *in speaking* [k] send therefore unto Aaron *to be my assistant* Also they have a crime *to object* against me [l] and I fear they will put me to death *God* said, *They shall* by no means *put thee to death* wherefore go ye with our signs for we *will be* with you *and will* hear *what passes between you and them* Go ye therefore unto Pharaoh and say Verily we are the apostle[m] of the LORD of all creatures send away with us the children of Israel. *And when they had delivered their message Pharaoh* answered, Have we not brought thee up among us *when* a child and hast thou not dwelt among us for *several* years of thy life?[n] Yet hast thou done thy

[g] The chapter bears this inscription because at the conclusion of it the Arabian poets are severely censured.

[h] The five last verses beginning at these words, *And those who err follow the poets* &c. some take to have been revealed at Medina

[i] See the Prelim Disc. Sect III p. 46 &c.

[k] See chap 20 p. 257

[l] viz. The having killed an Egyptian [1]

[m] The word is in the singular number in the original for which the commentators give several reasons.

[n] It is said that Moses dwelt among the Egyptians thirty years and then went to Midian, where he stayed ten years after which he returned to Egypt and spent thirty years endeavouring to convert them and that he lived after the drowning of Pharaoh fifty years.[2]

[1] See cap 28. [2] Al Beidâwi.

deed which thou hast done: and thou art an ungrateful person. *Moses* replied, I did it indeed, and I was *one* of those who erred;[o] wherefore I fled from you, because I feared you: but my LORD hath bestowed on me wisdom, and hath appointed me *one* of *his* apostles. And this is the favour which thou hast bestowed on me, that thou hast enslaved the children of Israel. Pharaoh said, And who is the LORD of all creatures? *Moses* answered, The LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever is between them: if ye are men of sagacity. *Pharaoh* said unto those who were about him, Do ye not hear? *Moses* said, Your LORD, and the LORD of your forefathers. *Pharaoh* said *unto those who were present*, Your apostle, who is sent unto you, is certainly distracted.[p] *Moses* said, The LORD of the east, and of the west, and of whatever is between them; if ye are men of understanding. *Pharaoh* said unto him, Verily if thou take any god besides me,[q] I will make thee *one* of those who are imprisoned.[r] *Moses* answered, What, although I come unto you with a convincing *miracle?* *Pharaoh* replied, Produce it, therefore, if thou speakest truth. And he cast down his rod, and behold, it *became* a visible serpent: and he drew forth his hand *out of his bosom;* and behold, it *appeared* white unto the spectators. *Pharaoh* said unto the princes *who were* about him, Verily this *man* is a skilful magician: he seeketh to dispossess you of your land by his sorcery, what therefore do ye direct? They answered, Delay him and his brother *by good words for a time;* and send through the cities *men* to assemble and bring unto thee every skilful magician So the magicians were assembled at an appointed time, on a solemn day. And it was said unto the people, Are ye assembled together? Perhaps we may follow the magicians, if they do get the victory. And when the magicians were come, they said unto Pharaoh, Shall we certainly receive a reward, if we do get the victory? He answered, Yea, and ye shall surely be of those who approach *my person* Moses said unto them, Cast down what ye are about to cast down. Wherefore they cast down their ropes and their rods, and said, By the might of Pharaoh, verily we *shall be* the conquerors. And Moses cast down his rod, and behold, it swallowed up that which they had *caused* falsely *to appear* changed *into serpents.* Whereupon the magicians prostrated themselves, worshipping, *and* said, We believe in the LORD of all creatures, the LORD of Moses and of Aaron. *Pharaoh* said *unto them,* Have ye believed on him, before I have given you permission? Verily he is your chief. who hath taught you magic.[s] but hereafter ye shall surely know *my*

[o] Having killed the Egyptian undesignedly

[p] *Pharaoh*, it seems, thought Moses had given but wild answers to his question; for he wanted to know the person and true nature of the GOD whose messenger Moses pretended to be, whereas he spoke of his works only. And because this answer gave so little satisfaction to the king, he is therefore supposed by some to have been a Dahrite, or one who believed the eternity of the world [3]

[q] From this and a parallel expression in the twenty-eighth chapter, it is inferred that Pharaoh claimed the worship of his subjects, as due to his supreme power

[r] These words, says al Beidâwi, were a more terrible menace than if he had said *I will imprison thee*, and gave Moses to understand that he must expect to keep company with those wretches whom the tyrant had thrown, as was his custom, into a deep dungeon, where they remained till they died

[s] But has reserved the most efficacious secrets to himself [4]

[3] Idem [4] Idem

power. I will cut off your hands and your feet, on the opposite sides, and I will crucify you all. They answered, *It will be* no harm *unto us;* for we shall return unto our LORD. We hope that our LORD will forgive us our sins, since we are the first who have believed.[t] And we spake by revelation unto Moses, *saying*, March forth with my servants by night; for ye will be pursued. And Pharaoh sent *officers* through the cities to assemble *forces, saying*, Verily these are a small company; and they are enraged against us: but we are a multitude well provided. So we caused them to quit *their* gardens, and fountains, and treasures, and fair dwellings: thus *did we do*, and we made the children of Israel to inherit the same.[u] And they pursued them at sunrise. And when the two armies were come in sight of each other, the companions of Moses said, We shall surely be overtaken. *Moses* answered, By no means for my LORD *is* with me, who will surely direct me. And we commanded Moses by revelation, *saying*, Smite the sea with thy rod. And *when he had smitten it*, it became divided *into twelve parts, between which were as many paths*, and every part was like a vast mountain. And we drew thither the others; and we delivered Moses and all those who were with him: then we drowned the others. Verily herein was a sign; but the greater part of them did not believe. Verily thy LORD is the mighty, *and* the merciful. And rehearse unto them the story of Abraham: when he said unto his father and his people, What do ye worship? They answered, We worship idols, and we constantly serve them all the day long. *Abraham* said, Do they hear you, when ye invoke *them*? Or do they either profit you, or hurt you? They answered, But we found our fathers do the same. He said, What think ye? *The gods* which ye worship, and your forefathers *worshipped*, are my enemy except only the LORD of all creatures, who hath created me and directeth me; and who giveth me to eat and to drink, and when I am sick, healeth me; and who will cause me to die, and will afterwards restore me to life; and who, I hope, will forgive my sins on the day of judgment O LORD, grant me wisdom; and join me with the righteous, and grant that I may be spoken of with honour[x] among the latest *posterity*, and make me an heir of the garden of delight: and forgive my father, for that he hath been *one* of those who go astray[y] And cover me not with shame on the day of resurrection; on the day *in which* neither riches nor children shall avail, unless unto him who shall come unto GOD with a sincere heart: *when* paradise shall be brought near to *the view of* the pious, and hell shall appear

[t] See chapter 7, p 116, &c

[u] Hence some suppose the Israelites, after the destruction of Pharaoh and his host, returned to Egypt, and possessed themselves of the riches of that country[5] But others are of opinion that the meaning is no more than that GOD gave them the like possessions and dwellings in another country[6]

[x] Literally, *Grant me a tongue of truth*, that is, a high encomium. The same expression is used in c 19, p 252

[y] By disposing him to repentance, and the receiving of the true faith. Some suppose Abraham pronounced this prayer after his father's death, thinking that possibly he might have been inwardly a true believer, but have concealed his conversion for fear of Nimrod, and before he was forbidden to pray for him.[7]

[5] Jallalo'ddin, Yahya. [6] Al Zamakh. See cap 7, p 118 [7] See cap. 9, p. 148, and c 14, p. 200.

plainly to those who shall have erred; and it shall be said unto them, Where *are your deities* which ye served besides GOD? will they deliver you *from punishment*, or will they deliver themselves? And they shall be cast into the same, *both* they,[x] and those who have been seduced *to their worship*; and all the host of Eblis. The *seduced* shall dispute therein *with their false gods*, saying, By GOD, we were in a manifest error, when we equalled you with the LORD of all creatures: and none seduced us but the wicked. We have *now* no intercessors, nor any friend who careth *for us*. If we were allowed to return once more *into the world*, we would certainly become true believers. Verily herein was a sign. but the greater part of them believed not. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. The people of Noah accused *God's* messengers of imposture when their brother Noah said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you; wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I ask no reward of you for *my preaching unto you; I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. wherefore fear GOD, and obey me They answered, Shall we believe on thee, when *only* the most abject *persons* have followed thee? *Noah* said, I have no knowledge of that which they did;[a] *it appertaineth* unto my LORD alone to bring them to account, if ye understand; wherefore I will not drive away the believers.[b] I am no more than a public preacher. They replied, Assuredly, unless thou desist, O Noah, thou shalt be stoned He said, O LORD, verily my people take me for a liar wherefore judge publicly between me and them; and deliver me and the true believers who are with me. Wherefore we delivered him, and those who were with him, in the ark filled *with men and animals*, and afterwards we drowned the rest. Verily herein was a sign but the greater part of them believed not. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. *The tribe of* Ad charged *God's* messengers with falsehood. when their brother Hud said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you; wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I demand not of you any reward for *my preaching unto you: I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. Do ye build a landmark on every high place, to divert yourselves?[c] And do ye erect *magnificent* works, *hoping* that ye may continue *in their possession* for ever? And when ye exercise your power, do ye exercise it with cruelty and rigour?[d] Fear GOD, *by leaving these things*, and obey me. And fear him who hath bestowed on you that which ye know: he hath bestowed on you cattle, and children, and gardens, and springs of water. Verily I fear for you the punishment of a grievous day. They answered, It is equal unto us whether thou admonish us, or dost not admonish *us*: this *which thou*

[x] See chapter 21, p. 273.

[a] *i.e.*, Whether they have embraced the faith which I have preached, out of the sincerity of their hearts, or in prospect of some worldly advantage.

[b] See chapter 11, p. 161

[c] Or to mock the passengers; who direct themselves in their journeys by the stars, and have no need of such buildings?[1]

[d] Putting to death, and inflicting other corporal punishments without mercy, and rather for the satisfaction of your passion than the amendment of the sufferer.[2]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem.

preachest is only a device of the ancients; neither shall we be punished *for what we have done.* And they accused him of imposture: wherefore we destroyed them. Verily herein was a sign: but the greater part of them believed not. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. *The tribe of* Thamud *also* charged the messengers *of God* with falsehood. When their brother Saleh said unto them, Will ye not fear *God?* Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you. wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I demand no reward of you for *my preaching unto you; I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. Shall ye be left *for ever* secure in *the possession of* the things which *are* here; among gardens, and fountains, and corn, and palm-trees, whose branches sheathe their flowers? And will ye *continue to* cut habitations *for yourselves* out of the mountains, behaving with insolence?[e] Fear GOD, and obey me, and obey not the command of the transgressors, who act corruptly in the earth, and reform not *the same.* They answered, Verily thou art distracted: thou art no *other* than a man like unto us: produce now some sign, if thou speakest truth. *Saleh* said, This she-camel *shall be a sign unto you:* she shall have *her* portion of water, and ye shall have *your* portion of water *alternately,* on a *several* day appointed *for you;*[f] and do her no hurt, lest the punishment of a terrible day be inflicted on you. But they slew her; and were made to repent *of their impiety* · for the punishment *which had been threatened* overtook them. Verily herein was a sign; but the greater part of them did not believe. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. The people of Lot *likewise* accused *God's* messengers of imposture. When their brother Lot said unto them, Will ye not fear *God?* Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I demand no reward of you for *my preaching. I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. Do ye approach unto the males among mankind, and leave your wives which your LORD hath created for you? Surely ye are people who transgress They answered, Unless thou desist, O Lot, thou shalt certainly be expelled *our city.* He said, Verily I am *one* of those who abhor your doings: O LORD, deliver me and my family, from that which they act. Wherefore we delivered him, and all his family, except an old woman, *his wife, who perished* among those who remained behind: then we destroyed the rest; and we rained on them a shower *of stones;* and terrible was the shower *which fell on* those who had been warned *in vain.* Verily herein was a sign; but the greater part of them did not believe. Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful. The inhabitants of the wood[g] *also* accused GOD'S messengers of imposture When Shoaib said unto them, Will ye not fear *God?* Verily I am a faithful

[e] Or, as the original word may also be rendered, *showing art and ingenuity* in your work.

[f] That is, they were to have the use of the water by turns, the camel drinking one day, and the Thamudites drawing the other day; for when this camel drank, she emptied the wells or brooks for that day See chapter 7, p 112

[g] See chapter 15, p. 213. Shoaib being not called the *brother* of these people, which would have preserved the conformity between this passage and the preceding, it has been thought they were not Midianites, but of another race; however, we find the prophet taxes them with the same crimes as he did those of Midian.[1]

[1] See cap. 7, p. 112.

messenger unto you wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. I ask no reward of you for *my preaching* *I expect* my reward from no other than the Lord of all creatures. Give just measure, and be not defrauders, and weigh with an equal balance, and diminish not unto men *ought* of their matters, neither commit violence in the earth, acting corruptly And fear him who hath created you, and *also* the former generations They answered, Certainly thou art distracted: thou art no more than a man, like unto us; and we do surely esteem thee to be a liar. Cause now a part of the heaven to fall upon us, if thou speakest truth *Shoaib* said, My LORD best knoweth that which ye do And they charged him with falsehood wherefore the punishment of the day of the shadowing cloud[h] overtook them, *and* this was the punishment of a grievous day Verily herein was a sign, but the greater part of them did not believe Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful This *book* is certainly a revelation from the LORD of all creatures, which the faithful spirit[i] hath caused to descend upon thy heart, that thou mightest be a preacher *to thy people*, in the perspicuous Arabic tongue and it is *borne witness to* in the scriptures of former ages Was it not a sign unto them, that the wise men among the children of Israel knew it? Had we revealed it unto any of the foreigners, and he had read the same unto them, yet they would not have believed therein Thus have we caused *obstinate infidelity* to enter the hearts of the wicked they shall not believe therein, until they see a painful punishment It shall come suddenly upon them, and they shall not foresee it and they shall say, Shall we be respited? Do they therefore desire our punishment to be hastened?[k] What thinkest thou? If we suffer them to enjoy *the advantage of this life* for several years, and afterwards that with which they are threatened come upon them, what will that which they have enjoyed profit them? We have destroyed no city, but preachers *were first sent* unto it, to admonish *the inhabitants thereof*, neither did we treat *them* unjustly The devils did not descend with the *Korân, as the infidels give out* It is not for their purpose, neither are they able *to produce such a book*, for they are far removed from hearing *the discourse of the angels in heaven*[l] Invoke no other god with *the true* GOD, lest thou become *one* of those who are doomed to punishment And admonish thy more near relations[m] And behave thyself with meekness[n] towards the true

[h] GOD first plagued them with such intolerable heat for seven days that all their waters were dried up and then brought a cloud over them under whose shade they ran and were all destroyed by a hot wind and fire which proceeded from it[2]

[i] *i e*, Gabriel who is entrusted with the divine secrets and revelations.

[k] The infidels were continually defying Mohammed to bring some signal and miraculous destruction on them as a shower of stones &c.

[l] See chapter 15 p 211

[m] The commentators suppose the same command to have been virtually contained in the 74th chapter which is prior to this in point of time[3] It is said that Mohammed on receiving the passage before us went up immediately to Mount Safâ and having called the several families to him one by one when they were all assembled asked them whether if he should tell them that mountain would bring forth a smaller mountain they would believe him, to which they answering in the affirmative, *Verily* says he *I am a warner sent unto you, before a severe chastisement*[4]

[n] Literally lower thy wing

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] See the notes thereon and the Prelim Disc Sect II p 34. [4] Al Beidâwi

believers who follow thee: and if they be disobedient unto thee, say, Verily I am clear of that which ye do. And trust in the most mighty, the merciful *God*, who seeth thee when thou risest up, and thy behaviour among those who worship,[o] for he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Shall I declare unto you upon whom the devils descend? They descend upon every lying *and* wicked person:[p] they learn what is heard,[q] but the greater part of them *are* liars. And those who err follow the *steps of the* poets: dost thou not see that they rove *as bereft of their senses* through every valley, and that they say that which they do not?[r] except those who believe, and do good works, and remember GOD frequently, and who defend themselves, after they have been unjustly treated.[s] And they who act unjustly shall know hereafter, with what treatment they shall be treated.

[o] *i.e.*, Who seeth thee when thou risest up to watch and spend the night in religious exercises, and observeth thy anxious care for the Moslems' exact performance of their duty. It is said that the night on which the precept of watching was abrogated, Mohammed went privately from one house to another, to see how his companions spent the time; and that he found them so intent in reading the Korân and repeating their prayers, that their houses, by reason of the humming noise they made, seemed to be so many nests of hornets.[5] Some commentators, however, suppose that by the prophet's *behaviour* in this place are meant the various postures he used in praying at the head of his companions; as standing, bowing, prostration, and sitting.[6]

[p] The prophet, having vindicated himself from the charge of having communication with the devils, by the opposition between his doctrine and their designs, and their inability to compose so consistent a book as the Koran, proceeds to show that the persons most likely to a correspondence with those evil spirits were liars and slanderers, that is, his enemies and opposers.

[q] *i.e.* They are taught by the secret inspiration of the devils, and receive their idle and inconsistent suggestions for truth. It being uncertain whether the *slanderers* or the *devils* be the nominative case to the verb, the words may also be rendered, *They impart what they hear*; that is, The devils acquaint their correspondents on earth with such incoherent scraps of the angels' discourse as they can hear by stealth.[7]

[r] Their compositions being as wild as the actions of a distracted man; for most of the ancient poetry was full of vain imaginations; as fabulous stories and descriptions, love verses, flattery, excessive commendations of their patrons, and as excessive reproaches of their enemies, incitements to vicious actions, vainglorious vauntings, and the like.[8]

[s] That is, such poets as had embraced Mohammedism; whose works, free from the profaneness of the former, run chiefly on the praises of GOD and the establishing his unity, and contain exhortations to obedience and other religious and moral virtues, without any satirical invectives, unless against such as have given just provocations, by having first attacked them, or some others of the true believers, with the same weapons. In this last case Mohammed saw it was necessary for him to borrow assistance from the poets of his party to defend himself and religion from the insults and ridicule of the others; for which purpose he employed the pens of Labîd Ebn Rabia,[1] Abda'llah Ebn Rawâha, Hassân Ebn Thabet, and the two Caabs. It is related that Mohammed once said to Caab Ebn Malec, *Ply them with satires; for, by him in whose hand my soul is, they wound more deeply than arrows.*[2]

[5] Idem. [6] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [7] Idem. [8] Idem. [1] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 47.
[2] Al Beidâwi.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ENTITLED, THE ANT,[t] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

T. S. These *are* the signs of the Korân, and of the perspicuous book: a direction, and good tidings unto the true believers; who regularly perform *their* prayer, and give alms, and firmly believe in the life to come. As *to* those who believe not in the life to come, we have prepared their works for them;[u] and they shall be struck with astonishment *at their disappointment, when they shall be raised again*: these *are* they whom an evil punishment *awaiteth in this life*, and in that which is to come they shall be the greatest losers. Thou hast certainly received the Korân from the presence of a wise, a knowing *God*. *Remember* when Moses said unto his family, Verily I perceive fire: I will bring you tidings thereof, or I will bring you a lighted brand, that ye may be warmed.[x] And when he was come near unto it, *a voice* cried unto him, *saying*, Blessed be he who is in the fire, and whoever is about it,[y] and praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! O Moses, verily I am GOD, the mighty, the wise: cast down now thy rod. And when he saw it, that it moved, as though it *had been* a serpent, he retreated and fled, and returned not. *And* GOD *said*, O Moses, fear not; for *my* messengers are not disturbed with fear in my sight: except he who shall have done amiss, and shall have afterwards substituted good in lieu of evil; for I am gracious *and* merciful.[z] Moreover put thy hand into thy bosom, it shall come forth white, without hurt: *this shall be one* among the nine signs[a] unto Pharaoh and his people; for they are a wicked people. And when our visible signs had come unto them, they said, This is manifest sorcery. And they denied them, although their souls certainly knew them *to be from God*, out of iniquity and pride: but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers. We heretofore bestowed knowledge on David and Solomon, and they said, Praise be unto GOD, who hath made us more excellent than many of his faithful servants! And Solomon was David's heir;[b] and he said, O men, we

[t] In this chapter is related, among other strange things, an odd story of the ant, which has therefore been pitched on for the title.

[u] By rendering them pleasing and agreeable to their corrupt natures and inclinations.

[x] See chapter 20, p. 234.

[y] Some suppose GOD to be intended by the former words, and by the latter, the angels who were present;[1] others think Moses and the angels are here meant, or all persons in general in this holy plain, and the country round it.[2]

[z] This exception was designed to qualify the preceding assertion, which seemed too general; for several of the prophets have been subject to sins, though not great ones, before their mission, for which they had reason to apprehend GOD's anger, though they are here assured that their subsequent merits entitle them to his pardon. It is supposed that Moses's killing the Egyptian undesignedly is hinted at.[3]

[a] See chapter 17, p. 215.

[b] Inheriting not only his kingdom, but also the prophetical office, preferably to his other sons, who were no less than nineteen.[4]

[1] Yahya. [2] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. [4] Idem.

have been taught the speech of birds, and have had all things bestowed on us; this is manifest excellence. And his armies were gathered together unto Solomon, *consisting of* genii,[d] and men, and birds; and they were led in distinct bands, until they came unto the valley of ants.[e] *And* an ant, *seeing the hosts approaching*, said, O ants, enter ye into your habitations, lest Solomon and his army tread you underfoot, and perceive *it* not. And *Solomon* smiled, laughing at her words, and said, O LORD, excite me that I may be thankful for thy favour, wherewith thou hast favoured me, and my parents; and that I may do that which is right, *and* well-pleasing unto thee: and introduce me, through thy mercy, *into paradise*, among thy servants, the righteous. And he viewed the birds, and said, What is the reason that I see not the lapwing?[f] Is she absent? Verily I will chastise her with a severe chastisement,[g] or I will put her to death, unless she bring me a just excuse And she tarried not long *before she presented herself unto Solomon*, and said, I have viewed *a country* which thou hast not viewed, and I come unto thee from Saba, with a certain piece of news I found a woman[h] to reign over them, who is provided with everything *requisite for a prince*, and hath a magnificent throne.[i] I found her and her people to worship the sun, besides GOD: and

[c] That is, the meaning of their several voices though not articulate, of Solomon's interpretation whereof the commentators give several instances [5]

[d] For this fancy, as well as the former, Mohammed was obliged to the Talmudists,[6] who according to their manner, have interpreted the Hebrew words of Solomon,[7] which the English version renders, *I gat men-singers and women-singers*, as if that prince had forced *demons* or *spirits* to serve him at his table, and in other capacities and particularly in his vast and magnificent buildings, which they could not conceive he could otherwise have performed.

[e] The valley seems to be so called from the great numbers of ants which are found there. Some place it in Syria, and others in Tâyef [8]

[f] The Arab historians tell us that Solomon, having finished the temple of Jerusalem, went in pilgrimage to Mecca, where, having stayed as long as he pleased, he proceeded towards Yaman; and leaving Mecca in the morning, he arrived by noon at Sanaa, and being extremely delighted with the country, rested there but wanting water to make the ablution, he looked among the birds for the lapwing, called by the Arabs al Hudhud, whose business it was to find it; for it is pretended she was sagacious or sharp sighted enough to discover water under ground, which the devils used to draw, after she had marked the place by digging with her bill they add, that this bird was then taking a tour in the air whence, seeing one of her companions alighting, she descended also, and having had a description given her by the other of the city of Saba, whence she was just arrived, they both went together to take a view of the place, and returned soon after Solomon had made the inquiry which occasioned what follows.[1]

It may be proper to mention here what the eastern writers fable of the manner of Solomon's travelling They say that he had a carpet of green silk on which his throne was placed, being of a prodigious length and breadth and sufficient for all his forces to stand on, the men placing themselves on his right hand, and the spirits on his left, and that when all were in order, the wind, at his command, took up the carpet, and transported it, with all that were upon it, wherever he pleased,[2] the army of birds at the same time flying over their heads, and forming a kind of canopy, to shade them from the sun

[g] By plucking off her feathers, and setting her in the sun, to be tormented by the insects, or by shutting her up in a cage [3]

[h] This queen the Arabs name *Balkis* · *some make her the daughter of al Hodhâd Ebn Sharhabil*,[4] and others of Sharahil Ebn Malec,[5] but they all agree she was a descendant of Yârab Ebn Kahtân. She is placed the twenty-second in Dr Pocock's list of the kings of Yaman [6]

[i] Which the commentators say was made of gold and silver, and crowned with precious stones. But they differ as to the size of it; one making it fourscore cubits long, forty broad, and thirty high; while some say it was fourscore, and others thirty cubits every way

[5] See Maracc not. in loc. p 512. [6] Vide Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, p 11, f. 29, et Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Mohammed p 232 [7] Eccles ii 8 [8] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin [1] Idem. [2] See cap 21, p 247 [3] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin [4] Vide Pocock Spec. p. 59. [5] Al Beidâwi, &c Vide D'Herbel. Bibl Orient. p. 182 [6] Ubi sup

Satan hath prepared their works for them, and hath turned them aside from the way *of truth* (wherefore they are not *rightly* directed), lest they should worship GOD, who bringeth to light that which is hidden in heaven and earth, and knoweth whatever they conceal and whatever they discover. GOD! there is no GOD but he, the LORD of the magnificent throne. *Solomon* said, We shall see whether thou hast spoken the truth, or whether thou art a liar. Go with this my letter, and cast it down unto them, then turn aside from them, and wait *to know* what *answer* they will return. *And when the queen of Saba had received the letter*,[k] she said, O nobles, verily an honourable letter hath been delivered unto me; it is from Solomon, and *this* is *the tenour thereof:* In the name of the most merciful GOD, Rise not up against me but come, and surrender yourselves unto me.[l] *She* said, O nobles, advise me in my business I will not resolve on anything, until ye be witnesses *and approve* thereof *The nobles* answered, We are endued with strength, and *are* endued with great prowess in war; but the command *appertaineth* unto thee: see therefore what thou wilt command.[m] She said, Verily kings, when they enter a city *by force*, waste the same, and abase the most powerful of the inhabitants hereof and so will *these* do *with us* But I will send gifts unto them; and will wait for what *farther information* those who shall be sent shall bring back And when *the queen's ambassador* came unto Solomon,[n] *that prince* said, Will ye present me with riches? Verily that which GOD hath given me, is better than what he hath given you: but ye do glory in your gifts. Return unto *the people of Saba.* We will surely come unto them with forces, which they shall not be able to withstand, and we will drive them out from *their city*, humbled; and they *shall become* contemptible And *Solomon* said, O nobles, which of you will bring unto me her throne, before they come and surrender themselves unto me? A terrible genius[o] answered, I will bring it unto thee, before thou arise from thy place [q] for I am able to

[k] Jallalo'ddin says that the queen was surrounded by her army when the lapwing threw the letter into her bosom, but al Beidâwi supposes she was in an apartment of her palace, the doors of which were shut, and that the bird flew in at the window The former commentator gives a copy of the epistle somewhat more full than that in the text, viz *From the servant of* GOD, *Solomon, the son of David, unto Balkîs queen of Saba In the name of the most merciful* GOD *Peace be on him who followeth the true direction Rise not up against me, but come and surrender yourselves unto me* He adds that Solomon perfumed this letter with musk, and sealed it with his signet

[l] Or, *Come unto me and resign yourselves* unto the divine direction, and profess the true religion which I preach.

[m] *i e*, Whether thou wilt obey the summons of Solomon, or give us orders to make head against him.

[n] Bearing the presents, which they say were five hundred young slaves of each sex, all habited in the same manner five hundred bricks of gold, a crown enriched with precious stones, besides a large quantity of musk, amber, and other things of value [1] Some add that Balkis, to try whether Solomon was a prophet or no dressed the boys like girls, and the girls like boys, and sent him, in a casket, a pearl not drilled, and an onyx drilled with a crooked hole, and that Solomon distinguished the boys from the girls by the different manner of their taking water, and ordered one worm to bore the pearl, and another to pass a thread through the onyx.[2] They also tell us that Solomon, having notice of this embassy, by means of the lapwing, even before they set out, ordered a large square to be enclosed with a wall built of gold and silver bricks. wherein he ranged his forces and attendants to receive them [3]

[o] This was an Ifrît, or one of the wicked and rebellious genii, and his name, says al Beidâwi was Dhacwân or Sakhr

[p] *i e*, From thy seat of justice For Solomon used to sit in judgment every day till noon [4]

[1] Jallalo'ddin [2] Al Beidâw [3] Jallalo'ddin [4] Idem interp

perform[r] it, and may be trusted. *And one* with whom was the knowledge of the scriptures[q] said, I will bring it unto thee, in the twinkling of an eye[r] And when *Solomon* saw *the throne* placed before him, he said, This is a favour of my LORD, that he may make trial of me, whether I will be grateful, or whether I will be ungrateful: and he who is grateful, is grateful to his own *advantage*, but if any shall be ungrateful, verily my LORD *is* self-sufficient *and* munificent. *And Solomon* said *unto his servants*, Alter her throne, that she may not know it, to the end we may see whether she be *rightly* directed, or whether she be *one* of those who are not *rightly* directed. And when she was come *unto Solomon*,[s] it was said *unto her*, Is thy throne like this? She answered, As though it were the same. And we have had knowledge bestowed on us before this, and have been resigned *unto God*.[t] But that which she worshipped, besides GOD, had turned her aside *from the truth*, for she was of an unbelieving people. It was said unto her, Enter the palace.[u] And when she saw it, she imagined it to be a great water; and she discovered her legs, *by lifting up her robe to pass through it*[x] *Whereupon Solomon* said *unto her*, Verily this is a palace evenly floored with glass *Then* said *the queen*, O LORD, verily I have dealt unjustly with my own soul, and I resign myself, together with Solomon, unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures.[y] Also we heretofore sent unto *the tribe of* Thamud their brother Saleh; *who said unto them*, Serve ye GOD. And behold they *were divided into* two parties, who disputed among themselves[z] *Saleh* said, O my people, why do you hasten evil rather than good?[a] Unless ye ask pardon of GOD, that ye may obtain mercy, *ye are lost*. They answered, We presage evil from thee, and from those who *are* with thee *Saleh*

[q] This person, as is generally supposed, was Asaf the son of Barachia, Solomon's Wazir (or Visir), who knew the great or ineffable name of GOD, by pronouncing of which he performed this wonderful exploit[5] Others, however, suppose it was al Khedr, or else Gabriel, or some other angel, and some imagine it to have been Solomon himself[6]

[r] The original is, *Before thou canst look at any object, and take thy eye off it* It is said that Solomon, at Asaf's desire, looked up to heaven, and before he cast his eye downwards, the throne made its way underground, and appeared before him

[s] For, on the return of her ambassador, she determined to go and submit herself to that prince, but before her departure, she secured her throne, as she thought, by locking it up in a strong castle, and setting a guard to defend it, after which she set out, attended by a vast army[7]

[t] It is uncertain whether these be the words of Balkis, acknowledging her conviction by the wonders she had already seen, or of Solomon and his people, acknowledging the favour of GOD, in calling them to the true faith before her

[u] Or, as some understand the word, *the court* before the palace which Solomon had commanded to be built against the arrival of Balkis, the floor or pavement being of transparent glass, laid over running water, in which fish were swimming Fronting this pavement was placed the royal throne, on which Solomon sat to receive the queen.[8]

[x] Some Arab writers tell us Solomon had been informed that Balkis's legs and feet were covered with hair, like those of an ass, of the truth of which he had hereby an opportunity of being satisfied by ocular demonstration

[y] The queen of Saba having by these words professed Islâm, and renounced idolatry, Solomon had thoughts of making her his wife, but could not resolve to do it, till the devils had by a depilatory taken off the hair from her legs[9] Some,[10] however, will have it that she did not marry Solomon, but a prince of the tribe of Hamdân

[z] Concerning the doctrine preached by Saleh, one party believing on him, and the other treating him as an impostor

[a] *i e*, Why do ye urge and defy the divine vengeance with which ye are threatened, instead of averting it by repentance[9]

Jallalo ddin [6] Al Beidâwi [7] Jallalo ddin . [8] Al Beidâwi [9] Jallalo'ddin. apud al Beidâwi

replied, The evil which ye presage is with GOD:[b] but ye *are* a people who are proved *by a vicissitude of prosperity and adversity*. And there were nine men in the city, who acted corruptly in the earth, and behaved not with integrity. And they said *unto one another*, Swear ye reciprocally by GOD, that we will fall upon *Saleh* and his family by night: and afterwards we will say unto him who hath right to avenge his blood, We were not *so much as* present at the destruction of his family, and we certainly speak the truth. And they devised a plot *against him*. but we devised a plot *against them*, and they perceived it not. And see what was the issue of their plot[c] we utterly destroyed them and their whole people, and these their habitations *remain* empty, because of the injustice which they committed. Verily herein *is* a sign, unto people who understand And we delivered those who believed and feared GOD. And *remember* Lot, when he said unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedness, though ye see *the heinousness thereof*? Do ye approach lustfully unto men, leaving the women? Ye are surely an ignorant people (XX) But the answer of his people was no other than that they said, Cast the family of Lot out of your city for they are men who preserve themselves pure *from the crimes of which ye are guilty* Wherefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife, whom we decreed *to be one* of those who remained behind *to be destroyed*. And we rained on them a shower *of stones*: and dreadful was the shower which fell on those who had been warned *in vain*[d] Say, Praise *be* unto GOD, and peace *be* upon his servants whom he hath chosen! Is GOD more worthy, or the *false gods* which they associate *with him*? *Is not* he *to be preferred*, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and sendeth down rain for you from heaven, whereby we cause delicious groves to spring up? It is not in your power to cause the trees thereof to shoot forth Is there *any other* god *partner* with *the true* GOD? Verily these are a people who deviate *from the truth. Is not he more worthy to be adored* who hath established the earth, and hath caused rivers *to flow* through the midst thereof, and placed thereon immovable *mountains*, and set a bar between the two seas?[e] Is there *any other* god *equal* with *the true* GOD? Yet the greater part of them know *it* not. *Is not he more worthy* who heareth the afflicted,[f] when he calleth upon him, and taketh off the evil *which distressed him*, and *who* hath made you the successors *of your forefathers* in the earth? Is there *any other* god *who can be equalled* with *the true* GOD? How few consider

[b] See chapter 7, p 117, where the Egyptians in the same manner accuse Moses as the cause of their calamities

[c] It is related that Saleh, and those who believed on him, usually meeting to pray in a certain narrow place between the mountains, the infidels said, *He thinks to make an end of us after three days,*[1] *but we will be beforehand with him*, and that a party of them went directly to the straits above mentioned, thinking to execute their design, but were terribly disappointed for, instead of catching the prophet, they were caught themselves, their retreat being cut off by a large piece of rock, which fell down at the mouth of the straits, so that they perished there in a miserable manner

[d] See chapter 7, p 113, and chapter 11, p 166

[e] See chapter 25, p 274 The word *barzakh* is not used here, but another of equivalent import.

[f] Literally, *Him who is driven* by distress to implore GOD's assistance

[1] See cap 7, p, 113, note "

these things: Is not he more worthy who directeth you in the dark *paths* of the land and of the sea; and who sendeth the winds driving abroad the clouds as the forerunners of his mercy?[g] Is there *any other* god *who can be equalled* with *the true* GOD? Far be GOD from *having* those *partners in his power,* which ye associate *with him!* *Is not he more worthy,* who produceth a creature, and after *it hath been dead* restoreth it *to life,* and who giveth you food from heaven and earth? Is there *any other* god with *the true* GOD, *who doth this?* Say, produce your proof *thereof,* if ye speak truth. Say, None either in heaven or earth knoweth that which is hidden, besides GOD: neither do they understand when they shall be raised. However their knowledge attaineth *some notion* of the life to come:[h] yet they are in an uncertainty concerning the same; yea, they are blind as to *the real circumstances* thereof. And the unbelievers say, When we and our fathers shall have been *reduced to* dust, shall we be taken forth *from the grave?* Verily we have been threatened with this, *both we* and our fathers, heretofore. This *is* no other than fables of the ancients. Say *unto them,* Pass through the earth, and see what hath been the end of the wicked. And be not thou grieved for them; neither be thou in any concern on account of *the plots* which they are contriving *against thee.* And they say, When *will* this threat *be accomplished,* if ye speak true? Answer, Peradventure some part of that *punishment,* which ye desire to be hastened, may follow close behind you: verily thy LORD is endued with indulgence towards mankind; but the greater part of them are not thankful. Verily thy LORD knoweth what their breasts conceal, and what they discover: and there is nothing hidden in heaven or on earth, but it *is written* in a clear book. Verily this Korân declareth unto the children of Israel most of those *points* concerning which they disagree:[i] and it *is* certainly a direction, and a mercy unto the true believers. Thy LORD will decide the controversy between them, by his definitive sentence: and he *is* the mighty, the wise. Therefore put thy trust in GOD; for thou art in the manifest truth. Verily thou shalt not make the dead to hear, neither shalt thou make the deaf to hear *thy* call to *the true faith,* when they retire and turn their backs: neither shalt thou direct the blind *to extricate themselves* out of their error. Thou shalt make none to hear *thee,* except him who shall believe in our signs: and they are *wholly* resigned *unto us.* When the sentence shall *be ready to* fall upon them, we will cause a beast[k] to come forth unto them from out of the earth, which shall speak unto them:[l] verily men do not firmly believe in our signs. On the day *of resurrection* we will assemble, out

[g] See chapter 7, p. 110, and chapter 25, p. 274.

[h] Or the words may be translated thus: *Yea, their knowledge faileth as to the life to come; yea,* &c.

[i] Such as the comparing of GOD to sensible things, or to created beings; the removing all imperfections from the description of the Divine Being; the state of paradise and hell; the stories of Ezra and Jesus Christ, &c.[1]

[k] The Mohammedans call this beast, whose appearance will be one sign of the approach of the day of judgment, al Jassâsa, or the Spy. I have given the description of her elsewhere;[2] to which should be added that she is to have two wings.

[l] Or, according to a different reading, viz., *taclimohom* instead of *tocallimohom, who shall wound them.*[3]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Prelim. Disc. Sec. IV. p. 62, &c. [3] Vide ibid.

of every nation a company of those who shall have charged our signs with falsehood; and they shall be prevented from mixing together, until they shall arrive *at the place of judgment*. *And* GOD shall say *unto them*, Have ye charged my signs with falsehood, although ye comprehended them not with *your* knowledge? Or what is it that ye were doing? And the sentence *of damnation* shall fall on them, for that they have acted unjustly. and they shall not speak *in their own excuse* Do they not see that we have ordained the night, that they may rest therein, and the day giving open light? Verily herein *are* signs unto people who believe On *that* day the trumpet shall be sounded; and whoever are in heaven and on earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom GOD shall please *to exempt therefrom*:[m] and all shall come before him, in humble guise And thou shalt see the mountains, and shalt think them firmly fixed; but they shall pass away, even as the clouds pass away. *This will be* the work of GOD, who hath rightly disposed all things and he is well acquainted with that which ye do Whoever shall have wrought righteousness, shall receive *a reward* beyond the desert thereof; and they shall be secure from the terror of that day;[n] but whoever shall have wrought evil, shall be thrown on their faces into *hell* fire. Shall ye receive the reward *of any other* than of that which ye shall have wrought? Verily I am commanded to worship the LORD of this territory *of Mecca*, who hath sanctified the same. unto him *belong* all things And I am commanded to be a Moslem, and to rehearse the Korân. he who shall be directed *thereby*, will be directed to his own *advantage*, and *to* him who shall go astray, say, Verily I am a warner *only* And say, Praise *be* unto GOD! he will show you his signs,[o] and ye shall know them and thy Lord is not regardless of that which they do

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CHAPTER XXVIII

ENTITLED, THE STORY,[p] REVEALED AT MECCA[q]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

T. S M[r] These *are* the signs of the perspicuous book. We will dictate unto thee, *O Mohammed*, *some parts* of the history of Moses and Pharaoh, with truth, for *the sake of* people who believe

[m] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 65, &c. Some say the persons exempted from this general consternation will be the angels Gabriel, Michael, Israfil, and Izraël,[1] others suppose them to be the virgins of paradise, and the angels who guard that place, and carry GOD's throne;[2] and others will have them to be the martyrs[3]

[n] That is, from the fear of damnation, and the other terrors which will disturb the wicked; not from the general terror or consternation before mentioned

[o] viz., The successes of the true believers against the infidels, and particularly the victory of Bedr

[p] The title is taken from the 26th verse, where Moses is said to have related *the story* of his adventures to Shoaib.

[q] Some except a verse towards the latter end, beginning with these words *He who hath given thee the Korân for a rule of faith and practice*, &c

[r] See the Prelim. Disc Sect III p 46

[1] Jallalo'ddin al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Ebn Abbas.

Now Pharaoh lifted himself up in the land *of Egypt*, and he caused his subjects to be divided into parties:[s] he weakened one party of them,[t] by slaying their male children, and preserving their females alive; for he was an oppressor. And we were minded to be gracious unto those who were weakened in the land, and to make them models of religion; and to make them the heirs *of the wealth of Pharaoh and his people*,[u] and to establish a place for them in the earth; and to show Pharaoh, and Haman,[x] and their forces, that *destruction of their kingdom and nation* by them, which they sought to avoid.[y] And we directed the mother of Moses by revelation, *saying*, Give him suck: and if thou fearest for him, cast him into the river, and fear not, neither be afflicted; for we will restore him unto thee, and we will appoint him *one* of *our* apostles.[z] And *when she had put the child in the ark, and had cast it into the river*, the family of Pharaoh took him up; *providence designing* that he should become an enemy and a sorrow unto them. Verily Pharaoh, and Haman, and their forces were sinners. And the wife of Pharaoh said, *This child is* a delight of the eye to me and to thee:[a] kill him not; peradventure it may happen that he may be serviceable unto us, or we may adopt him for *our* son. And they perceived not *the consequence of what they were doing*. And the heart of the mother of Moses became oppressed *with fear*; and she had almost discovered him, had we not armed her heart with constancy, that she might be *one* of those who believe *the promises of* GOD. And she said unto his sister, Follow him. And she watched him at a distance; and they perceived it *not*. And we suffered him not *to take* the breasts *of the nurses who were provided* before *his sister came up*;[b] and she said, Shall I direct you unto some of his nation, who may nurse him for you, and will be careful of him? *And, at their desire, she brought his mother to them.* So we restored him to his mother, that her mind might be set at ease, and that she might not be afflicted; and that she might know that the promise of GOD *was* true:

[s] *i.e.* Either into companies, that they might the better attend his order and perform the services he exacted of them; or into opposite factions, to prevent their attempting anything against them, to deliver themselves from his tyranny.[1]

[t] viz., The Israelites.

[u] See chapter 26, p. 278.

[x] This name is given to Pharaoh's chief minister; from whence it is generally inferred that Mohammed has here made Haman, the favourite of Ahasuerus king of Persia, and who indisputably lived many ages after Moses, to be that prophet's contemporary. But how probable soever this mistake may seem to us, it will be very hard, if not impossible, to convince a Mohammedan of it; for, as has been observed in a parallel case,[2] two very different persons may bear the same name.[3]

[y] *For Pharaoh had either dreamed, or been told* by some diviners, that one of the Hebrew nation should be the ruin of his kingdom; which prophecy is supposed to have been the occasion of his cruelty to them.[4] This circumstance is owing to the invention of the Jews.[5]

[z] It is related that the midwife appointed to attend the Hebrew women, terrified by a light which appeared between the eyes of Moses at his birth, and touched with an extraordinary affection for the child, did not discover him to the officers, so that his mother kept him in her house, and nursed him three months; after which it was impossible for her to conceal him any longer, the king then giving orders to make the searches more strictly.[6]

[a] This sudden affection or admiration was raised in them either by his uncommon beauty, or by the light which shone on his forehead, or because, when they opened the ark, they found him sucking his thumb, which supplied him with milk.[7]

[b] See chapter 20, p. 235.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] See p. 34, note x. [3] Vide Reland de Rel. Moham. p. 217. [4] See cap. 7, p. 117. [5] Vide Shalshel. hakkab, p. 11 et R. Eliez. pirke, c. 48. [6] Al Beidâwi. See the notes to cap. 20, p. 235. [7] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

but the greater part of *mankind* know not *the truth.* And when *Moses* had attained his age of full strength, and was become a perfect man we bestowed on him wisdom and knowledge: and thus do we reward the upright. And he went into the city, at a time when the inhabitants thereof observed not *what passed in the streets* [c] and he found therein two men fighting, the one *being* of his own party, and the other of his enemies [d] And he who *was* of his party, begged his assistance against him who *was* of the contrary party, and Moses struck him with his fist, and slew him: *but being sorry for what had happened,* he said, This is of the work of the devil,[e] for he is a seducing *and* an open enemy. *And* he said, O LORD, verily I have injured my own soul wherefore forgive me. So GOD forgave him, for he *is* ready to forgive, *and* merciful. He said, O LORD, by the *favours* with which thou hast favoured me, I will not be an assistant to the wicked *for the future* And the next morning he was afraid in the city, and looked about him, *as one apprehensive of danger.* and behold, he whom he had assisted the day before, cried out unto him *for help a second time* *But* Moses said unto him, Thou art plainly a quarrelsome fellow And when he sought to lay hold on him who was an enemy unto them both, he said, O Moses, dost thou intend to kill me, as thou killedst a man yesterday?[f] Thou seekest only to be an oppressor in the earth, and seekest not to be a reconciler *of quarrels* And a *certain* man[g] came from the farther part of the city, running hastily, *and* said, O Moses, verily the magistrates are deliberating concerning thee, to put thee to death · depart therefore; I certainly advise thee well Wherefore he departed out of the *city* in great fear, looking this way and that, *lest he should be pursued* *And* he said, O LORD, deliver me from the unjust people And when he was journeying towards Madian, he said, Peradventure my LORD will direct me in the right way[h] And when he arrived at the water of Madian, he found about the *well a* company of men, who were watering *their flocks* And he found, besides them, two women, who kept off *their sheep at a distance.* *And* he said *unto them,* What is the matter with you? They answered, We shall not water *our flock,* until the shepherds shall have driven away *theirs.* for our father is an old man, stricken in years So *Moses* watered *their sheep* for them,[i] and afterwards retired to the

[c] viz, At noon, at which time it is usual in those countries for people to retire to sleep, or, as others rather suppose, a little within night

[d] *i e*, The one being an Israelite of his own religion and nation, and the other an idolatrous Egyptian.

[e] Mohammed allows that Moses killed the Egyptian wrongfully, but, to excuse it, supposes that he struck him without designing to kill him

[f] Some suppose these words to have been spoken by the Israelite, who because Moses had reprimanded him, imagined he was *going* to strike him, and others, by the Egyptian, who either knew or suspected that Moses had killed his countryman the day before

[g] This person, says the tradition, was an Egyptian, and Pharaoh's uncle's son, but a true believer, who, finding that the king had been informed of what Moses had done, and designed to put him to death, gave him immediate notice to provide for his safety by flight

[h] For Moses knew not the way, and coming to a place where three roads met committed himself to the guidance of GOD, and took the middle road, which was the right, providence likewise so ordering it that his pursuers took the other two roads, and missed him.[1] Some say he was led by an angel in the appearance of a traveller [2]

[i] By rolling away a stone of a prodigious weight, which had been laid over the mouth of t

[1] Al Beidawi [2] Jallalo'ddin

shade, saying, O LORD, verily I stand in need of the good which thou shalt send down unto me. And one of the *damsels*[k] came unto him, walking bashfully, and said, My father calleth thee, that he may recompense thee for the *trouble which thou hast taken in* watering *our sheep* for us. And when he was come unto *Shoaib*, and had told him the story *of his adventures*, he said *unto him*, Fear not; thou hast escaped from unjust people. And one of the *damsels* said, My father, hire him for *certain* wages: the best *servant* thou canst hire, *is* an able *and* trusty person[l] *And Shoaib* said *unto Moses*, Verily I will give thee one of these my two daughters in marriage, on condition that thou serve me for hire eight years. and if thou fulfil ten *years*, it *is* in thine own breast; for I seek not to impose a hardship on thee *and* thou shalt find me, if GOD please, a man of probity. *Moses* answered, *Let* this *be the covenant* between me and thee. whichsoever of the two terms I shall fulfil, let it be no crime in me *if I then quit thy service*, and GOD is witness of that which we say And when Moses had fulfilled the term,[m] and was journeying with his family *towards Egypt*, he saw fire on the side of Mount *Sinai*. *And* he said unto his family, Tarry ye *here*; for I see fire peradventure I may bring you thence some tidings *of the way*,[n] or *at least* a brand out of the fire, that ye may be warmed And when he was come thereto, *a voice* cried unto him from the right side of the valley, in the sacred bottom, from the tree, *saying*, O Moses, verily I am GOD, the LORD of all creatures. cast down now thy rod And when he saw it that it moved, as though it *had been* a serpent, he retreated and fled, and returned not. *And God said unto him*, O Moses draw near, and fear not, for thou art safe Put thy hand into thy bosom, *and* it shall come forth white, without any hurt, and draw back thy hand[o] unto thee *which thou stretchest forth* for fear These shall be two evident signs from thy LORD, unto Pharoah and his princes; for they are a wicked people *Moses* said, O LORD, verily I have slain one of them, and I fear they will put me to death but my brother Aaron is of a more eloquent tongue than I *am*. wherefore send him with me for an assistant, that he may gain me credit. for I fear lest they accuse me of imposture *God* said, We will strengthen thine arm by thy brother, and we will give each of you *extraordinary* power,

well by the shepherds, and required no less than seven men (though some name a much larger number) to remove it.[1]

[k] This was Sefûra (or Zipporah) the elder, or, as others suppose, the younger daughter of Shoaib, whom Moses afterwards married

[l] The girl, being asked by her father how she knew Moses deserved this character, told him that he had removed the vast stone above mentioned without any assistance, and that he looked not in her face, but held down his head till he heard her message and desired her to walk behind him, because the wind ruffled her garments a little, and discovered some part of her legs[2]

[m] viz, The longest term of ten years The Mohammedans say, after the Jews,[3] that Moses received from Shoaib the rod of the prophets (which was a branch of a myrtle of paradise, and had descended to him from Adam) to keep off the wild beasts from his sheep, and that this was the rod with which he performed all those wonders in Egypt

[n] See chapter 20, p 234.

[o] Literally, *thy wing*: the expression alludes to the action of birds, which stretch forth their wings to fly away when they are frighted, and fold them together again when they think themselves secure[4]

[1] Idem, interp Yahya. [2] Idem [3] Vide Shals. hakkab p. 12 R Elıez. pirke, c. 40 &c [4] Al Beidâwi.

so that they shall not come up to you, in our signs. Ye two, and whoever shall follow you, *shall be* the conquerors. And when Moses came unto them with our evident signs, they said, This is no other than a deceitful piece of sorcery: neither have we heard of *anything like* this among our forefathers. And Moses said, My LORD best knoweth who cometh with a direction from him; and who shall have success in this life, *as well as the next*: but the unjust shall not prosper. And Pharaoh said, O princes, I did not know that ye had any *other* god besides me.[p] Wherefore do thou, O Haman, burn me clay *into bricks*; and build me a high tower,[q] that I may ascend unto the GOD of Moses: for I verily believe him to be a liar. And both he and his forces behaved themselves insolently and unjustly in the earth, and imagined that they should not be brought before us *to be judged*. Wherefore we took him and his forces, and cast them into the sea. Behold, therefore, what was the end of the unjust. And we made them *deceitful* guides, inviting *their followers* to *hell* fire, and on the day of resurrection they shall not be screened *from punishment*. We pursued them with a curse in this *life*, and on the day of resurrection they *shall be* shamefully rejected. And we gave the book *of the law* unto Moses, after we had destroyed the former generations, to enlighten *the minds* of men, and for a direction and a mercy, that peradventure they might consider. Thou, *O prophet*, wast not on the west side *of Mount Sinai*, when we delivered Moses *his* commission: neither wast thou *one* of those who were present *at his receiving it*: but we raised up *several* generations *after Moses*, and life was prolonged unto them. Neither didst thou dwell among the inhabitants of Madian, rehearsing unto them our signs, but we have sent *thee fully instructed in every particular*. Nor wast thou *present* on the side of the mount, when we called unto *Moses*: but *thou art sent as* a mercy from thy LORD; that thou mightest preach unto a people to whom no preacher hath come before thee,[r] that peradventure they may be warned, and lest, if a calamity had befallen them, for that which their hands had previously committed, they should have said, O LORD, since thou hast not sent an apostle unto us, that we might follow thy signs, and become true believers, *are we not excusable?* Yet when the truth is come unto them from before us, they say, Unless he receive the same *power to work miracles* as Moses received, *we will not believe*. Have they not likewise rejected the *revelation* which was heretofore given unto Moses? They say, Two cunning impostures[s] have mutually assisted one another: and they say, Verily we reject them both. Say, Produce therefore a book from GOD, which is more right than these two, that I may follow it, if ye

[p] See chapter 26, p. 277.

[q] It is said that Haman, having prepared bricks and other materials, employed no less than fifty thousand men, besides labourers, in the building, which they carried to so immense a height that the workmen could no longer stand on it: that Pharaoh, ascending this tower, threw a javelin towards heaven, which fell back again stained with blood, whereupon he impiously boasted that he had killed the GOD of Moses; but at sunset GOD sent the angel Gabriel, who, with one stroke of his wing, demolished the tower, a part whereof, falling on the king's army, destroyed a million of men.[5]

[r] That is, to the Arabians, to whom no prophet had been sent, at least since Ismael.

[s] viz., The Pentateuch and the Korân. Some copies read, *Two impostors*, meaning Moses and Mohammed.

[5] Al Zamakhshari.

speak truth But if they return thee no answer, know that they only follow their own desires · and who erreth more widely *from the truth* than he who followeth his own desire, without a direction from GOD? verily GOD directeth not the unjust people And now have we caused *our* word to come unto them, that they may be admonished. They unto whom we have given the scriptures *which were revealed* before it, believe in the same; and when it is read unto them, say, We believe therein, it is certainly the truth from our LORD. verily we were Moslems before this.[t] These shall receive their reward twice,[u] because they have persevered, and repel evil by good, and distribute *alms* out of that which we have bestowed on them; and when they hear vain discourse, avoid the same, saying, We have our works, and ye have your works peace be on you,[x] we covet not the acquaintance of the ignorant Verily thou canst not direct whom thou wilt · but GOD directeth whom he pleaseth; and he best knoweth those who will submit to be directed. *The Meccans* say, If we follow the *same* direction with thee, we shall be forcibly expelled our land.[y] Have we not established for them a secure asylum,[z] to which fruits of every sort are brought, as a provision of our bounty? but the greater part of them do not understand. How many cities have we destroyed, *whose inhabitants* lived in ease and plenty? and these their dwellings are not inhabited after them, unless for a little while,[a] and we were the inheritors *of their wealth.*[b] But thy LORD did not destroy *those* cities, until he had sent unto their capital an apostle, to rehearse our signs unto them neither did we destroy *those* cities, unless their inhabitants *were* injurious *to their apostle* The things which are given you, are the provisions of this present life, and the pomp thereof; but that which is with GOD, is better and more durable will ye not therefore understand? Shall he then, unto whom we have promised an excellent promise *of future happiness*, and *who* shall attain the same, *be* as he on whom we have bestowed the provision of this present life, and who, on the day of resurrection, *shall be one* of those who are delivered up *to eternal punishment?* On *that* day GOD shall call unto them, and shall say, Where are my partners, which ye imagined *to be so?* And they upon whom the sentence *of damnation* shall be justly pronounced, shall answer, These, O LORD, *are* those whom we seduced, we seduced them as we *also* had been seduced *but now* we clearly quit them, *and*

[t] Holding the same faith in fundamentals, before the revelation of the Korân, which we receive because it is consonant to the scriptures, and attested to by them The passage intends those Jews and Christians who had embraced Mohammedism

[u] Because they have believed both in their own scriptures and in the Korân

[x] See chap 25, p 275 note d

[y] This objection was made by Al Hareth Ebn Othmân Ebn Nawfal Ebn Abd Menâf, who came to Mohammed and told him that the Koreish believed he preached the truth, but were apprehensive that if they made the Arabs their enemies by quitting their religion, they would be obliged likewise to quit Mecca, being but a handful of men, in comparison to the whole nation [1]

[z] By giving them for their habitation the sacred territory of Mecca, a place protected by GOD, and reverenced by man

[a] That is, for a day, or a few hours only, while travellers stay there to rest and refresh themselves, or, as the original may also signify, *unless by a few inhabitants.* some of those ancient cities and dwellings being utterly desolate, and others thinly inhabited.

[b] There being none left to enjoy it after them.

[1] Al Beidâwi.

turn unto thee. They did not worship us, *but their own lusts*.[c] And it shall be said *unto the idolaters*, Call *now* upon those whom ye associated *with* GOD. and they shall call upon them, but they shall not answer them; and they shall see the punishment *prepared for them, and shall wish* that they had submitted to be directed. On *that* day GOD shall call unto them, and shall say, What answer did ye return to *our* messengers? But they shall not be able to give any account *thereof* on that day,[d] neither shall they ask one another *for information* Howbeit whoso shall repent and believe, and shall do that which is right, may expect to be happy Thy LORD createth what he pleaseth; and chooseth freely. *but* they have no free choice. Praise be unto GOD; and far be he removed from *the idols* which they associate *with him!* Thy LORD knoweth *both the secret malice* which their breasts conceal, and *the open hatred* which they discover. He is GOD; there is no GOD but he Unto him *is* the praise *due*, both in this life and *in* that which is to come unto him *doth* judgment *belong*, and before him shall ye be assembled *at the last day* Say, What think ye? If GOD should cover you with perpetual night, until the day of resurrection, what god, besides GOD, would bring you light? Will ye not therefore hearken? Say, What think ye? If GOD should give you continual day, until the day of resurrection, what god, besides GOD, would bring you night, that ye might rest therein? Will ye not therefore consider? Of his mercy he hath made for you the night and the day, that ye may rest in the one, and may seek *to obtain provision for yourselves* of his abundance, *by your industry, in the other*, and that ye may give thanks On a *certain* day GOD shall call unto them, and shall say, Where are my partners, which ye imagined *to share the divine power with me?* And we will produce a witness out of every nation,[e] and will say, Bring hither your proof *of what ye have asserted* And they shall know that the right *is* GOD'S *alone*, and the *deities* which they have devised shall abandon them Karûn was of the people of Moses,[f] but he behaved insolently towards them for we

[c] See chap 10, p 153.

[d] Literally, *The account thereof shall be dark unto them*, for the consternation they shall then be under, will render them stupid, and unable to return an answer

[e] viz, The prophet who shall have been sent to each nation

[f] The commentators say, Karûn was the son of Yeshar (or Izhar), the uncle of Moses, and, consequently make him the same with the Korah of the scriptures This person is represented by them as the most beautiful of the Israelites, and so far surpassing them all in opulency that the riches of Karun have become a proverb The Mohammedans are indebted to the Jews for this last circumstance, to which they have added several other fables for they tell us that he built a large palace overlaid with gold the doors whereof were of massy gold, that he became so insolent, because of his immense riches, as to raise a sedition against Moses, though some pretend the occasion of his rebellion to have been his unwillingness to give alms, as Moses had commanded, that one day, when that prophet was preaching to the people, and among other laws which he published, declared that adulterers should be stoned, Karûn asked him what if he should be found guilty of the same crime? To which Moses answered, that in such case he would suffer the same punishment, and thereupon Karûn produced a harlot, whom he had hired to swear that Moses had lain with her and charged him publicly with it, but on Moses adjuring the woman to speak the truth, her resolution failed her, and she confessed that she was suborned by Karûn to accuse him wrongfully, that then GOD directed Moses, who had complained to him of this usage, to command the earth what he pleased, and it should obey him; whereupon he said, *O earth, swallow them up!* and that immediately the earth opened under Karûn and his confederates, and swallowed them up, with his palace and all his riches.[1] There goes a tradition, that as Karûn sank gradually into the ground, first to his knees, then

[1] Abulfeda Jallalo ddin, al Beidâwi &c

had given him so much treasure, that his keys would have loaded several strong men.[g] When his people said unto him, Rejoice not *immoderately;* for GOD loveth not those who rejoice *in their riches immoderately*, but seek to attain, by means of *the wealth* which GOD hath given thee, the future mansion *of paradise*.[h] And forget not thy portion in this world; but be thou bounteous *unto others*, as GOD hath been bounteous unto thee, and seek not to act corruptly in the earth; for GOD loveth not the corrupt doers. He answered, I have received *these riches*, only because of the knowledge which is with me.[i] Did he not know that GOD had already destroyed, before him, several generations, who were mightier than he in strength, and had amassed more abundance *of riches?* And the wicked shall not be asked *to discover* their crimes. And *Karûn* went forth unto his people, in his pomp.[k] *And* they who loved this present life, said, Oh that we had the like *wealth* as hath been given unto Karûn! verily he is master of a great fortune. But those on whom knowledge had been bestowed, answered, Alas for you! the reward of GOD *in the next life*, will be better unto him who shall believe and do good works: but none shall attain the same, except those who persevere with constancy. And we caused the ground to cleave in sunder, and to swallow up him and his palace: and he had no forces to defend him, besides GOD, neither was he rescued *from punishment*. And the next morning, those who had coveted his condition the day before, said, Aha! verily GOD bestoweth abundant provision on such of his servants as he pleaseth, and he is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*. Unless GOD had been gracious unto us, certainly *the earth* had swallowed us up *also*. Aha! the unbelievers shall not prosper. *As to* this future mansion *of paradise*, we will give it unto them who seek not to exalt themselves in the earth, or to do wrong: for the *happy* issue shall attend the pious. Whoso doth good, shall receive a reward which shall exceed the merit thereof: but *as to him* who doth evil, they who work evil shall be rewarded *according to the merit* only of that which they shall have wrought. Verily he who hath given thee the Korân for a rule *of faith and practice*, will certainly bring thee back home *unto Mecca*.[l] Say,

to his waist, then to his neck, he cried out four several times, *O Moses, have mercy on me!* but that Moses continued to say, *O earth, swallow them up*, till at last he wholly disappeared: upon which GOD said to Moses, *Thou hast no mercy on Karûn, though he asked pardon of thee four times; but I would have had compassion on him if he had asked pardon of me but once.*[2]

[g] The original word properly signifies any number of persons from ten to forty. Some pretend these keys were a sufficient load for seventy men; and Abulfeda says forty mules used to be employed to carry them.

[h] This passage is parallel to that in the New Testament, *Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.*[3]

[i] For some say he was the most learned of all the Israelites, and the best versed in the law, after Moses and Aaron; others pretend he was skilled in chemistry, or in merchandizing, or other arts of gain; and others suppose (as the Jews also fable[4]) that he found out the treasures of Joseph in Egypt.[4]

[k] It is said he rode on a white mule adorned with trappings of gold, and that he was clothed in purple, and attended by four thousand men, all well mounted and richly dressed.

[l] This verse, some say, was revealed to Mohammed when he arrived at Johfa, in his flight from Mecca to Medina, to comfort him and still his complaints.

[1] Al Beidâwi. Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Carun. [2] Luke xvi. 9. [4] Vide R. Ghedal. Shalsh. hakkab. p. 12. [5] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi.

My LORD best knoweth who cometh with a *true* direction, and who is in a manifest error. Thou didst not expect that the book *of the Korân* should be delivered unto thee but *thou hast received it* through the mercy of thy LORD. Be not therefore assisting to the unbelievers: neither let them turn thee aside from the signs of GOD, after they have been sent down unto thee and invite *men* unto thy LORD And be not thou an idolater, neither invoke any other god, together with the *true* GOD there is no god but he. Everything shall perish, except himself unto him *belongeth* judgment, and before him shall ye be assembled *at the last day*.

CHAPTER XXIX

ENTITLED, THE SPIDER,[m] REVEALED AT MECCA[n]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A. L. M.[o] Do men imagine that it shall be sufficient for them[p] to say, We believe; while they be not proved?[q] We heretofore proved those who *were* before them, for GOD will surely know them who are sincere, and he will surely know the liars Do they who work evil think that they shall prevent us *from taking vengeance on them?* An ill judgment do they make Whoso hopeth to meet GOD, verily GOD'S appointed time will certainly come, and he *both* heareth *and* knoweth Whoever striveth *to promote the true religion*, striveth for *the advantage of* his own soul, for GOD needeth not any of *his* creatures and *as to those* who believe and work righteousness, we will expiate their evil deeds from them, and we will give them a reward according to the utmost merit of their actions We have commanded man *to show* kindness towards his parents but if they endeavour to prevail with thee to associate with me that concerning which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not[r] Unto me shall ye return, and I will declare unto you what ye have done Those who shall believe, and

[m] Transient mention is made of this insect toward the middle of the chapter

[n] Some think the first ten verses, ending with these words, *And he well knoweth the hypocrites*, were revealed at Medina, and the rest at Mecca, and others believe the reverse

[o] See the Prelim Disc Sect III p. 56, &c

[p] Literally, *That they shall be let alone* &c

[q] This passage reprehends the impatience of some of the prophet's companions, under the hardships which they sustained in defence of their religion and the losses which they suffered from the infidels, representing to them that such trials and afflictions were necessary to distinguish the sincere person from the hypocrite and the steady from the wavering Some suppose it to have been occasioned by the death of Mahja, Omar's slave, killed by an arrow at the battle of Bedr, which was deeply lamented and laid to heart by his wife and parents[1]

[r] That is, If they endeavour to pervert thee to idolatry The passage is said to have been revealed on account of Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, and his mother Hamna, who, when she heard that her son had embraced Mohammedism swore that she would neither eat nor drink till he returned to his old religion and kept her oath for three days[2]

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Idem

shall work righteousness, we will surely introduce *into paradise*, among the upright. There are some men who say, We believe in GOD: but when *such a one* is afflicted for GOD'S sake, he esteemeth the persecution of men *to be as grievous* as the punishment of GOD. Yet if success cometh from thy LORD, they say, Verily we are with you. Doth not GOD well know that which is in the breasts of *his* creatures? Verily GOD well knoweth the true believers, and he well knoweth the hypocrites. The unbelievers say unto those who believe, Follow our way; and we will bear your sins. Howbeit they shall not bear any part of their sins; for they are liars. but they shall surely bear their own burdens, and *other* burdens besides their own burdens,[s] and they shall be examined, on the day of resurrection, concerning that which they have falsely devised. We heretofore sent Noah unto his people; and he tarried among them one thousand years, save fifty years,[t] and the deluge took them away, while they *were* acting unjustly; but we delivered him and those who were in the ark, and we made the same[u] a sign unto *all* creatures. *We* also *sent* Abraham, when he said unto his people, Serve GOD, and fear him. this *will be* better for you, if ye understand. Ye only worship idols besides GOD, and forge a lie. Verily those which ye worship, besides GOD, are not able to make any provision for you. seek therefore *your* provision from GOD, and serve him and give thanks unto him; unto him shall ye return. If he charge *me* with imposture,[x] verily *sundry* nations before you *likewise* charged *their prophets* with imposture. but public preaching only *is incumbent* on an apostle. Do they not see how GOD produceth creatures, and afterwards restoreth them?[y] Verily this is easy with GOD. Say, Go through the earth, and see how he originally produceth creatures. afterwards will GOD reproduce another production, for GOD *is* almighty. He will punish whom he pleaseth, and he will have mercy on whom he pleaseth. Before him shall ye be brought *at the day of judgment*: and ye shall not escape *his reach*, either in earth, or in heaven,[z] neither shall ye have any patron or defender besides GOD. *As for* those who believe not in the signs of GOD, or that they shall meet him *at the*

[s] viz., The guilt of seducing others which shall be added to the guilt of their own obstinacy without diminishing the guilt of such as shall be seduced by them.

[t] This is true, if the whole life of Noah be reckoned. and accordingly Abulfeda says he was sent to preach in his two hundred and fiftieth year, and that he lived in all nine hundred and fifty. but the text seeming to speak of those years only which he spent in preaching to the wicked antediluvians, the commentators suppose him to have lived much longer. Some say the whole length of his life was a thousand and fifty years, that his mission happened in the fortieth year of his age, and that he lived after the Flood sixty years.[1] and others give different numbers; one, in particular, pretending that Noah lived near sixteen hundred years.[2]

This circumstance, says al Beidâwi, was mentioned to encourage Mohammed, and to assure him that GOD, who supported Noah so many years against the opposition and plots of the antediluvian infidels, would not fail to defend him against all attempts of the idolatrous Meccans and their partisans.

[u] *i.e.*, The ark.

[x] This seems to be part of Abraham's speech to his people. but some suppose that GOD here speaks, by way of apostrophe, first to the Koreish, and afterwards to Mohammed, and that the parenthesis is continued to these words, *And the answer of his people was no other*, &c. In which case we should have said, *If ye charge* Mohammed your apostle *with imposture*, &c.

[y] The infidels are bid to consider how GOD causeth the fruits of the earth to spring forth, and reneweth them every year, as in the preceding, which is an argument of his power to raise man, whom he created at first, to life again after death, at his own appointed time.

[z] See Psalm cxxxix. 7, &c.

[1] Idem. al Zamakh. [2] Caab apud Yahyam.

resurrection, they shall despair of my mercy, and for them *is* a painful punishment *prepared*. And the answer of his people was no other than that they said, Slay him, or burn him. But GOD saved him from the fire.[a] Verily herein were signs unto people who believed. And *Abraham* said, Ye have taken idols, besides GOD, *to cement* affection between you in this life. but on the day of resurrection, the one of you shall deny the other, and the one of you shall curse the other; and your abode shall be *hell* fire, and there shall be none to deliver you. And Lot believed on him. And *Abraham* said, Verily I fly *from my people*, unto *the place which* my LORD *hath commanded me;* for he is the mighty, the wise And we gave him Isaac and Jacob; and we placed among his descendants the gift of prophecy and the scriptures and we gave him his reward in this world, and in the next he shall be *one* of the righteous. *We* also *sent* Lot; when he said unto his people, Do ye commit filthiness which no creature hath committed before you? Do ye approach *lustfully* unto men, and lay wait in the highways,[b] and commit wickedness in your assembly?[c] And the answer of his people was no other than that they said, Bring down the vengeance of GOD upon us, if thou speakest truth. *Lot* said, O LORD, defend me against the corrupt people. And when our messengers came unto Abraham with good tidings,[d] they said, We will surely destroy the inhabitants of this city; for the inhabitants thereof are unjust doers *Abraham* answered, Verily Lot *dwelleth* there They replied, We well know who *dwelleth* therein. we will surely deliver him and his family except his wife; she shall be *one* of those who remain behind And when our messengers came unto Lot, he was troubled for them, and his arm was straitened concerning them[e] But they said, Fear not, neither be grieved; for we will deliver thee and thy family, except thy wife; *for* she shall be *one* of those who remain behind We will surely bring down upon the inhabitants of this city vengeance from heaven, for that they have been wicked doers and we have left thereof a manifest sign[f] unto people who understand. And unto *the inhabitants of* Madian *we sent* their brother Shoaib, and he said *unto them*, O my people, serve GOD, and expect the last day; and transgress not, acting corruptly in the earth. But they accused him of imposture; wherefore a storm from heaven[g] assailed them, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and* prostrate And *we also destroyed the tribes of* Ad and Thamud, and *this* is well known unto you from *what yet remains of* their dwellings And Satan prepared their works for them, and turned them aside from the way *of truth*, although they were sagacious *people*. And *we likewise destroyed* Karûn, and Pharaoh, and Haman. Moses came unto them with evident *miracles*, and they behaved them-

[a] See chapter 21.

[b] Some suppose the Sodomites robbed and murdered the passengers, others, that they unnaturally abused their bodies.

[c] Their meetings being scenes of obscenity and riot.

[d] See chapter 11, p 165, &c.

[e] See ibid p 166

[f] viz, The story of its destruction, handed down by common tradition, or else its ruins or some other footsteps of this signal judgment; it being pretended that several of the stones, which fell from heaven on those cities, are still to be seen. and that the ground where they stood appears burnt and blackish.

[g] See chapter 7, p. 114.

selves insolently in the earth but they could not escape *our vengeance.* Every of them did we destroy in his sin. Against some of them we sent a violent wind [h] some of them did a terrible noise from heaven destroy [i] some of them did we cause the earth to swallow up [k] and some of them we drowned.[l] Neither was GOD *disposed* to treat them unjustly; but they dealt unjustly with their own souls. The likeness of those who take *other* patrons besides GOD, is as the likeness of the spider, which maketh herself a house but the weakest of *all* houses surely is the house of the spider; if they knew *this* Moreover GOD knoweth what things they invoke, besides him, and he *is* the mighty, the wise. These similitudes do we propound unto men but none understand them, except the wise GOD hath created the heavens and the earth in truth verily herein *is* a sign unto the true believers. (XXI.) Rehearse that which hath been revealed unto thee of the book *of the Korân* and be constant at prayer, for prayer preserveth *a man* from filthy crimes, and *from* that which is blameable, and the remembering of GOD is surely a most important *duty* GOD knoweth that which ye do. Dispute not against those who have received the scriptures, unless in the mildest manner,[m] except against such of them as behave injuriously *towards you* and say, We believe in the *revelation* which hath been sent down unto us, and *also in that which* hath been sent down unto you, our GOD and your GOD is one, and unto him are we resigned. Thus have we sent down the book *of the Korân* unto thee and they unto whom we have given the *former* scriptures believe therein; and of these *Arabians also there is* who believeth therein and none reject our signs except the *obstinate* infidels Thou couldst not read any book before this, neither couldst thou write it with thy right hand: then had the gainsayers *justly* doubted *of the divine original thereof.* But the same *is* evident signs in the breasts of those who have received understanding for none reject our signs except the unjust. They say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe* Answer, Signs are in the power of GOD alone, and I am *no more than* a public preacher Is it not sufficient for them that we have sent down unto thee the book *of the Korân*, to be read unto them? Verily herein *is* a mercy, and an admonition unto people who believe Say, GOD is a sufficient witness between me and you: he knoweth whatever is in heaven and earth, and those who believe in vain *idols*, and deny GOD, they shall perish They will urge thee to hasten the punishment *which they defy thee to bring down upon them*:[n] if *there had* not *been* a determined time *for their respite*, the punishment had come upon them *before this*, but it shall surely overtake them suddenly, and they shall not foresee it. They urge thee to bring down vengeance swiftly *upon them* but hell shall surely encompass

[h] The original word properly signifies a wind that *drives the gravel and small stones* before it; by which the storm, or shower of stones, which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, seems to be intended

[i] Which was the end of Ad and Thamud

[k] As it did Karûn

[l] As the unbelievers in Noah's time, and Pharaoh and his army

[m] *i e.*, Without ill language or passion This verse is generally supposed to have been abrogated by that of *the sword;* though some think it relates only to those who are in alliance with the Moslems.

[n] See chapter 6, p. 93

the unbelievers On a *certain* day *their* punishment shall suddenly assail them, *both* from above them, and from under their feet; and God shall say, Taste ye *the reward of* that which ye have wrought. O my servants who have believed, verily my earth is spacious, wherefore serve me.[o] Every soul shall taste death afterwards shall ye return unto us, and *as for* those who shall have believed, and wrought righteousness, we will surely lodge them in a higher apartment of paradise; rivers shall flow beneath them, *and* they shall continue therein for ever How excellent *will be* the reward of the workers *of righteousness,* who persevere with patience, and put their trust in their LORD! How many beasts *are there*, which provide not their food? *It is* GOD *who* provideth food for them and for you; and he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Verily, if thou ask *the Meccans*, who hath created the heavens and the earth and hath obliged the sun and the moon to serve *in their courses,* they will answer, GOD. How therefore do they lie, *in acknowledging of other gods?* GOD maketh abundant provision for such of his servants as he pleaseth, and is sparing unto him, *if he pleaseth*. for GOD knoweth all things.[p] Verily if thou ask them, who sendeth rain from heaven, and thereby quickeneth the earth, after it hath been dead, they will answer, GOD Say, GOD be praised! But the greater part of them do not understand This present life is no other than a toy and a plaything; but the future mansion *of paradise* is life indeed if they knew *this, they would not prefer the former to the latter* When they sail in a ship, they call upon GOD, sincerely exhibiting unto him the *true* religion but when he bringeth them safe to land, behold, they return to their idolatry, to show themselves ungrateful for that which we have bestowed on them, and that they may enjoy *the delights of this life*. but they shall hereafter know *the issue*. Do they not see that we have made *the territory of Mecca* an inviolable and secure *asylum*, when men are spoiled *in the countries* round about them? Do they therefore believe in that which is vain, and acknowledge not the goodness of GOD? But who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against GOD, or denieth the truth, when it hath come unto him? Is there not in hell an abode for the unbelievers? Whoever do their utmost endeavour to promote our true religion, we will direct them into our ways, for GOD is with the righteous

[o] That is, If ye cannot serve me in one city or country, fly unto another, where ye may profess the true religion in safety, for the earth is wide enough, and ye may easily find places of refuge Mohammed is said to have declared That whoever flies for the sake of his religion, though he stir but the distance of a span, merits paradise, and shall be the companion of Abraham and of himself.[1]

[p] And particularly who will make a good and who will make a bad use of their riches.

[1] Al Beidâwi

CHAPTER XXX.

ENTITLED, THE GREEKS;[q] REVEALED AT MECCA.[r]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A. L. M.[s] The Greeks have been overcome *by the Persians*,[t] in the

q The original word is al Rûm; by which the later Greeks, or subjects of the Constantinopolitan empire, are here meant; though the Arabs give the same name also to the Romans, and other Europeans.

r Some except the verse beginning at these words, *Praise be unto* GOD.

s See the Prelim Disc Sect III p 46, &c.

t The accomplishment of the prophecy contained in this passage, which is very famous among the Mohammedans, being insisted on by their doctors as a convincing proof that the Korân really came down from heaven, it may be excusable to be a little particular.

The passage is said to have been revealed on occasion of a great victory obtained by the Persians over the Greeks, the news whereof coming to Mecca, the infidels became strangely elated, and began to abuse Mohammed and his followers, imagining that this success of the Persians, who, like themselves, were idolaters, and supposed to have no scriptures, against the Christians, who pretended as well as Mohammed to worship one GOD, and to have divine scriptures, was an earnest of their own future successes against the prophet and those of his religion to check which vain hopes it was foretold, in the words of the text, that how improbable soever it might seem, yet the scale should be turned in a few years, and the vanquished Greeks prevail as remarkably against the Persians.

That this prophecy was exactly fulfilled the commentators fail not to observe, though they do not exactly agree in the accounts they give of its accomplishment, the number of years between the two actions being not precisely determined Some place the victory gained by the Persians in the fifth year before the Hejra, and their defeat by the Greeks in the second year after it, when the battle of Bedr was fought [1] others place the former in the third or fourth year before the Hejra, and the latter in the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh year after it, when the expedition of al Hodeibiyah was undertaken [2]

The date of the victory gained by the Greeks, in the first of these accounts, interferes with a story which the commentators tell, of a wager laid by Abu Becr with Obba Ebn Khalf, who turned this prophecy into ridicule Abu Becr at first laid ten young camels that the Persians should receive an overthrow within three years, but on his acquainting Mohammed with what he had done, that prophet told him that the word *bed'* made use of in this passage, signified no determinate number of years, but any number from three to nine (though some suppose the tenth year is included) and therefore advised him to prolong the time, and to raise the wager; which he accordingly proposed to Obba, and they agreed that the time assigned should be nine years, and the wager a hundred camels Before the time was elapsed, Obba died of a wound he had received at Ohod, in the third year of the Hejra,[3] but the event afterwards showing that Abu Becr had won, he received the camels of Obba's heirs, and brought them in triumph to Mohammed [4]

History informs us that the successes of Khosru Parviz, king of Persia who carried on a terrible war against the Greek empire, to revenge the death of Maurice, his father in law, slain by Phocas, were very great, and continued in an uninterrupted course for two and twenty years. Particularly in the year of Christ 615, about the beginning of the sixth year before the Hejra the Persians, having the preceding year conquered Syria, made themselves masters of Palestine, and took Jerusalem, which seems to be that signal advantage gained over the Greeks mentioned in this passage, as agreeing best with the terms here used, and most likely to alarm the Arabs by reason of their vicinity to the scene of action and there was so little probability, at that time, of the Greeks being able to retrieve their losses, much less to distress the Persians, that in the following years the arms of the latter made still farther and more considerable progresses, and at length they laid siege to Constantinople itself But in the year 625, in which the fourth year of the Hejra began, about ten years after the taking of Jerusalem, the Greeks, when it was least expected, gained a remarkable victory over the Persians, and not only obliged them to quit the territories of the empire, by carrying the war into their own country, but drove them to the last extremity, and spoiled the capital city al Madâyen, Heraclius enjoying thenceforward a continued series of good fortune, to the deposition and death of Khosru For more exact information in these matters and more nicely fixing the dates, either so as to correspond with or to overturn this pretended prophecy (neither of which is my business here), the reader may have recourse to the historians and chronologers.[5]

[1] Jallalo'ddin, &c. [2] Al Zamakh, al Beidâwi [3] See p. 272, note [a] [4] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, &c. [5] Vide etiam Asseman, Bibl Orient. t. 3, part i. p. 411, &c. et Boulainv Vie de Mahom. p 333, &c.

nearest part of the land,[u] but after their defeat, they shall overcome *the others in their turn*, within a few years Unto GOD *belongeth* the disposal *of this matter*, both for what is past, and for what is to come and on that day shall the believers rejoice in the success granted by GOD, for he granteth success unto whom he pleaseth and *he is* the mighty, the merciful *This is* the promise of GOD GOD will not act contrary to his promise, but the greater part of men know not *the veracity of God* They know the outward appearance of this present life, but they are careless as to the life to come Do they not consider within themselves that GOD hath not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, otherwise than in truth, and *hath set them* a determined period? Verily a great number of men reject the belief of *their future* meeting their LORD *at the resurrection* Do they not pass through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who *were* before them? They excelled *the Meccans* in strength, and broke up the earth,[x] and inhabited it in greater affluence and prosperity than they inhabit the same and their apostles came unto them with evident *miracles*, and GOD was not *disposed* to treat them unjustly, but they injured their own souls *by their obstinate infidelity*, and the end of those who had done evil, was evil, because they charged the signs of GOD with falsehood, and laughed the same to scorn GOD produceth creatures, and will hereafter restore them *to life* then shall ye return unto him. And on the day whereon the hour shall come, the wicked shall be struck dumb for despair, and they shall have no intercessors from among the *idols* which they associated *with God*, and they shall deny *the false gods* which they associated *with him* On the day whereon the hour shall come, on that day shall *the true believers and the infidels* be separated and they who shall have believed, and wrought righteousness, shall take their pleasure in a delighful meadow but *as for* those who shall have disbelieved, and rejected our signs, and the meeting of the next life they shall be delivered up to punishment Wherefore glorify GOD, when the evening overtaketh you, and when ye rise in the morning and unto him be praise in heaven and earth, and at sunset, and when ye rest at noon[y] He bringeth forth the living out of the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead out of the living,[z] and he quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead and in like manner shall ye be brought forth *from your graves* Of his signs *one is*, that he hath created you of dust, and behold, ye *are become* men, spread *over the face of the earth* And of his signs *another is*, that he hath created for you, out of yourselve , wives, that ye may cohabit with them, and hath

[u] Some interpreters supposing that the land here meant is the land of A[illegible] or else that of the Greeks place the scene of action in the confines of Arabia and Syria near Bostra and Adhraat [6] others imagine the land of Persia is intended and lay the scene in Mesopotamia, on the frontiers of that kingdom [7] but Ebn Abbas with more probability thinks it was in Palestine.

[x] To dig for water and minerals and to till the ground for seed &c.[8]

[y] Some are of opinion that the five times of prayer are intended in this passage the evening including the time both of the prayer of sunset and of the evening prayer properly so called and the word I have rendered *at sunset* marking the hour of afternoon prayer since it may be applied also to the time a little before sunset.

[z] See chapter 3, p 34.

[5] Yahya, al Beidawi [7] Mojahed apud Zamakh Jalaloddin [8] Al Beidawi

put love and compassion between you: verily herein are signs unto people who consider. And of his signs *are also* the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the variety of your languages, and of your complexions[z] verily herein are signs unto men of understanding. And of his signs *are* your sleeping by night and by day, and your seeking *to provide for yourselves* of his abundance verily herein *are* signs unto people who hearken. Of his signs *others are*, that he showeth you the lightning, to *strike* terror, and to *give* hope *of rain*, and that he sendeth down water from heaven, and quickeneth thereby the earth, after it hath been dead verily herein *are* signs unto people who understand. And of his signs *this also is one, namely*, that the heaven and the earth stand firm at his command: hereafter, when he shall call you out of the earth at one summons, behold, ye shall come forth. Unto him *are subject* whosoever are in the heavens and on earth: all are obedient unto him It is he who originally produceth a creature, and afterwards restoreth the same *to life*: and this is most easy with him He justly challengeth the most exalted comparison, in heaven and earth,[a] and he *is* the mighty, the wise. He propoundeth unto you a comparison *taken* from yourselves. Have ye, among the *slaves* whom your right hands possess, any partner in the *substance* which we have bestowed on you, so that ye be come equal *sharers* therein *with them, or that* ye fear them as ye fear one another?[b] Thus do we distinctly explain *our* signs, unto people who understand But those who act unjustly *by attributing companions unto God*, follow their own lusts, without knowledge and who shall direct him whom GOD shall cause to err? They shall have none to help them Wherefore be thou orthodox, and set thy face towards the *true* religion, the institution of GOD, to which he hath created mankind disposed: there is no change in what GOD hath created[c] This *is* the right religion, but the greater part of men know *it* not *And be ye* turned unto him, and fear him, and be constant at prayer, and be not idolaters Of those who have made a schism in their religion, and are *divided* into *various* sects, every sect rejoice in their own *opinion* When adversity befalleth men, they call upon their LORD, turning unto him afterwards, when he hath caused them to taste of his mercy, behold, a part of them associate *other deities* with their LORD to show themselves ungrateful for the *favours* which we have bestowed on them Enjoy therefore *the vain pleasures of this life*, but hereafter shall ye know *the consequence*. Have we sent down unto them any authority, which speaketh of the *false gods* which they associate with him?[d] When we cause men to taste mercy, they rejoice

[z] Which are certainly most wonderful, and, as I conceive, very hard to be accounted for, if we allow the several nations in the world to be all the offspring of one man, as we are assured by scripture they are without having recourse to the immediate omnipotency of GOD

[a] That is in speaking of him we ought to make use of the most noble and magnificent expressions we can possibly devise

[b] See chapter 16, p 200

[c] *i e*, The immutable law, or rule, to which man is naturally disposed to conform, and which every one would embrace, as most fit for a rational creature, if it were not for the prejudices of education The Mohammedans have a tradition that their prophet used to say, *That every person is born naturally disposed to become a Moslem, but that a man's parents make him a Jew, a Christian, or a Magian*

[d] That is, Have we either by the mouth of any prophet or by any written revelation, commanded or encouraged the worship of more gods than one?

therein; but if evil befalleth them, for that which their hands have before committed, behold, they despair.[e] Do they not see that GOD bestoweth provision abundantly on whom he pleaseth, and is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth?* Verily herein are signs unto people who believe. Give unto him who is of kin *to thee* his reasonable due; and also to the poor and the stranger: this is better for those who seek the face of GOD, and they shall prosper. Whatever ye shall give in usury,[f] to be an increase of men's substance, shall not be increased by *the blessing of* GOD: but whatever ye shall give in alms, for GOD'S sake, they shall receive a twofold *reward.* *It is* GOD who hath created you, and hath provided food for you: hereafter will he cause you to die; and after that will he raise you again to life. *Is there* any of your false gods, who is able to do the least of these things? Praise be unto him; and far be he removed from what they associate *with him!* Corruption[g] hath appeared by land and by sea, for *the crimes* which men's hands have committed, that it might make them to taste[h] a part of the *fruits of that* which they had wrought, that peradventure they might turn *from their evil ways.* Say, Go through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who have been before *you:* the greater part of them were idolaters. Set thy face therefore towards the right religion, before the day cometh, which none can put back from GOD. On that day shall they be separated into two companies: whoever shall have been an unbeliever, on him *shall* his unbelief *be charged;* and whoever shall have done that which is right shall spread themselves *couches of repose in paradise;* that he may reward those who shall believe and work righteousness, of his abundant liberality; for he loveth not the unbelievers. Of his signs *one is,* that he sendeth the winds, bearing welcome tidings *of rain,* that he may cause you to taste of his mercy, and that ships may sail at his command, that ye may seek *to enrich yourselves* of his abundance *by commerce,* and that ye may give thanks. We sent apostles, before thee, unto their *respective* people, and they came unto them with evident proofs: and we took vengeance on those who did wickedly; and it was incumbent on us to assist the true believers. *It is* GOD who sendeth the winds, and raiseth the clouds, and spreadeth the same in the heaven, as he pleaseth, and *afterwards* disperseth the same: and thou mayest see the rain issuing from the midst thereof; and when he poureth the same down on such of his servants as he pleaseth, behold, they are filled with joy; although before it was sent down unto them, before *such relief,* they were despairing. Consider therefore the traces of GOD'S mercy, how he quickeneth the earth, after its *state of* death: verily the same will raise the dead; for he is almighty. Yet if we should send a *blasting* wind, and they should see *their corn* yellow *and burnt up,* they would surely become ungrateful, after *our former favours.* Thou canst not make the dead to hear, neither canst thou make the deaf to hear *thy* call, when they retire and turn their backs; neither canst thou direct the blind

[e] And seek not to regain the favour of GOD by timely repentance.

[f] Or by way of bribe. The word may include any sort of extortion or illicit gain.

[g] viz., Mischief and public calamities, such as famine, pestilence, droughts, shipwrecks, &c. or erroneous doctrines, or a general depravity of manners.

[h] Some copies read in the first person plural, *That we might cause them to taste,* &c.

out of their error: thou shalt make none to hear, except him who shall believe in our signs; for they are resigned *unto us*. *It is* GOD who created you in weakness, and after weakness hath given *you* strength; and after strength, he will *again* reduce *you* to weakness, and grey hairs. he createth that which he pleaseth; and he *is* the wise, the powerful. On the day whereon the *last* hour shall come the wicked will swear that they have not tarried[i] above an hour. in like manner did they utter lies *in their lifetime*. But those on whom knowledge hath been bestowed, and faith, will say, Ye have tarried, according to the book of GOD,[k] until the day of resurrection · for this *is* the day of resurrection; but ye knew *it* not. On that day their excuse shall not avail those who have acted unjustly; neither shall they be invited *any more* to make themselves acceptable *unto God* And now have we propounded unto men, in this Korân, parables of every kind: yet if thou bring them a verse *thereof*, the unbelievers will surely say, Ye *are* no other than publishers of vain falsehoods Thus hath GOD sealed up the hearts of those who believe not But do thou, *O Mohammed*, persevere with constancy, for the promise of GOD is true; and let not those induce thee to waver, who have no certain knowledge

CHAPTER XXXI

ENTITLED, LOKMAN,[l] REVEALED AT MECCA.[m]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A. L. M.[n] These are the signs of the wise book, a direction, and a mercy unto the righteous, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, and have firm assurance in the life to come · these are directed by their LORD, and they shall prosper. There is a man who purchaseth a ludicrous story,[o] that he may seduce *men* from the way of GOD, without knowledge, and may laugh the same to scorn.

[i] viz., In the world or in their graves See chapter 23, p 202

[k] That is, according to his foreknowledge and decree in the preserved table, or according to what is said in the Korân, where the state of the dead is expressed by these words[1] *Behind them there shall be a bar until the day of resurrection*[2]

[l] The chapter is so entitled from a person of this name mentioned therein, of whom more immediately

[m] Some except the fourth verse, beginning at these words, *Who observe the appointed times of prayer and give alms*, &c And others three verses, beginning at these words, *If all the trees in the earth were pens*, &c

[n] See the Prelim Disc Sect III p 46, &c

[o] *i e*, Vain and silly fables. The passage was revealed it is said, on occasion of al Nodar Ebn al Hareth, who, having brought from Persia the romance of Rostam and Isfandiyar, the two heroes of that country, recited it in the assemblies of the Koreish, highly extolling the power and splendour of the ancient Persian kings, and preferring their stories to those of Ad and Thamud, David and Solomon, and the rest which are told in the Korân Some say that al Nodar bought singing girls, and carried them to those who were inclined to become Moslems *to divert them from their purpose by songs and tales*[3]

[1] Cap 23, p. 26– [2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem

these shall suffer a shameful punishment And when our signs are rehearsed unto him, he disdainfully turneth his back, as though he heard them not, as though there were a deafness in his ears: wherefore denounce unto him a grievous punishment. But they who shall believe and work righteousness, shall enjoy gardens of pleasure, they shall continue therein for ever. *this is* the certain promise of GOD and he *is* the mighty, the wise He hath created the heavens without visible pillars *to sustain them*, and hath thrown on the earth *mountains* firmly rooted, lest it should move with you,[p] and he hath replenished the same with all kinds of beasts and we send down rain from heaven, and cause every kind of noble *vegetable* to spring forth therein. This is the creation of GOD show me now what they have created, who *are worshipped* besides him? verily the ungodly are in a manifest error. We heretofore bestowed wisdom on Lokmân,[q] *and commanded him, saying*, Be thou thankful unto GOD for whoever is thankful, shall be thankful to *the advantage of* his own soul, and if any shall be unthankful, verily GOD is self-sufficient, and worthy to be praised. And *remember* when Lokmân said unto his son,[r] as he admonished him, O my son, Give not a partner unto GOD, for polytheism *is* a great impiety. We have commanded man concerning his parents,[s]

[p] See chapter 16, p 196 A learned writer,[1] in his notes on this passage, says the original word *rawâsiya*, which the commentators in general will have to signify *stable mountains* seems properly to express the Hebrew word *mechonim*, i e, *bases* or *foundations*, and therefore he thinks the Korân has here translated that passage of the Psalms *He laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be moved for ever*[2] This is not the only instance which might be given that the Mohammedan doctors are not always the best interpreters of their own scriptures

[q] The Arab writers say, that Lokman was the son of Bâûra, who was the son or grandson of a sister or aunt of Job, and that he lived several centuries, and to the time of David,[*] with whom he was conversant in Palestine According to the description they give of his person, he must have been deformed enough, for they say he was of a black complexion (whence some call him an Ethiopian), with thick lips and splay feet but in return he received from GOD wisdom and eloquence in a great degree, which some pretend were given him in a vision, on his making choice of wisdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him The generality of the Mohammedans, therefore, hold him to have been no prophet, but only a wise man As to his condition, they say he was a slave, but obtained his liberty on the following occasion His master having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him such exact obedience as to eat it all, at which his master being surprised, asked him how he could eat so nauseous a fruit? To which he replied, it was no wonder that he should for once accept a bitter fruit from the same hand from which he had received so many favours[3] The commentators mention several quick repartees of Lokmân, which, together with the circumstances above mentioned, agree so well with what Maximus Planudes has written of Esop, that from thence, and from the fables attributed to Lokmân by the orientals, the latter has been generally thought to have been no other than the Esop of the Greeks However that be (for I think the matter will bear a dispute), I am of opinion that Planudes borrowed great part of his life of Esop from the traditions he met with in the east concerning Lokmân, concluding them to have been the same person, because they were both slaves, and supposed to be the writers of those fables which go under their respective names, and bear a great resemblance to one another, for it has long since been observed by learned men that the greater part of that monk's performance is an absurd romance, and supported by no evidence of the ancient writers[4]

[r] Whom some name Anám (which comes pretty near the Ennus of Planudes), some Ashcam, and others Mathan

[s] The two verses which begin at these words, and end with the following, viz, *And then will I declare unto you that which ye have done*, are no part of Lokmân's advice to his son, but are inserted by way of parenthesis, as very pertinent and proper to be repeated here, to show the heinousness of idolatry they are to be read (excepting some additions) in the twenty ninth chapter, and were originally revealed on account of Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, as has been already observed[5]

[1] Gol in Append ad Erpenii Gram. p 187 [2] Ps. civ 5. [3] Al Zamakh, al Beidâwi, &c. Vide D'Herbel Bibl Orient. p. 516, et Marracc in Alc. p 547 [4] Vide la Vie d'Esope, par M. de Meziriac et Bayle, Dict Hist Art. Esope Rem B [5] See cap 29, p 297, and the notes thereon

(his mother carrieth him *in her womb* with weakness and faintness, and he is weaned in two years), *saying*, Be grateful unto me and to thy parents Unto me shall all come *to be judged* But if *thy parents* endeavour to prevail on thee to associate with me that concerning which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not: bear them company in this world in what shall be reasonable,[t] but follow the way of him who sincerely turneth unto me[u] Hereafter unto me shall ye return, and then will I declare unto you that which ye have done O my son, verily *every matter, whether good or bad*, though it be of the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and be *hidden* in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, GOD will bring the same *to light*, for GOD *is* clear-sighted *and* knowing O my son, be constant at prayer, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil and be patient under the *afflictions* which shall befall thee, for this *is* a duty absolutely incumbent *on all men* Distort not thy face *out of contempt* to men, neither walk in the earth with insolence; for GOD loveth no arrogant, vain-glorious person And be moderate in thy pace and lower thy voice; for the most ungrateful of *all* voices surely *is* the voice of asses[x] Do ye not see that GOD hath subjected whatever is in heaven and on earth to your service, and hath abundantly poured on you his favours, *both* outwardly and inwardly?[y] *There are* some men who dispute concerning GOD without knowledge, and without a direction, and without an enlightening book And when it is said unto them, Follow that which GOD hath revealed, they answer, Nay, we will follow that which we found our fathers to practise What, though the devil invite them to the torment of hell? Whoever resigneth himself unto GOD, being a worker of righteousness, taketh hold on a strong handle, and unto GOD *belongeth* the issue of *all* things But whoever shall be an unbeliever, let not his unbelief grieve thee unto us shall they return, then will we declare unto them that which they have done, for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts *of men* We will suffer them to enjoy *this world* for a little while afterwards we will drive them to a severe punishment If thou ask them who hath created the heavens and the earth, they will surely answer, GOD. Say, GOD be praised! But the greater part of them do not understand Unto GOD *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and earth for GOD *is* the self-sufficient, the praiseworthy If whatever trees *are* in the earth *were* pens, and he should after that swell the sea into seven seas *of ink*, the words of GOD would not be exhausted,[z] for GOD *is* mighty *and* wise Your creation and your resuscitation are but as *the creation and resuscitation of* one soul[a] verily GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth Dost thou not see

[t] That is, show them all deference and obedience, so far as may be consistent with thy duty towards GOD

[u] The person particularly meant here was Abu Becr, at whose persuasion Saad had become a Moslem

[x] To the braying of which animal the Arabs liken a loud and disagreeable voice

[y] *i e*, All kinds of blessings, regarding as well the mind as the body

[z] This passage is said to have been revealed in answer to the Jews, who insisted that all knowledge was contained in the law [1]

[a] GOD being able to produce a million of worlds by the single word Kun, *i e*, Be and to raise the dead in general by the single word Kum, *i e* Arise

[1] Al Beidâwi

that GOD causeth the night to succeed the day, and causeth the day to succeed the night, and compelleth the sun and the moon to serve *you*? Each *of those luminaries* hasteneth *in its course* to a determined period: and GOD *is* well acquainted with that which ye do. This *is declared concerning the divine knowledge and power*, for that GOD is the true Being, and for that whatever ye invoke, besides him, *is* vanity; and for that GOD is the high, the great GOD. Dost thou not see that the ships run in the sea, through the favour of GOD, that he may show you of his signs? Verily herein *are* signs, unto every patient, grateful person. When waves cover them, like overshadowing *clouds*, they call upon GOD, exhibiting the pure religion unto him; but when he bringeth them safe to land, *there* is of them who halteth *between the true faith and idolatry*. Howbeit, none rejecteth our signs, except every perfidious, ungrateful person. O men, fear your LORD, and dread the day whereon a father shall not make satisfaction for his son, neither shall a son make satisfaction for his father at all the promise of GOD is assuredly true Let not this present life, therefore, deceive you, neither let the deceiver[b] deceive you concerning GOD Verily the knowledge of the hour *of judgment* is with GOD and he causeth the rain to descend, *at his own appointed time*, and he knoweth what *is* in the wombs *of females*. No soul knoweth what it shall gain on the morrow, neither doth any soul know in what land it shall die:[c] but GOD *is* knowing *and* fully acquainted *with all things*

CHAPTER XXXII

ENTITLED ADORATION,[d] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

A. L. M.[e] The revelation of *this* book, *there is* no doubt thereof, *is* from the LORD of all creatures Will they say, *Mohammed* hath forged it? Nay, it is the truth from thy LORD, that thou mayest preach to a people, unto whom no preacher hath come before thee;[f]

[b] viz., The devil.

[c] In this passage five things are enumerated which are known to GOD alone, viz., The time of the day of judgment; the time of rain, what is forming in the womb, as whether it be male or female, &c, what shall happen on the morrow, and where any person shall die These the Arabs, according to a tradition of their prophet, call *the five keys of secret knowledge* The passage, it is said, was occasioned by al Hareth Ebn Amru, who propounded questions of this nature to Mohammed

As to the last particular, al Beidâwi relates the following story The angel of death passing once by Solomon in a visible shape, and looking at one who was sitting with him, the man asked who he was, and upon Solomon's acquainting him that it was the angel of death, said, He seems to want me; wherefore order the wind to carry me from hence into India, which being accordingly done, the angel said to Solomon, I looked so earnestly at the man out of wonder, because I was commanded to take his soul in India, and found him with thee in Palestine

[d] The title is taken from the middle of the chapter, where the believers are said *to fall down adoring*

[e] See the Prelim Disc. Sect III p 46, &c.

[f] See chapter 28, p. 293

peradventure they will be directed *It is* GOD who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, in six days, and then ascended *his* throne Ye have no patron or intercessor besides him Will ye not therefore consider? He governeth *all* things from heaven even to the earth hereafter shall they return unto him, on the day whose length shall be a thousand years,[g] of those which ye compute This *is* he who knoweth the future and the present the mighty, the merciful *It is he* who hath made everything which he hath created exceeding good, and first created man of clay, and afterwards made his posterity of an extract of despicable water,[h] and then formed him *into proper shape*, and breathed of his spirit into him, and hath given you *the senses of* hearing and seeing, and hearts *to understand* How small thanks do ye return! And they say, When we shall lie hidden in the earth shall we be *raised thence* a new creature? Yea they deny the meeting of their LORD *at the resurrection* Say, The angel of death,[i] who is set over you, shall cause you to die then shall ye be brought back unto your LORD If thou couldst see, when the wicked shall bow down their heads before their LORD, *saying*, O LORD we have seen and have heard suffer us therefore to return *into the world* and we will work that which is right, since we are now certain *of the truth of what hath been preached to us thou wouldst see an amazing sight* If we had pleased we had certainly given unto every soul its direction but the word *which hath proceeded* from me must necessarily be fulfilled *when I said*, Verily I will fill hell with genii and men, altogether[k] Taste therefore *the torment prepared for you* because ye have forgotten the coming of this your day, we also have forgotten you taste therefore a punishment of eternal duration, for that which ye have wrought. Verily they only believe in our signs, who, when they are warned thereby, fall down adoring, and celebrate the praise of their LORD, and are not elated with pride their sides are raised from *their* beds, calling on their LORD with fear and with hope and they distribute alms out of what we have bestowed on them No soul[l] knoweth the complete satisfaction[m] which is secretly

[g] As to the reconciliation of this passage with another[1] which seems contradictory see the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 65

Some however do not interpret the passage before us of the resurrection but suppose that the words here describe the making and executing of the decrees of GOD which are sent down from heaven to earth and are returned (or *ascend* as the verb properly signifies) back to him after they have been put in execution and present themselves as it were so executed to his knowledge in the space of a day with GOD but with man of a thousand years. Others imagine this space to be the time which the angels who carry the divine decrees and bring them back executed take in descending and reascending because the distance from heaven to earth is a journey of five hundred years and others fancy that the angels bring down at once decrees for a thousand years to come which being expired, they return back for fresh orders &c[2]

[h] *i e* Seed.

[i] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 56

[k] See chapter 7 p 106 and chapter 11 p 169

[l] Not even an angel of those who approach nearest GOD's throne, nor any prophet who hath been sent by him.[3]

[m] Literally *The joy of the eyes* The commentators fail not on occasion of this passage, to produce that saying of their prophet which was originally none of his own GOD *saith I have prepared for my righteous servants what eye hath not seen nor hath ear heard nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive*

[1] Cap 70 [2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem.

prepared for them, as a reward for that which they have wrought. Shall he, therefore, who is a true believer, *be* as he who is an impious transgressor? They shall not be held equal. As to those who believe and do that which is right, they shall have gardens of *perpetual* abode, an ample recompence for that which they shall have wrought but as for those who impiously transgress, their abode *shall be hell* fire, so often as they shall endeavour to get thereout, they shall be dragged back into the same, and it shall be said unto them, Taste ye the torment of *hell* fire, which ye rejected as a falsehood. And we will cause them to taste the nearer punishment *of this world*, besides the more grievous punishment *of the next*, peradventure they will repent. Who is more unjust than he who is warned by the signs of his LORD, and then turneth aside from the same? We will surely take vengeance on the wicked. We heretofore delivered the book *of the law* unto Moses wherefore be not thou in doubt as to the revelation thereof[n] and we ordained the same *to be* a direction unto the children of Israel and we appointed teachers from among them, who should direct *the people* at our command, when they had persevered with patience and had firmly believed in our signs. Verily thy LORD will judge between them, on the day of resurrection, concerning that wherein they have disagreed. Is it not known unto them how many generations we have destroyed before them, through whose dwellings they walk?[o] Verily herein are signs will they not therefore hearken? Do they not see that we drive rain unto a lard bare of grass and parched up, and thereby produce corn of which their cattle eat, and themselves *also*? Will they not therefore regard? The *infidels* say *to the true believers* When *will* this decision *be made between us*, if ye speak truth? Answer On the day of *that* decision,[p] the faith of those who shall have disbelieved shall not avail them, neither shall they be respited *any longer*. Wherefore avoid them, and expect *the issue* verily they expect *to obtain some advantage over thee*

[n] Or as some interpret it, *of the revelation of the Korân to thyself* sin e the del very of the law to Moses proves that the revelat on of the Koran to thee ot the firs nstance of the kind. Others think the words should be translated thus *Be thou not in doubt as to thy meeting of that prophet* supposing that the interv ew between Moses and Mohammed in the sixth heaven when the latter took his n ght journey thither is here nte ded[4]

[o] The Meccans frequently passing by the places where the Ad tes Tha udites Midianites Sodomites &c. once dwelt.

[p] That is on the day of judgment though some suppo e the d y here ntended to be that of the victory at Bedr or else that of the tak g of Me ca when several of those who had been proscribed were put to dea h w hout re iss on[5]

[4] Idem. [5] See the P l n Disc. Se t II p 42

CHAPTER XXXIII

ENTITLED, THE CONFEDERATES;[q] REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

O PROPHET, fear GOD, and obey not the unbelievers and the hypocrites:[r] verily GOD is knowing *and* wise. But follow that which is revealed unto thee from thy LORD; for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do and put thy trust in GOD; for GOD is a sufficient protector GOD hath not given a man two hearts within him; neither hath he made your wives (some of whom ye divorce, regarding them thereafter as your mothers) your *true* mothers; nor hath he made your adopted sons your *true* sons[s] This *is* your saying in your mouths, but GOD speaketh the truth, and he directeth the *right* way Call *such as are adopted*, the sons of their *natural* fathers this *will be* more just in the sight of GOD And if ye know not their fathers, *let them be as* your brethren in religion, and your companions and it shall be no crime in you, that ye err[t] *in this matter*, but that *shall be criminal* which your hearts purposely design, for GOD is gracious *and* merciful. The prophet *is* nigher unto the true believers than their own souls;[u]

[q] Part of this chapter was revealed on occasion of the war of the ditch, which happened in the fifth year of the Hejra, when Medina was besieged, for above twenty days, by the joint and *confederate* forces of several Jewish tribes and of the inhabitants of Mecca, Najd, and Tehâma, at the instigation of the Jews of the tribe of Nadhir who had been driven out of their settlement near Medina, by Mohammed, the year before[1]

[r] It is related that Abu Sofian, Acrema Ebn Abi Jahl, and Abu'l A war al Salami, having an amicable interview with Mohammed, at which were present also Abda'llah Ebn Obba, Moatteb Ebn Kosheir, and Jadd Ebn Kais, they proposed to the prophet that if he would leave off preaching against the worship of their gods, and acknowledge them to be mediators, they would give him and his LORD no farther disturbance, upon which these words were revealed.[2]

[s] This passage was revealed to abolish two customs among the old Arabs The first was their manner of divorcing their wives, when they had no mind to let them go out of their house, or to marry again and this the husband did by saying to the woman, *Thou art henceforward to me as the back of my mother*, after which words pronounced he abstained from her bed, and regarded her in all respects as his mother, and she became related to all his kindred in the same degree as if she had been really so The other custom was the holding their adopted sons to be as nearly related to them as their natural sons, so that the same impediments of marriage arose from that supposed relation, in the prohibited degrees, as it would have done in the case of a genuine son The latter Mohammed had a peculiar reason to abolish—viz, his marrying the divorced wife of his freedman Zeid who was also his adopted son, of which more will be said by-and bye By the declaration which introduces this passage, that GOD *has not given a man two hearts*, is meant, that a man cannot have the same affection for supposed parents and adopted children, as for those who are really so They tell us the Arabs used to say of a prudent and acute person, that he had two hearts, whence one Abu Mámer, or, as others write, Jemil Ebn Asad al Fihri was surnamed Dhu'lkalbein, or *the man with two hearts*[3]

[t] Through ignorance or mistake, or that ye have erred for the time past

[u] Commanding them nothing but what is for their interest and advantage, and being more solicitous for their present and future happiness even than themselves, for which reason he ought to be dear to them, and deserves their utmost love and respect In some copies these words are added, *And he is a father unto them* every prophet being the spiritual father of his people, who are therefore brethren It is said that this passage was revealed on some of Mohammed's followers telling him, when he summoned them to attend him in the expedition of Tabûc,[4] that they would ask leave of their fathers and mothers[5]

[1] Vide Abulfeda Vit Moh p 73, et Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, l. 4, c 1 [2] Al Beidâwi
[3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin &c [4] See cap. 9, p 139 [5] Al Beidâwi

and his wives *are* their mothers.[x] Those who are related by consanguinity *are* nigher of kin the one of them unto the others, according to the book of GOD, than the *other* true believers, and the Mohâjerûn:[y] unless that ye do what is fitting and reasonable to your relations *in general*. This is written in the book *of God*.[z] *Remember* when we accepted their covenant from the prophets,[a] and from thee, *O Mohammed*, and from Noah, and Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus the son of Mary, and received from them a firm covenant;[b] that *God* may examine the speakers of truth concerning their veracity;[c] and he hath prepared a painful torment for the unbelievers. O true believers, remember the favour of GOD towards you, when armies *of infidels* came against you,[d] and we sent against them a wind, and hosts *of angels* which ye saw not.[e] and GOD beheld that which ye did. When they came against you from above you, and from below you,[f] and when *your* sight became troubled, and *your* hearts came even to *your* throats *for fear*, and ye imagined of GOD *various* imaginations.[g] There were the faithful tried, and made to tremble with a violent trembling. And when the hypocrites, and those in whose heart was an infirmity, said, GOD and

[x] Though the spiritual relation between Mohammed and his people declared in the preceding words, created no impediment to prevent his taking to wife such women among them as he thought fit; yet the commentators are of opinion that they are here forbidden to marry any of his wives.[6]

[y] These words, which also occur, excepting the latter part of the sentence, in the eighth chapter, abrogate that law concerning inheritances, published in the same chapter, whereby the Mohâjerûn and Ansârs were to be the heirs of one another, exclusive of their nearer relations who were infidels.[7]

[z] *i.e.* In the preserved table, or the Korân; or, as others suppose, in the Pentateuch.

[a] Jallalo'ddin supposes this covenant was made when Adam's posterity were drawn forth from his loins, and appeared before GOD like small ants;[8] but Marracci conjectures that the covenant here meant was the same which the Talmudists pretend all the prophets entered into with GOD on Mount Sinai, where they were all assembled in person with Moses.[9]

[b] Whereby they undertook to execute their several commissions, and promised to preach the religion commanded them by GOD.

[c] *i.e.*, That he may at the day of judgment demand of the prophets in what manner they executed their several commissions, and how they were received by their people; or, as the words may also import, that he may examine those who believed on them, concerning their belief, and reward them accordingly.

[d] These were the forces of the Koreish and the tribe of Ghatfân, confederated with the Jews of al Nadhir and Koreidha, who besieged Medina to the number of twelve thousand men, in the expedition called the *war of the ditch*.

[e] On the enemies' approach, Mohammed, by the advice of Salmân, the Persian, ordered a deep ditch or entrenchment to be dug round Medina, for the security of the city, and went out to defend it with three thousand men. Both sides remained in their camps near a month, without any other acts of hostility than shooting of arrows and slinging of stones, till, in a winter's night, GOD sent a piercing cold east wind, which benumbed the limbs of the confederates, blew the dust in their faces, extinguished their fires, overturned their tents, and put their horses in disorder, the angels at the same time crying, *Allah acbar!* round about their camp; whereupon Toleiha Ebn Khowailed the Asadite, said aloud, *Mohammed is going to attack you with enchantments, wherefore provide for your safety by flight*: and accordingly the Koreish first, and afterwards the Ghatfânites, broke up the siege and returned home, which retreat was also not a little owing to the dissensions among the confederate forces, the raising and fomenting whereof the Mohammedans also ascribe to GOD. It is related that when Mohammed heard that his enemies were retired, he said, *I have obtained success by means of the east wind, and Ad perished by the west wind.*[1]

[f] The Ghatfânites pitched on the east side of the town, on the higher part of the valley; and the Koreish on the west side, on the lower part of the valley.[2]

[g] The sincere and those who were more firm of heart fearing they should not be able to stand the trial; and the weaker-hearted and hypocrites thinking themselves delivered up to slaughter and destruction.

[6] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. VI. [7] See cap. 8, p. 133. [8] See cap. 7, p. 122. [9] See cap. 3, p. 41. [1] Al Beidâwi. Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 77, &c. [2] Idem.

his apostle have made you no other than a fallacious promise.[h] And when a party of them[i] said, O inhabitants of Yathreb,[k] *there is* no place *of security* for you *here*, wherefore return *home*. And a part of them asked leave of the prophet *to depart*, saying, Verily our houses are defenceless *and exposed to the enemy* but they were not defenceless, *and* their intention was no other than to fly. If *the city* had been entered upon them *by the enemy* from the parts adjacent, and they had been asked to desert *the true believers, and to fight against them;* they had surely consented thereto but they had not, *in such case*, remained in the same[l] but a little while They had before made a covenant with GOD, that they would not turn *their* backs [m] and the *performance of their* covenant with GOD shall be examined into *hereafter*. Say, Flight shall not profit you, if ye fly from death or from slaughter and *if it would*, yet shall ye not enjoy *this world* but a little. Say, Who *is* he who shall defend you against GOD, if he is pleased *to bring* evil on you, or is pleased *to show* mercy towards you? They shall find none to patronize or protect them, besides GOD. GOD already knoweth those among you who hinder *others from following his apostle*, and who say unto their brethren, Come hither unto us; and who come not to battle, except a little,[n] being covetous towards you:[o] but when fear cometh *on them*, thou seest them look unto thee *for assistance*, their eyes rolling about, like *the eyes* of him who fainteth by reason of *the agonies of* death yet when *their* fear is past, they inveigh against you with sharp tongues, being covetous of the best *and most valuable part of the spoils*. These believe not *sincerely*, wherefore GOD hath rendered their works of no avail; and this is easy with GOD. They imagined that the confederates would not depart *and raise the siege*, and if the confederates should come *another time*, they would wish to live in the deserts among the Arabs who dwell in tents,[p] and there to inquire of news concerning you; and although they were with you *this time*, yet they ought not, except a little Ye have in the apostle of GOD an excellent example,[q] unto him who hopeth in GOD and the last day, and remembereth GOD

[h] The person who uttered these words, 'tis said, was Moatteb Ebn Kosheir, who told his fellows that Mohammed had promised them the spoils of the Persians and the Greeks, whereas now not one of them dared to stir out of their entrenchment [3]

[i] viz, Aws Ebn Keidhi and his adherents

[k] This was the ancient and proper name of Medina, or of the territory wherein it stands Some suppose the town was so named from its founder, Yathreb, the son of Kâbiya, the son of Mahlayel, the son of Aram, the son of Sem, the son of Noah, though others tell us it was built by the Amalekites [4]

[l] i.e, In the city, or, in their apostasy and rebellion because the Moslems would surely succeed at last

[m] The persons meant here were Banu Haretha, who having behaved very ill and run away on a certain occasion, promised they would do so no more [5]

[n] Either coming to the army in small numbers, or staying with them but a little while and then returning on some feigned excuse, or behaving ill in time of action Some expositors take these words to be part of the speech of the hypocrites, reflecting on Mohammed's companions for lying idle in the trenches and not attacking the enemy

[o] i e, Sparing of their assistance either in person or with their purse; or being greedy after the booty

[p] That they might be absent, and not obliged to go to war

[q] viz., Of firmness in time of danger, of confidence in the divine assistance, and of piety by fervent prayer for the same

[3] Idem. Vide Abulf ubi sup. p 76 Al Beidâwi. [4] Ahmed Ebn Yusof See the Prelim Disc. p 4

frequently. When the true believers saw the confederates, they said, This *is* what GOD and his apostle have foretold us;[r] and GOD and his apostle have spoken the truth: and it only increased their faith and resignation. Of the true believers, *some* men justly performed what they had promised unto GOD,[s] and some of them have finished their course,[t] and some of them wait *the same advantage;*[u] and they changed not *their promise*, by deviating *therefrom in the least*: that GOD may reward the just performers *of their covenant* for their fidelity; and may punish the hypocritical, if he pleaseth, or may be turned unto them; for GOD *is* ready to forgive, *and* merciful. GOD hath driven back the infidels in their wrath: they obtained no advantage; and GOD was *a* sufficient *protector* unto the faithful in battle; for GOD is strong *and* mighty. And he hath caused such of those who have received the scriptures, as assisted *the confederates*, to come down out of their fortresses,[x] and he cast into their hearts terror *and dismay*.[z] a part *of them* ye slew, and a part ye made captives; and GOD hath caused you to inherit their land, and their houses, and their

[r] Namely, That we must not expect to enter paradise without undergoing some trials and tribulations.[1] There is a tradition that Mohammed actually foretold this expedition of confederates some time before, and the success of it.[2]

[s] By standing firm with the prophet, and strenuously opposing the enemies of the true religion, according to their engagement.

[t] Or, as the words may be translated, *have fulfilled their vow*, or *paid their debt* to nature, by falling martyrs in battle, as did Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, Masab Ebn Omair, and Ans Ebn al Nadr,[3] who were slain at the battle of Ohod. The martyrs at the war of the ditch were six, including Saad Ebn Moadh, who died of his wound about a month after.[4]

[u] As Othmân and Telha.[5]

[x] These were the Jews of the tribe of Koreidha, who, though they were in league with Mohammed, had, at the incessant persuasion of Caab Ebn Asad, a principal man among them, perfidiously gone over to his enemies *in this war of the ditch*, and were severely punished for it. For the next morning, after the confederate forces had decamped, Mohammed and his men returned to Medina, and, laying down their arms, began to refresh themselves after their fatigue; upon which Gabriel came to the prophet and asked him whether he had suffered his people to lay down their arms, when the angels had not laid down theirs; and ordering him to go immediately against the Koradhites, assuring him that himself would lead the way. Mohammed, in obedience to the divine command, having caused public proclamation to be made that every one should pray that afternoon for success against the sons of Koreidha, set forward upon the expedition without loss of time; and being arrived at the fortress of the Koradhites, besieged them for twenty five days; at the end of which those people, being in great terror and distress, capitulated, and at length, not daring to trust to Mohammed's mercy, surrendered at the discretion of Saad Ebn Moadh,[6] hoping that he, being the prince of the tribe of Aws, their old friends and confederates, would have some regard for them. But they were deceived; for Saad, being greatly incensed at their breach of faith, had begged of GOD that he might not die of the wound he had received at the ditch till he saw vengeance taken on the Koradhites, and therefore adjudged that the men should be put to the sword, the women and children made slaves, and their goods be divided among the Moslems; which sentence Mohammed had no sooner heard than he cried out, *That Saad had pronounced the sentence of* GOD; and the same was accordingly executed, the number of men who were slain amounting to six hundred, or, as others say, to seven hundred, or very near, among whom were Hoyai Ebn Akhtab, a great enemy of Mohammed's, and Caab Ebn Asad, who had been the chief occasion of the revolt of their tribe; and soon after Saad, who had given judgment against them, died, his wound, which had been skinned over, opening again.[7]

[z] This was the work of Gabriel, who, according to his promise, went before the army of Moslems. It is said that Mohammed, a little before he came to the settlement of the Koradhites, asking some of his men whether anybody had passed them, they answered, that Dohya Ebn Kholeifa, the Calbite, had just passed by them, mounted on a white mule, with housings of satin: to which he replied, *That person was the angel Gabriel, who is sent to the sons of Koreidha to shake their castles, and to strike their hearts with fear and consternation.*[8]

[1] See cap. 2, p. 22; cap. 3, p. 40; cap. 29, p. 298, &c. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. [4] Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 79. [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] See cap. 5, p. 128. [7] Al Beidâwi. Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 77, &c. Vide Gagnier, Vie de Mah. l. 4, c. 2. [8] Ebn Ishak.

wealth,[a] and a land on which ye have not trodden;[b] for GOD is almighty. O prophet, say unto thy wives, If ye seek this present life, and the pomp thereof, come, I will make a handsome provision for you, and I will dismiss you with an honourable dismission:[c] but if ye seek GOD and his apostle, and the life to come, verily GOD hath prepared for such of you as work righteousness a great reward. O wives of the prophet, whosoever of you shall commit a manifest wickedness, the punishment *thereof* shall be doubled unto her twofold;[d] and this is easy with GOD. (XXII.) But whosoever of you shall be obedient unto GOD and his apostle, and shall do that which is right, we will give her her reward twice,[e] and we have prepared for her an honourable provision *in paradise*. O wives of the prophet, ye are not as other women: if ye fear GOD, be not too complaisant in speech, lest he should covet, in whose heart is a disease *of incontinence*; but speak the speech which is convenient. And sit still in your houses; and set not out yourselves with the ostentation of the former *time of* ignorance;[f] and observe the appointed times of prayer, and give alms; and obey GOD and his apostle; for GOD desireth only to remove from you the abomination *of vanity, since ye are* the household *of the prophet*, and to purify you by a *perfect* purification.[g] And remember that which is read in your houses, of the signs of GOD, and of the wisdom *revealed in the Korân*; for GOD is clear-sighted, *and* well acquainted *with your actions*. Verily the Moslems of either sex, and the true believers of either sex, and the devout men, and the devout women, and the men of veracity, and the women of veracity, and the patient *men*, and the patient *women*, and the humble *men*, and the humble *women*, and the alms-givers of either sex, and the *men* who fast, and the *women* who fast, and the chaste *men*, and the chaste

[a] Their immovable possessions Mohammed gave to the Mohâjerîn, saying, that the Ansârs were in their own houses, but that the others were destitute of habitations. The movables were divided among his followers, but he remitted the fifth part, which was usual to be taken in other cases.[1]

[b] By which some suppose Persia and Greece are meant; others, Khaibar; and others, whatever lands the Moslems may conquer till the day of judgment.[2]

[c] This passage was revealed on Mohammed's wives asking for more sumptuous clothes, and an additional allowance for their expenses; and he had no sooner received it than he gave them their option, either to continue with him or to be divorced; beginning with Ayesha, who chose GOD *and his apostle*, and the rest followed her example; upon which the prophet thanked them, and the following words were revealed, viz. *It shall not be lawful for thee to take other women to wife hereafter*,[3] &c. From hence some have concluded that a wife who has her option given her, and chooses to stay with her husband, shall not be divorced; though others are of a contrary opinion.[4]

[d] For the crime would be more enormous and unpardonable in them, because of their superior condition, and the grace which they have received from GOD; whence it is that the punishment of a free person is ordained to be double to that of a slave,[5] and prophets are more severely reprimanded for their faults than other men.[6]

[e] viz. Once for her obedience, and a second time for her conjugal affection to the prophet, and handsome behaviour to him.

[f] That is, in the old time of idolatry. Some suppose the times before the Flood, or the time of Abraham, to be here intended, when women adorned themselves with all their finery, and went abroad into the streets to show themselves to the men.[7]

[g] The pronouns of the second person in this part of the passage being of the masculine gender, the Shiites pretend the sentence has no connection with the foregoing or the following words; and will have it that by *the household of the prophet* are particularly meant Fâtema and Ali, and their two sons, Hasan and Hosein, to whom these words are directed.[8]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] See after in this chapter, p. [illegible]. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] See cap. 4, p. 57. [6] Al Beidâwi. [7] Idem. [8] Idem.

women, and those of either sex who remember GOD frequently; for them hath GOD prepared forgiveness and a great reward. It is not *fit* for a true believer of either sex, when GOD and his apostle have decreed a thing, that they should have the liberty of choosing a *different* matter of their own [h] and whoever is disobedient unto GOD and his apostle, surely erreth with a manifest error. And *remember* when thou saidst to him unto whom GOD had been gracious,[i] and on whom thou *also* hadst conferred favours,[k] Keep thy wife to thyself and fear GOD. and thou didst conceal that in thy mind which GOD had *determined* to discover,[l] and didst fear men, whereas it *was* more just that thou shouldst fear GOD. But when Zeid[m] had determined the matter concerning her, *and had resolved to divorce her*, we joined her in marriage unto thee;[n] lest a crime should be *charged* on the true believers, in *marrying* the wives of their adopted *sons*, when they have determined the matter concerning them [o] and the command of GOD is to be performed. No crime is *to be charged* on the prophet, as to what GOD hath allowed him, *conformable to* the ordinance of GOD with regard

[h] This verse was revealed on account of Zeinab (or Zenobia), the daughter of Jahash, and wife of Zeid, Mohammed's freedman, whom the prophet sought in marriage, but received a repulse from the lady and her brother Abdallah, they being at first averse to the match for which they are here reprehended. The mother of Zeinab, it is said, was Amima, the daughter of Abd'almotalleb, and aunt to Mohammed.[1]

[i] viz., Zeid Ebn Haretha, on whom GOD had bestowed the grace early to become a Moslem.

[k] By giving him his liberty, and adopting him for thy son, &c.

Zeid was of the tribe of Calb, a branch of the Khodaites, descended from Hamyar, the son of Saba, and being taken in his childhood by a party of freebooters, was bought by Mohammed, or, as others say, by his wife Khadijah before he married him. Some years after, Haretha, hearing where his son was, took a journey to Mecca, and offered a considerable sum for his ransom, whereupon Mohammed said *Let Zeid come hither, and if he chooses to go with you, take him without ransom: but if it be his choice to stay with me, why should I not keep him?* And Zeid being come, declared that he would stay with his master, who treated him as if he were his only son. Mohammed no sooner heard this, but he took Zeid by the hand, and led him to the black stone of the Caaba, where he publicly adopted him for his son, and constituted him his heir, with which the father acquiesced, and returned home well satisfied. From this time Zeid was called the son of Mohammed, till the publication of Islâm, after which the prophet gave him to wife Zeinab.[2]

[l] Namely, thy affection to Zeinab. The whole intrigue is artfully enough unfolded in this passage. The story is as follows.

Some years after his marriage, Mohammed going to Zeid's house on some affair, and not finding him at home, accidentally cast his eyes on Zeinab, who was then in a dress which discovered her beauty to advantage, and was so smitten at the sight, that he could not forbear crying out, GOD *be praised, who turneth the hearts of men as he pleaseth!* This Zeinab failed not to acquaint her husband with on his return home, whereupon Zeid, after mature reflection, thought he could do no less than part with his wife in favour of his benefactor, and therefore resolved to divorce her, and acquainted Mohammed with his resolution. but he apprehending the scandal it might raise, offered to dissuade him from it, and endeavoured to stifle the flames which inwardly consumed him. but at length, his love for her being authorized by this revelation, he acquiesced, and after the term of her divorce was expired, married her in the latter end of the fifth year of the Hejra.[3]

[m] It is observed that this is the only person, of all Mohammed's companions, whose name is mentioned in the Korân.

[n] Whence Zeinab used to vaunt herself above the prophet's other wives, saying that GOD had made the match between Mohammed and herself, whereas their matches were made by their relations.[4]

[o] For this feigned relation, as has been observed, created an impediment of marriage among the old Arabs within the prohibited degrees, in the same manner as if it had been real, and therefore Mohammed's marrying Zeinab, who had been his adopted son's wife, occasioned great scandal among his followers, which was much [illegible] by the Jews and hypocrites. but the custom is here declared unreasonable, and abolished [illegible]

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Al Jannabi. Vide Gagnier, Vie de Moh. [illegible] [3] Al Beidâwi, al Jannabi, &c. [4] Idem.

to those who preceded *him* (for the command of GOD is a determinate decree), who brought the messages of GOD, and feared him, and feared none besides GOD: and GOD is a sufficient accountant. Mohammed is not the father of any man among you, but the apostle of GOD, and the seal of the prophets. and God knoweth all things. O true believers, remember GOD with a frequent remembrance, and celebrate his praise morning and evening It is he who is gracious unto you, and his angels *intercede for you*, that he may lead you forth from darkness into light; and he is merciful towards the true believers. Their salutation, on the day *whereon* they shall meet him, *shall be*, Peace! and he hath prepared for them an honourable recompence. O prophet, verily we have sent thee *to be* a witness, and a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats, and an inviter unto GOD, through his good pleasure, and a shining light Bear good tidings therefore unto the true believers, that they shall receive great abundance from GOD. And obey not the unbelievers and hypocrites, and mind not their evil treatment: but trust in GOD, and GOD is a sufficient protector. O true believers, when ye marry *women who are* believers, and afterwards put them away before ye have touched them, *there is* no term prescribed you to fulfil towards them[p] *after their divorce;* but make them a present,[q] and dismiss them freely, with an honourable dismission. O prophet, we have allowed thee thy wives unto whom thou hast given their dower, and also the *slaves* which thy right hand possesseth, of the *booty* which GOD hath granted thee,[r] and the daughters of thy uncle, and the daughters of thy aunts, both on thy father's side and on thy mother's side, who have fled with thee *from Mecca*,[s] and any *other* believing woman, if she give herself unto the prophet,[t] in case the prophet desireth to take her to wife. *This is* a peculiar privilege *granted* unto thee, above the rest of the true believers[u] We know what we have ordained them concerning their wives, and the

[p] That is, Ye are not obliged to keep them any certain time before ye dismiss them, as ye are those with whom the marriage has been consummated See chap 2, p 24

[q] *i e*, If no dower has been assigned them for if a dower has been assigned, the husband is obliged, according to the Sonna, to give the woman half the dower agreed on, besides a present [1] This is still to be understood of such women with whom the marriage has not been consummated

[r] It is said, therefore, that the women slaves which he should buy are not included in this grant

[s] But not the others It is related of Omm Hâni, the daughter of Abu Taleb, that she should say, *The apostle of* GOD *courted me for his wife, but I excused myself to him, and he accepted of my excuse afterwards this verse was revealed, but he was not thereby allowed to marry me, because I fled not with him.*[2]

It may be observed that Dr Prideaux is much mistaken when he asserts that Mohammed, in this chapter, brings in GOD exempting him from the law in the fourth chapter,[3] whereby the Moslems are forbidden to marry within certain degrees, and giving him an especial privilege to take to wife the daughter of his brother, or the daughter of his sister [4]

[t] Without demanding any dower According to a tradition of Ebn Abbas, the prophet, however, married no woman without assigning her a dower The commentators are not agreed who was the woman particularly meant in this passage, but they name four who are supposed to have thus *given themselves* to the prophet, viz, Maimûna Bint al Hareth, Zeinab Bint Khozaima, Ghozia Bint Jâber, surnamed Omm Shoraic (which three he actually married), and Khawla Bint Hakim, whom as it seems, he rejected.

[u] For no Moslem can legally marry above four wives whether free women or slaves, whereas Mohammed is, by the preceding passage, left at liberty to take as many as he pleased, though with some restrictions.

[1] Idem [2] Idem [3] Page 57 [4] See Prid Life of Mahomet, p. 126

slaves whom their right hands possess : lest it should be *deemed* a crime in thee *to make use of the privilege granted thee;* for GOD is gracious *and* merciful. Thou mayest postpone the turn of such of *thy wives* as thou shalt please, *in being called to thy bed;* and thou mayest take unto thee her whom thou shalt please, and her whom thou shalt desire of those whom thou shalt have *before* rejected : and *it shall be* no crime in thee.[x] This *will be* more easy, that they may be entirely content, and may not be grieved, but may be well pleased with what thou shalt give every of them : GOD knoweth whatever *is* in your hearts ; and GOD is knowing *and* gracious. It shall not be lawful for thee *to take other* women *to wife* hereafter,[z] nor to exchange *any* of *thy* wives for them,[a] although their beauty please thee ; except the *slaves* whom thy right hand shall possess. and GOD observeth all things O true believers, enter not the houses of the prophet, unless it be permitted you to *eat* meat *with him,* without waiting his convenient time but when ye are invited, then enter. And when ye shall have eaten, disperse yourselves, and *stay* not to enter into familiar discourse : for this incommodeth the prophet He is ashamed *to bid* you *depart;* but GOD is not ashamed of the truth And when ye ask of *the prophet's wives* what ye may have occasion for, ask *it* of them from behind a curtain.[b] This will be more pure for your hearts and their hearts. Neither is it *fit* for you to give any uneasiness to the apostle of GOD, or to marry his wives after him for ever [c] for this would be a grievous thing in the sight of GOD. Whether ye divulge a thing, or conceal it, verily GOD knoweth all things. *It shall be* no crime in them as to their fathers, or their sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or

[x] By this passage some farther privileges were granted unto Mohammed, for, whereas other men are obliged to carry themselves equally towards their wives,[1] in case they had more than one, particularly as to the duties of the marriage bed, to which each has a right to be called in her turn (which right was acknowledged in the most early ages),[2] and cannot take again a wife whom they have divorced the third time, till she has been married to another and divorced by him,[3] the prophet was left absolutely at liberty to deal with them in these and other respects as he thought fit

[z] The commentators differ as to the express meaning of these words Some think Mohammed was thereby forbidden to take any more wives than nine, which number he then had, and is supposed to have been his stint, as four was that of other men, some imagine that after this prohibition, though any of the wives he then had should die or be divorced, yet he could not marry another in her room some think he was only forbidden from this time forward to marry any other woman than one of the four sorts mentioned in the preceding passage; and others[4] are of opinion that this verse is abrogated by the two preceding verses, or one of them, and was revealed before them, though it be read after them[5]

[a] By divorcing her and marrying another Al Zamakhshari tells us that some are of opinion this prohibition is to be understood of a particular kind of exchange used among the idolatrous Arabs, whereby two men made a mutual exchange of their wives without any other formality

[b] That is, let there be a curtain drawn between you, or let them be veiled while ye talk with them As the design of the former precept was to prevent the impertinence of troublesome visitors, the design of this was to guard against too near an intercourse or familiarity between his wives and his followers, and was occasioned, it is said, by the hand of one of his companions accidentally touching that of Ayesha, which gave the prophet some uneasiness.[6]

[c] *i e*, Either such as he shall divorce in his lifetime, or his widows after his death This was another privilege peculiar to the prophet

It is related that, in the Khalifat of Omar, Ashath Ebn Kais married the woman whom Mohammed had dismissed without consummating his marriage with her,[7] upon which the Khalif at first was thinking to stone her, but afterwards changed his mind, on its being represented to him that this prohibition related only to such women to whom the prophet had gone in[8]

[1] See Kor c 4, p 53, &c [2] See Gen xxx 15, &c [3] See cap 2, p 24 [4] As Abul Kasem Hebatallah. [5] Al Zamakh, al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, &c. [6] Al Beidâwi. [7] See before, p 318, note [t] [8] Al Beidâwi

their sisters' sons, or their women, or the *slaves* which their right hands possess, *if they speak to them unveiled* [d] and fear ye GOD,[e] for GOD is witness of all things. Verily GOD and his angels bless the prophet O true believers, do ye *also* bless him, and salute *him* with *a respectful* salutation.[f] *As to* those who offend GOD and his apostle, GOD shall curse them in this world and in the next, and he hath prepared for them a shameful punishment. And they who shall injure the true believers of either sex, without their deserving it, shall surely bear *the guilt of* calumny and a manifest injustice[g] O prophet, speak unto thy wives, and thy daughters, and the wives of the true believers, that they cast their outer garments[h] over them *when they walk abroad*, this *will be* more proper, that they may be known *to be matrons of reputation*, and may not be affronted *by unseemly words or actions* GOD is gracious *and* merciful. Verily if the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts is an infirmity, and they who raise disturbances in Medina, do not desist, we will surely stir thee up against them, *to chastise them*: henceforth they shall not *be suffered to* dwell near thee therein, except for a little *time*, *and* being accursed, wherever they are found they shall be taken, and killed with a *general* slaughter, *according to* the sentence of GOD concerning those who have been before, and thou shalt not find any change in the sentence of GOD. Men will ask thee concerning the *approach of the last* hour answer, Verily the knowledge thereof *is* with GOD alone, and he will not inform thee peradventure the hour is nigh *at hand*. Verily GOD hath cursed the infidels, and hath prepared for them a fierce fire, wherein they shall remain for ever they shall find no patron or defender On the day *whereon* their faces shall be rolled in *hell* fire, they shall say, Oh that we had obeyed GOD, and had obeyed *his* apostle! And they shall say, O LORD, verily we have obeyed our lords and our great men, and they have seduced us from the *right* way. O LORD, give them the double of *our* punishment, and curse them with a heavy curse! O true believers, be not as those who injured Moses, but GOD cleared him from *the scandal* which they had spoken *concerning him*;[i] and he

[d] See chapter 24, p 264

[e] The words are directed to the prophet's wives

[f] Hence the Mohammedans seldom mention his name without adding, *On whom be the blessing of* GOD *and peace!* or the like words

[g] This verse was revealed, according to some, on occasion of certain hypocrites who had slandered Ali or, according to others, on occasion of those who falsely accused Ayesha,[9] &c

[h] The original word properly signifies the large wrappers, usually of white linen, with which the women in the east cover themselves from head to foot when they go abroad

[i] The commentators are not agreed what this injury was Some say that Moses using to wash himself apart, certain malicious people gave out that he had a rupture (or, say others, that he was a leper, or an hermaphrodite), and for that reason was ashamed to wash with them but GOD cleared him from this aspersion by causing the stone on which he had laid his clothes while he washed to run away with them into the camp, whither Moses followed it naked, and by that means the Israelites, in the midst of whom he was gotten ere he was aware, plainly perceived the falsehood of the report Others suppose Karûn's accusation of Moses is here intended,[1] or else the suspicion of Aaron's murder, which was cast on Moses because he was with him when he died on Mount Hor, of which latter he was justified by the angels bringing his body and exposing it to public view, or, say some, by the testimony of Aaron himself, who was raised to life for that purpose [2]

The passage is said to have been occasioned by reflections which were cast on Mohammed, on his dividing certain spoils; and that when they came to his ear, he said, GOD *be merciful unto my brother Moses: he was wronged more than this, and bore it with patience* [3]

[9] See cap. 24 [1] See cap. 28 p 295 [2] Jallalo'ddin al Beidâv [3] Al Bokhari.

was of great consideration in the sight of GOD.[k] O true believers, fear GOD, and speak words well directed; that *God* may correct your works for you, and may forgive you your sins. and whoever shall obey GOD and his apostle, shall enjoy great felicity. We proposed the faith unto the heavens. and the earth, and the mountains: and they refused to undertake the same, and were afraid thereof, but man undertook it verily he was unjust *to himself*, and foolish [m] that GOD may punish the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women, and the idolaters, and the idolatresses, and that GOD may be turned unto the true believers, both men and women, for GOD is gracious *and* merciful.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ENTITLED, SABA;[n] REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRAISE be to GOD, unto whom *belongeth* whatever *is* in the heavens and on earth and unto him *be* praise in the world to come; for he *is* wise *and* intelligent. He knoweth whatsoever entereth into the earth,[o] and whatsoever cometh out of the same,[p] and whatsoever descendeth from heaven,[q] and whatsoever ascendeth thereto [r] and he *is* merciful *and* ready to forgive The unbelievers say, The hour *of judgment* will not come unto us Answer, Yea, by my LORD, it will surely come unto you; *it is he* who knoweth the hidden secret: the weight of an ant, either in heaven or in earth, is not absent from him,

[k] Some copies for *inda* read *abda*, according to which the words should be translated, *And he was an illustrious servant of* GOD [3]

[l] By faith is here understood entire obedience to the law of GOD which is represented to be of so high concern (no less than eternal happiness or misery depending on the observance or neglect thereof), and so difficult in the performance, that if GOD should propose the same on the conditions annexed, to the vaster parts of the creation and they had understanding to comprehend the offer, they would decline it, and not dare to take on them a duty, the failing wherein must be attended with so terrible a consequence, and yet man is said to have under taken it, notwithstanding his weakness and the infirmities of his nature Some imagine this proposal is not hypothetical, but was actually made to the heavens, earth, and mountains, which at their first creation were endued with reason, and that GOD told them he had made a law, and had created paradise for the recompence of such as were obedient to it, and hell for the punishment of the disobedient, to which they answered they were content to be obliged to perform the services for which they were created, but would not undertake to fulfil the divine law on those conditions, and therefore desired neither reward nor punishment, they add that when Adam was created, the same offer was made to him and he accepted it [4] The commentators have other explications of this passage, which it would be too prolix to transcribe.

[m] Unjust to himself in not fulfilling his engagements and obeying the law he had accepted and foolish in not considering the consequence of his disobedience and neglect

[n] Mention is made of the people of Saba in the fifteenth verse

[o] As the rain, hidden treasures, the dead, &c

[p] As animals plants, metals, spring-water, &c

[q] As the angels, scriptures, decrees of GOD, rain, thunder and lightning, &c.

[r] As the angels, men's works, vapours, smoke, &c [5]

[3] Jallalo'ddin al Beidâwi [5] Al Beidâwi

nor anything lesser than this, or greater, but *the same is written* in the perspicuous book *of his decrees;* that he may recompense those who shall have believed and wrought righteousness: they shall receive pardon and an honourable provision. But they who endeavour to render our signs of none effect, shall receive a punishment of painful torment. Those unto whom knowledge hath been given, see that the book which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD is the truth, and directeth into the glorious and laudable way. The unbelievers say *to one another,* Shall we show you a man who shall prophesy unto you, that when ye shall have been dispersed with a total dispersion, ye shall *be raised* a new creature? He hath forged a lie concerning GOD, or rather he is distracted But they who believe not in the life to come, shall *fall* into punishment and a wide error. Have they not therefore considered what is before them, and what is behind them, of the heaven and the earth? If we please, we will cause the earth to open and swallow them up, or will cause a piece of the heaven to fall upon them. verily herein is a sign unto every servant, who turneth *unto God.* We heretofore bestowed on David excellence from us *and we said,* O mountains, sing alternate praises with him, and *we obliged* the birds *also to join therein* [s] And we softened the iron for him, *saying,* Make *thereof* complete coats of mail,[t] and rightly dispose the small plates *which compose the same.* and work ye righteousness, *O family of David,* for I see that which ye do. And *we made* the wind *subject* unto Solomon [u] *it blew* in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month. And we made a fountain of molten brass to flow for him [x] And some of the genii *were obliged* to work in his presence, by the will of his LORD, and whoever of them turned aside from our command, we will cause him to taste the pain of hell fire [y] They made for him whatever he pleased, of palaces, and statues,[z] and large dishes like fishponds,[a] and cauldrons standing firm *on their trevets,*[b] *and we said,* Work *righteousness, O* family of David, with thanksgiving; for few of my servants are thankful And when we had decreed that *Solomon* should die, nothing discovered his death unto them, except the creeping thing of the earth, which gnawed his staff[c] And when *his*

[s] See chapter 21, p 247

[t] See ibid.

[u] See ibid and chapter 27, p 284

[x] This fountain they say was in Yaman, and flowed three days in a month.[1]

[y] Or, as some expound the words *We caused him to taste the pain of burning,* by which they understand the correction the disobedient genii received at the hands of the angel set over *them, who whipped them with a whip of fire*

[z] Some suppose these were images of the angels and prophets, and that the making of them was not then forbidden, or else that they were not such images as were forbidden by the law Some say these spirits made him two lions, which were placed at the foot of his throne, and two eagles, which were set above it, and that when he mounted it the lions stretched out their paws and when he sat down the eagles shaded him with their wings.[2]

[a] *Being so monstrously large that a thousand men might eat out of each of them at once.*

[b] *These cauldrons, they say, were cut out of the mountains of Yaman,* and were so vastly big that they could not be moved, *and people went up to them by steps* [3]

[c] The commentators, to explain this passage tell us that David, having laid the foundations of the temple of Jerusalem, which was to be in lieu of the tabernacle of Moses, when he died, left it to be finished by his son Solomon, who employed the genii in the work. that Solomon, before the edifice was quite completed, perceiving his end drew nigh, begged of GOD that his death might be concealed from the genii till they had entirely finished it: that GOD therefore

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem [3] Jallalo'ddin

body fell down, the genii plainly perceived that if they had known that which is secret, they had not continued in a vile punishment.[d] *The descendants of* Saba[e] had heretofore a sign in their dwellings; *namely,* two gardens, on the right hand and on the left:[f] *and it was said unto them,* Eat ye of the provision of your LORD, and give thanks unto him; *ye have* a good country, and a gracious LORD. But they turned aside *from what we had commanded them:* wherefore we sent against them the inundation of al Arem,[g] and we changed their two gardens for them into two gardens producing bitter fruit, and tamarisks,[h] and some little *fruit* of the lote-tree. This we gave them in reward, because they were ungrateful: is any *thus* rewarded except the ungrateful? And we placed between them and the cities which we have blessed,[i] cities situate near each other; and we made the journey easy between them,[k] *saying,* Travel through the same by night and by day in security. But they said, O LORD, put a *greater* distance between our journeys:[l] and they were unjust unto themselves, and we made them the subject of discourse, and dispersed them with a total dispersion.[m] Verily herein

so ordered it, that Solomon died as he stood at his prayers, leaning on his staff, which supported the body in that posture a full year; and the genii, supposing him to be alive, continued their work during that term, at the expiration whereof the temple being perfectly completed, a worm, which had gotten into the staff, ate it through, and the corpse fell to the ground and discovered the king's death.[4]

Possibly this fable of the temple's being built by genii, and not by men, might take its rise from what is mentioned in scripture, that *the house was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither, so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was building*:[5] the Rabbins indeed tell us of a worm, which might assist the workmen, its virtue being such as to cause the rocks and stones to fly in sunder.[6] Whether the worm which gnawed Solomon's staff were of the same breed with this other, I know not; but the story has perfectly the air of a Jewish invention.

[d] *i.e.*, They had not continued in servile subjection to the command of Solomon, nor had gone on with the work of the temple.

[e] Saba was the son of Yashhab, the son of Yarab, the son of Kahtân, whose posterity dwelt in Yaman, in the city of Mâreb, called also Saba, about three days' journey from Sanaa.

[f] That is, two tracts of land, one on this side of their city, and the other on that, planted with trees, and made into gardens, which lay so thick and close together, that each tract seemed to be one continued garden: or, it may be, every house had a garden on each hand of it.[1]

[g] The commentators set down several significations of the word al Arem, which are scarce worth mentioning: it most properly signifies *mounds* or *dams* for the stopping or containing of water, and is here used for that stupendous *mound* or building which formed the vast reservoir above the city of Saba, described in another place,[2] and which, for the great impiety, pride, and insolence of the inhabitants, was broken down in the night by a mighty flood, and occasioned a terrible destruction.[3] Al Beidâwi supposes this mound was the work of queen Balkis, and that the above-mentioned catastrophe happened after the time of Jesus Christ; wherein he seems to be mistaken.

[h] A low shrub bearing no fruit, and delighting in saltish and barren ground.

[i] viz., The cities of Syria.

[k] By reason of their near distance, so that during the whole journey a traveller might rest in one town during the heat of the day, and in another at night; nor was he obliged to carry provisions with him.[4]

[l] This petition they made out of covetousness, that the poor being obliged to be longer on the road, they might make greater advantages in letting out their cattle, and furnishing the travellers with provision: and GOD was pleased to punish them by granting them their wish, and permitting most of the cities, which were between Saba and Syria, to be ruined and abandoned.[5]

[m] For the neighbouring nations justly wondered at so sudden and unforeseen a revolution in the affairs of this once flourishing people: whence it became a proverbial saying, to express a total dispersion, that *they were gone and scattered like Saba*.[6]

Of the descendants of Saba, who quitted their country and sought new settlements on this

[4] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [5] 1 Kings vi. 7. [6] Vide Kimhi, in loc. Buxt. Lex. Talm. p. 2456, et Schickardi Tarich reg. Pers. p. 67. [1] Al Beidâwi. [2] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. I. p. 8. [3] See ibid. [4] Jallal., al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. [6] Al Beidâwi. Vide Gol. not. in Alfrag. p. 87.

are signs, unto every patient, grateful person. And Eblis found his opinion of them to be true:[n] and they followed him, except a party of the true believers:[o] and he had no power over them, unless *to tempt them*, that we might know him who believed in the life to come, from him who doubted thereof Thy LORD observeth all things. Say *unto the idolaters*, Call upon those whom ye imagine *to be gods*, besides GOD, they are not masters of the weight of an ant in heaven or on earth, neither have they any share in *the creation or government of* the same, nor is any of them assistant to him *therein* No intercession will be of service in his presence, except *the intercession* of him to whom he shall grant permission *to intercede for others*.[p] *and they shall wait in suspense* until, when the terror shall be taken off from their hearts,[q] they shall say *to one another* What doth your LORD say? They shall answer, That which is just and he *is* the high, the great *God* Say, Who provideth food for you from heaven and earth? Answer, GOD and either we, or ye, follow *the true* direction, or *are* in a manifest error. Say, Ye shall not be examined concerning what we shall have committed. neither shall we be examined concerning what ye shall have done Say, Our LORD will assemble us together *at the last day* then will he judge between us with truth, and he is the judge, the knowing Say, Show me those whom ye have joined *as* partners with him? Nay, rather he is the mighty, the wise GOD We have not sent thee otherwise than unto mankind in general, a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats but the greater part of men do not understand And they say, When *will* this threat *be fulfilled*, if ye speak truth? Answer, A threat *is denounced* unto you of a day which ye shall not retard one hour, neither shall ye hasten The unbelievers say, We will by no means believe in this Korân, nor in that which *hath been revealed* before it[r] But if thou couldst see when the unjust doers shall be set before their LORD! They will iterate discourse with one another those who were esteemed weak shall say unto those who behaved themselves arrogantly,[s] *Had it* not *been for* you, verily we had been true believers They who behaved themselyes arrogantly shall say unto those who were esteemed weak, Did we turn you aside from the *true* direction, after it had come unto you? On the contrary, ye

inundation, the tribe of Ghassân went into Syria, the tribe of Anmâr to Yathreb, the tribe of Jodhâm to Tehâmah, the tribe of al Azd to Omân,[1] the tribe of Tay to Najd, the tribe of Khozaah to Batan Marr near Mecca, Banu Amela to a mountain, thence called the Mountain of Amela, near Damascus, and others went to Hira in Irâk,[2] &c

[n] Either his opinion of the Sabæans, when he saw them addicted to pride and ingratitude, and the satisfying their lusts, or else the opinion he entertained of all mankind at the fall of Adam, or at his creation, when he heard the angels say, *Wilt thou place in the earth one who will do evil therein, and shed blood?*[3]

[o] Who were saved from the common destruction

[p] See chapter 19, p 232

[q] *i e*, From the hearts of the intercessors, and of those for whom GOD shall allow them to intercede, by the permission which he shall then grant them, for no angel or prophet shall dare to speak at the last day without the divine leave

[r] It is said that the infidels of Mecca, having inquired of the Jews and Christians concerning the mission of Mohammed, were assured by them that they found him described as the prophet who should come, both in the Pentateuch and in the Gospel, at which they were very angry, and broke out into the words here recorded.[4]

[s] See chapter 14, p 187, note

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Vide Poc Spec p 42, 45, and 66 [3] See cap 2, p 4, cap. 7, p. 106 and cap 15, p. 192, &c [4] Al Beidâwi

acted wickedly *of your own free choice* And they who were esteemed weak shall say unto those who behaved with arrogance, Nay, but the crafty plot *which ye devised* by night and by day *occasioned our ruin*, when ye commanded us that we should not believe in GOD, and that we should set up *other gods as* equal unto him And they shall conceal their repentance,[t] after they shall have seen the punishment *prepared for them* And we will put yokes on the necks of those who shall have disbelieved shall they be rewarded any otherwise than *according to* what they shall have wrought? We have sent no warner unto *any* city but the inhabitants thereof who lived in affluence said Verily we believe not that with which ye are sent And *those of Mecca also* say, We abound in riches and children more *than ye*, and we shall not be punished *hereafter* Answer Verily my LORD will bestow provision in abundance unto whom he pleaseth, and will be sparing *unto whom he pleaseth* but the greater part of men know not *this* Neither your riches nor your children *are the things* which shall cause you to draw nigh unto us with a near approach only whoever believeth, and worketh righteousness, they shall receive a double reward for that which they shall have wrought, and they shall *dwell* in security, in the upper apartments *of paradise* But they who shall endeavour to render our signs of none effect shall be delivered up to punishment Say, Verily my LORD will bestow provision in abundance unto whom he pleaseth of his servants and will be sparing unto *whom he pleaseth* and whatever thing ye shall give in alms he will return it and he is the best provider of food On a certain day he shall gather them all together then shall he say unto the angels Did these worship you *And the angels* shall answer, GOD forbid! thou art our friend and not these but they worshipped devils the greater part of them believed in them On this day the one of you shall not be able either to profit or to hurt the other And we will say unto those who have acted unjustly, Taste ye the pain of *hell* fire which ye rejected as a falsehood When our evident signs are read unto them they say *of thee O Mohammed*, This is no other than a man, who seeketh to turn you aside from *the gods* which your fathers worshipped And they say *of the Korân* This is no other than a lie blasphemously forged And the unbeliever say of the truth when it is come unto them This is no other than manifest sorcery yet we have given them no books *of scripture* wherein to exercise themselves, nor have we sent unto them any warner before thee They who were before them *in like manner* accused *their prophets* of imposture but *these* have not arrived unto the tenth part of *the riches and strength* which we had bestowed on *the former* and they accused my apostles of imposture and how *severe* was my vengeance! Say, Verily I advise you unto one thing *namely*, that ye stand before GOD by two and two, and singly,[u] and then consider

[t] See chapter 10 p 154 note

[u] *i e* That ye set yourselves to deliberate and judge of me and my pretensions coolly and sincerely as in the sight of GOD without passion or prejudice The reason why they are ordered to consider either alone or by two and two at most together is because in larger assemblies where noise passion and prejudice generally prevail men have not that freedom of judgment which they have in private]

seriously, *and you will find that* there is no madness in your companion *Mohammed* he is no other than a warner unto you, *sent* before a severe punishment. Say, I ask not of you any reward *for my preaching*;[x] it is your own, *either to give or not* [y] my reward *is to be expected* from GOD alone, and he is witness over all things Say, Verily my LORD sendeth down the truth *to his prophets* *he is* the knower of secrets. Say, Truth is come, and falsehood is vanished, and shall not return *any more* Say If I err verily I shall err only against my own soul but if I be *rightly* directed *it will be* by that which my LORD revealeth unto me for he is ready to hear, and nigh *unto those who call upon him* If thou couldst see when the *unbelievers* shall tremble,[z] and *shall find* no refuge, and shall be taken from a near place,[a] and shall say We believe in him! But how shall they receive *the faith* from a distant place [b] since they had before denied him, and reviled the mysteries of faith, from a distant place? And a bar shall be placed between them and that which they shall desire, as it hath been done with those who *behaved* like them heretofore because they have been in a doubt which hath caused scandal.

CHAPTER XXXV

ENTITLED THE CREATOR [c] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRAISE be unto GOD the Creator of heaven and earth, who maketh the angels *his* messengers furnished with two and three, and four *pair* of wings [d] GOD maketh what he pleaseth unto *his* creatures, for GOD *is* almighty The mercy which GOD shall freely bestow on mankind *there is* none who can withhold and what he shall withhold, *there is* none who can bestow besides him and he *is* the mighty, the wise O men remember the favour of GOD towards you is there any creator, besides GOD, who provideth food for you from heaven

[x] Mohammed having in the preceding words answered the imputation of madness or vain enthusiasm by appealing to their cooler thoughts of him and his actions endeavours by these to clear himself of the suspicion of any worldly view or interest declaring that he desired no salary or support from them for executing his commission but expected his wages from GOD alone

[y] See chapter 25 p 275

[z] viz At their death or the day of judgment or the battle of Bedr [2]

[a] That is from the outside of the earth to the inside thereof or from before GOD's tribunal to hell fire or from the plain of Bedr to the well into which the dead bodies of the slain were thrown [3]

[b] *i e* When they are in the other world whereas faith is to be received in this.

[c] Some entitle this chapter *The Angels* both words occur in the first verse

[d] That is some angels have a greater and some a lesser number of wings according to their different orders the words not being designed to express the particular number Gabriel is said to have appeared to Mohammed on the night he made his journey to heaven with no less than six hundred wings.[4]

[2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. [4] Idem.

and earth? *There is* no GOD but he: how therefore are ye turned aside *from acknowledging his unity*? If they accuse thee of imposture, apostles before thee have also been accused of imposture; and unto GOD shall *all* things return. O men, verily the promise of GOD is true: let not therefore the present life deceive you, neither let the deceiver deceive you concerning GOD: for Satan *is* an enemy unto you; wherefore hold him for an enemy: he only inviteth his confederates to be the inhabitants of hell. For those who believe not *there is prepared* a severe torment: but for those who shall believe and do that which is right, *is prepared* mercy and a great reward Shall he therefore for whom his evil work hath been prepared, and who imagineth it to be good, *be as he who is rightly disposed and discerneth the truth*? Verily GOD will cause to err whom he pleaseth, and will direct whom he pleaseth. Let not thy soul therefore be spent in sighs for their sakes, *on account of their obstinacy*; for GOD well knoweth that which they do. *It is* GOD who sendeth the winds, and raiseth a cloud, and we drive the same unto a dead country, and thereby quicken the earth after it hath been dead so *shall* the resurrection *be*[e] Whoever desireth excellence, unto GOD *doth* all excellence *belong* unto him ascendeth the good speech, and the righteous work will he exalt But as for them who devise wicked *plots*,[f] they shall suffer a severe punishment, and the device of those *men* shall be rendered vain. GOD created you *first* of the dust, and afterwards of seed[g] and he hath made you man and wife No female conceiveth, or bringeth forth, but with his knowledge Nor is anything added unto the age of him whose life is prolonged, neither is anything diminished from his age, but *the same is written* in the book *of God's decrees*. Verily this is easy with GOD. The two seas are not to be held in comparison this *is* fresh *and* sweet, pleasant to drink; but that *is* salt *and* bitter[h] yet out of each of them ye eat fish,[i] and take ornaments[k] for you to wear Thou seest the ships also ploughing *the waves* thereof, that ye may seek *to enrich yourselves by commerce*, of the abundance *of God* peradventure ye will be thankful. He causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night; and he obligeth the sun and the moon to perform their services: each *of them* runneth an appointed course This is GOD, your LORD: his *is* the kingdom. But the *idols* which ye invoke besides him have not the power even over the skin of a date-stone if ye invoke them, they will not hear your calling, and although they should hear, yet they would not answer you On the day of resurrection they shall disclaim your having associated *them with* GOD· and none shall declare unto thee *the truth*, like one who is well acquainted *therewith*. O men, ye have need of GOD; but GOD is self-sufficient, and to be praised If he pleaseth, he can take you away, and produce a new creature *in your stead*· neither *will* this *be* difficult with GOD. A burdened *soul* shall not bear the burden of another and if a heavy-

[e] See chapter 29, p. 298, note
[f] As the Koreish did against Mohammed See chapter 8, p. 128, note [n].
[g] See chapter 22, p. 250
[h] That is, the two collective bodies of salt water and fresh. See chapter 25, p. 274
[i] See chapter 16, p. 196, note [u].
[k] As pearls and coral.

burdened *soul* call *on another* to bear part of its *burden*, no part thereof shall be borne *by the person who shall be called on*, although he be *ever so nearly* related. Thou shalt admonish those who fear their LORD in secret, and are constant at prayer and whoever cleanseth himself *from the guilt of disobedience*, cleanseth himself to *the advantage of* his own soul, for all shall be assembled before GOD *at the last day*. The blind and the seeing shall not be held equal; neither darkness and light, nor the cool shade and the scorching wind: neither shall the living and the dead be held equal[l] GOD shall cause him to hear whom he pleaseth: but thou shalt not make those to hear who are in *their* graves[m] Thou *art* no other than a preacher. verily we have sent thee with truth, a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats. *There hath been* no nation, but a preacher hath in past times been *conversant* among them if they charge thee with imposture, they who were before them likewise charged *their apostles* with imposture Their apostles came unto them with evident *miracles*, and with *divine* writings,[n] and with the enlightening book[o] afterwards I chastised those who were unbelievers, and how *severe* was my vengeance! Dost thou not see that GOD sendeth down rain from heaven, and that we thereby produce fruits of various colours?[p] In the mountain also *there are* some tracts white and red, of various colours,[q] and *others are* of a deep black: and of men, and beasts, and cattle *there are* whose colours *are* in like manner various Such only of his servants fear GOD as are endued with understanding verily GOD *is* mighty *and* ready to forgive. Verily they who read the book of GOD, and are constant at prayer, and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them, *both* in secret and openly, hope for a merchandise which shall not perish that GOD may fully pay them their wages, and make them a *superabundant* addition of his liberality, for he *is* ready to forgive *the faults of his servants, and* to requite *their endeavours* That which we have revealed unto thee of the book *of the Korân*, is the truth, confirming the *scriptures* which *were revealed* before it for GOD knoweth *and* regardeth his servants And we have given the book *of the Korân* in heritage unto such of our servants as we have chosen of them *there is one* who injureth his own soul,[r] and *there is another* of them who keepeth the middle way,[s] and *there is another* of them who outstrippeth *others* in good *works*, by the permission of GOD. This is the great excellence They shall be introduced into gardens of perpetual abode, they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold and pearls, and their clothing therein *shall be of* silk and they shall say, Praise be unto GOD, who hath taken away sorrow from us! verily our LORD *is* ready

[l] This passage expresses the great difference between a true believer and an infidel, truth and vanity, and their future reward and punishment

[m] *i e*, Those who obstinately persist in their unbelief who are compared to the dead

[n] As the volumes delivered to Abraham, and to other prophets before Moses.

[o] *viz*, The law or the gospel

[p] That is, of different kinds See chapter 16, p. 196.

[q] Being more or less intense [1]

[r] By not practising what he is taught and commanded in the Korân

[s] That is, who meaneth well and performeth his duty for the most part, but not perfectly

[1] Al Beidâwi

to forgive *the sinners, and* to reward *the obedient:* who hath caused us to take up our rest in a dwelling of *eternal* stability, through his bounty, wherein no labour shall touch us, neither shall any weariness affect us. But for the unbelievers *is prepared* the fire of hell: it shall not be decreed them to die *a second time,* neither shall *any part* of the punishment thereof be made lighter unto them. Thus shall every infidel be rewarded. And they shall cry out aloud in *hell, saying,* LORD take us hence, and we will work righteousness and not what we have *formerly* wrought. *But it shall be answered them,* Did we not grant you lives of length sufficient, that whoever would be warned might be warned therein; and did not the preacher[t] come unto you? taste, therefore, *the pains of hell* And the unjust shall have no protector. Verily GOD knoweth the secrets *both* of heaven and earth, for he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts *of men.* It is he who hath made you to succeed in the earth. Whoever shall disbelieve, on him *be* his unbelief and their unbelief shall only gain the unbelievers greater indignation in the sight of their LORD, and their unbelief shall only increase the perdition of the unbelievers Say, what think ye of your deities which ye invoke besides GOD? Show me what *part* of the earth they have created Or had they any share in *the creation of* the heavens? Have we given unto *the idolaters* any book *of revelations,* so that they *may rely* on any proof therefrom *to authorise their practice?* Nay: but the ungodly make unto one another only deceitful promises. Verily GOD sustaineth the heavens and the earth, lest they fail and if they should fail, none could support the same besides him; he is gracious *and* merciful *The Koreish* swore by GOD, with a most solemn oath, that if a preacher had come unto them, they would surely have been more *willingly* directed than any nation But now a preacher is come unto them, it hath only increased in them *their* aversion *from the truth, their* arrogance in the earth, and *their* contriving of evil, but the contrivance of evil shall only encompass the authors thereof Do they expect any other than the punishment awarded against the *unbelievers* of former times? For thou shalt not find any change in the ordinance of GOD; neither shalt thou find any variation in the ordinance of GOD Have they not gone through the earth, and seen what hath been the end of those who were before them, although they were more mighty in strength than they? GOD is not to be frustrated by anything either in heaven or on earth, for he is wise *and* powerful If GOD should punish men according to what they deserve, he would not leave on the back of *the earth* so much as a beast but he respiteth them to a determined time, and when their time shall come, verily GOD will regard his servants.

[t] *viz.* Mohammed

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ENTITLED, Y. S; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

Y. S.[u] *I swear* by the instructive Korân, that thou art *one* of the messengers *of God, sent* to *show* the right way. *This is* a revelation of the most mighty, the merciful *God:* that thou mayest warn a people whose fathers were not warned, and who live in negligence. *Our* sentence[x] hath justly been pronounced against the greater part of them; wherefore they shall not believe. We have put yokes[y] on their necks, which *come* up to *their* chins; and they are forced to hold up their heads. and we have set a bar before them, and a bar behind them;[z] and we have covered them with darkness; wherefore they shall not see.[a] *It shall be* equal unto them whether thou preach unto them, or do not preach unto them, they shall not believe But thou shalt preach *with effect* unto him only who followeth the admonition *of the Korân*, and feareth the Merciful in secret. Wherefore bear good tidings unto him, of mercy, and an honourable reward. Verily we will restore the dead to life, and will write down *their works* which they shall have sent before them, and their footsteps *which they shall have left behind them*,[b] and everything do we set down in a plain register Propound unto them as an example the inhabitants of the city *of Antioch*, when the apostles *of Jesus* came thereto:[c] when we

[u] The meaning of these letters is unknown [1] some, however, from a tradition of Ebn Abbas, pretend they stand for *Ya insân, i e, O man* This chapter, it is said, had several other titles given it by Mohammed himself, and particularly that of *The heart of the* Korân The Mohammedans read it to dying persons in their last agony [2]

[x] viz, The sentence of damnation, which GOD pronounced against the greater part of genii and men at the fall of Adam [3]

[y] Or collars, such as are described p 181, note [t]

[z] That is, we have placed obstacles to prevent their looking either forwards or backwards The whole passage represents the blindness and invincible obstinacy, with which GOD justly curses perverse and reprobate men

[a] It is said that when the Koreish, in pursuance of a resolution they had taken, had sent a select number to beset Mohammed's house, and to kill him,[4] the prophet, having caused Ali to lie down on his bed to deceive the assassins, went out and threw a handful of dust at them, repeating the nine first verses of this chapter, which end here, and they were thereupon stricken with blindness, so that they could not see him [5]

[b] As their good or evil example doctrine, &c

[c] To explain this passage, the commentators tell the following story —

The people of Antioch being idolaters, Jesus sent two of his disciples thither to preach to them; and when they drew near the city they found Habib, surnamed al Najjâr, or the *carpenter*, feeding sheep, and acquainted him with their errand; whereupon he asked them what proof they had of their veracity, and they told him they could cure the sick, and the blind, and the lepers; and to demonstrate the truth of what they said, they laid their hands on a child of his who was sick, and immediately restored him to health Habib was convinced by this miracle, and believed; after which they went into the city and preached the worship of one true GOD, curing a great number of people of several infirmities but at length, the affair coming to the prince's ear, he ordered them to be imprisoned for endeavouring to seduce the people. When Jesus heard of this, he sent another of his disciples, generally supposed to have been Simon Peter, who, coming to Antioch, and appearing as a zealous idolater, soon insinu-

[1] See the Prelim Disc, Sec. III p 46, &c [2] Vide Bobov De Visit Ægrot p 17
[t] See cap 7, p 106, c. 11, p 169, &c. [4] See the Prelim. Disc p 39 [5] Vide Abulf Vit Moh. p 50.

sent unto them two *of the said apostles*;[d] but they charged them with imposture. Wherefore we strengthened *them* with a third.[e] And they said, Verily we *are* sent unto you *by God* *The inhabitants* answered, Ye are no other than men, as we *are*, neither hath the Merciful revealed anything *unto you* ye only publish a lie. The *apostles* replied, Our LORD knoweth that we *are* really sent unto you and our duty is only public preaching *Those of Antioch* said, Verily we presage evil from you if ye desist not *from preaching*, we will surely stone you, and a painful punishment shall be inflicted on you by us. The *apostles* answered, Your evil presage is with yourselves[f] although ye be warned, *will ye persist in your errors?* Verily ye *are* a people who transgress *exceedingly* And a certain man[g] came hastily from the farther parts of the city, *and* said, O my people, follow the messengers *of* GOD, follow him who demandeth not any reward of you for these are *rightly* directed (XXIII) What *reason* have I that I should not worship him who hath created me? for unto him shall ye return Shall I take *other* gods besides him? If the merciful be pleased to afflict me, their intercession will not avail me at all, neither can they deliver *me* then should I be in a manifest error Verily I believe in your LORD wherefore hearken unto me *But they stoned him and as he died*, it was said *unto him*, Enter thou into paradise. *And* he said, O that my people knew how merciful GOD hath been unto me! for he hath highly honoured me And we sent not down against his people, after *they had slain* him, an army from heaven, nor *the other instruments of destruction* which we sent down *on unbelievers in former days*[h] there was only one cry *of Gabriel from heaven*, and behold, they *became* utterly extinct O the misery of men! No apostle cometh unto them, but they laugh him to scorn. Do they not consider how many generations we have destroyed before them? Verily they shall not return unto them but all of them in general *shall be* assembled before us *One* sign *of the resurrection*

ated himself into the favour of the inhabitants and of their prince and at length took an opportunity to desire the prince would order the two persons who as he was informed had been put in prison for broaching new opinions to be brought before him to be examined and accordingly they were brought when Peter having previously warned them to take no notice that they knew him asked them who sent them to which they answered GOD who had created all things and had no companion He then required some convincing proof of their mission, upon which they restored a blind person to his sight and performed some other miracles with which Peter seemed not to be satisfied for that according to some he did the very same miracles himself but declared that if their GOD could enable them to raise the dead he would believe them which could on the two apostles accepting a lad was brought who had been dead seven days and at their prayers he was raised to life and thereupon Peter acknowledged himself convinced and ran and demolished the idols a great many of the people following him and embracing the true faith but those who believed not were destroyed by the cry of the angel Gabriel.[1]

[d] Some say these two were John and Paul but others name different persons

[e] viz Simon Peter

[f] *i e* If any evil befall you it will be the consequence of your own obstinacy and unbelief. See chapter 27 p 287 note [b]

[g] This was Habib al Najjâr, whose *martyrdom is here described* *His tomb is still shown* near Antioch, and is much visited by the Mohammedans [2]

[h] As a deluge or a shower of stones or a suffocating wind &c The words may also be translated, *Nor did we determine to send down* such executioners of our justice

[1] Al Zamakh al Beidâwi &c Vide etiam Marracc in Alc p. 580. [2] Vide Schultens, Indic. Geogr ad calcem Vitæ Saladini, voce Antiochia.

unto them *is* the dead earth [i] we quicken the same *by the rain*, and produce thereout *various sorts of* grain, of which they eat And we make therein gardens of palm trees, and vines, and we cause springs to gush forth in the same that they may eat of the fruits thereof, and of the labour of their hands Will they not therefore give thanks? Praise be unto him who hath created all the different kinds *both* of *vegetables* which the earth bringeth forth, and of their own species, *by forming the two sexes* and also *the various sorts* of things which they know not. The night also *is* a sign unto them we withdraw the day from the same and behold they *are* covered with darkness and the sun hasteneth to his place of rest [k] This *is* the disposition of the mighty, the wise GOD And for the moon have we appointed *certain* mansions,[l] until she *change and* return *to be* like the old branch of a palm tree [m] It is not expedient that the sun should overtake the moon *in her course*, neither doth the night outstrip the day but each *of these luminaries* moveth in a *peculiar* orbit *It is* a sign also unto them, that we carry their offspring in the ship filled *with merchandise*,[n] and that we have made for them *other conveniences* like unto it,[o] whereon they ride. If we please we drown them and *there is* none to help them neither are they delivered unless through our mercy, and that they may enjoy *life* for a season When it is said unto them, Fear that which is before you and that which is behind you [p] that ye may obtain mercy *they withdraw from thee* and thou dost not bring them one sign of the signs of their LORD, but they turn aside from the same And when it is said unto them, Give alms of that which GOD hath bestowed on you the unbelievers say unto those who believe *by way of mockery* Shall we feed him whom GOD can feed if he pleaseth?[q] Verily ye are in no other than a manifest error And they say When will this promise *of the resurrection be fulfilled*, if ye speak truth? They only wait for one sounding *of the trumpet*,[r] which shall overtake them while they are disputing together and they shall not *have time to* make any disposition *of their effects*, neither shall they return to their family And the trumpet shall be sounded *again* [s] and behold they shall come forth from *their* graves and hasten unto

[i] See cap 29 p 298 note y

[k] That is he hasteneth to run his daily course the setting of the sun resembling a traveller's going to rest Some copies vary in this place and instead of *limostakarrin laha* read *la mostakarra laha* according to which the sentence should be rendered *The sun runneth his course without ceasing and hath not a place of rest*

[l] viz These are twenty-eight constellations through one of which the moon passes every night thence called the *mansions* or *houses of the moon* [1]

[m] For when a palm branch grows old it shrinks and becomes crooked and yellow not ill representing the appearance of the new moon

[n] Some suppose that the deliverance of Noah and his companions in the ark is here intended, and then the words should be translated *That we carried their progeny in the ark filled with living creatures*

[o] As camels which are the *land ships* or lesser vessels and boats.

[p] *i e* The punishment of this world and of the next

[q] When the poor Moslems asked alms of the rich Koreish they told them that if GOD could provide for them, as they imagined, and did not it was an argument that they deserved not his favour so well as themselves whereas GOD permits some to be in want, to try the rich and exercise their charity

[r] See the Prelim Disc Sect. IV p 64 65, and the notes to chapter 39

[s] See ibid.

[1] See the Prelim Disc Sect. I p 24

their LORD. They shall say, Alas for us! who hath awakened us from our bed?[t] This is what the Merciful promised *us*, and *his* apostles spoke the truth. It shall be but one sound *of the trumpet*, and behold, they *shall be* all assembled before us. On this day no soul shall be unjustly treated in the least; neither shall ye be rewarded, but according to what ye shall have wrought. On this day the inhabitants of paradise shall be wholly taken up with joy: they and their wives *shall rest* in shady groves, leaning on magnificent couches. There shall they have fruit, and they shall obtain whatever they shall desire. Peace *shall be* the word spoken *unto the righteous*, by a merciful LORD: but *he shall say unto the wicked*, Be ye separated this day, O ye wicked, *from the righteous*. Did I not command you, O sons of Adam, that ye should not worship Satan, because he *was* an open enemy unto you? And *did I not say*, Worship me; this *is* the right way? But now hath he seduced a great multitude of you: did ye not therefore understand? This is hell with which ye were threatened: be ye cast into the same this day, to be burned; for that ye have been unbelievers. On this day we will seal up their mouths, *that they shall not open them in their own defence*; and their hands shall speak unto us, and their feet shall bear witness of that which they have committed.[u] If we pleased we could put out their eyes, and they might run with emulation in the way *they use to take*; and how should they see *their error?* And if we pleased we could transform them *into other shapes*, in their places *where they should be found*, and they should not be able to depart: neither should they repent.[x] Unto whomsoever we grant a long life, him do we cause to bow down his body *through age*. Will they not therefore understand? We have not taught *Mohammed* the art of poetry;[y] nor is it expedient for him *to be a poet*. This *book is* no other than an admonition *from God*, and a perspicuous Korân; that he may warn him who is living:[z] and the sentence *of condemnation* will be justly executed on the unbelievers. Do they not consider that we have created for them, among the things which our hands have wrought, cattle *of several kinds*, of which they are possessors; and that we have put the same in subjection under them? Some of them *are* for their riding; and on some of them do they feed: and they receive *other* advantages therefrom; and *of their milk do they* drink. Will they not, therefore, be thankful? They have taken *other* gods, besides GOD, *in hopes* that they may be assisted *by them*: but they are not able to give them any assistance: yet *are* they a party of troops ready to *defend* them. Let not their speech, therefore, grieve thee: we know that which they privately conceal and that which they publicly discover. Doth not man know that we have created him of seed? yet behold, he is an open disputer *against the resurrection*; and he propoundeth unto us a comparison, and forgetteth his creation. He

[t] For they shall sleep during the interval between these two blasts of the trumpet, and shall feel no pain.[1]

[u] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 69.

[x] That is, They deserve to be thus treated for their infidelity and disobedience; but we bear with them out of mercy, and grant them respite.

[y] This is in answer to the infidels, who pretended the Korân was only a poetical composition.

[z] *i.e.*, Endued with understanding; the stupid and careless being like dead persons.[2]

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] Al Beidâwi.

saith, Who shall restore bones to life, when they are rotten?[a] Answer, He shall restore them to life, who produced them the first time for he is skilled in every *kind of* creation who giveth you fire out of the green tree,[b] and behold, ye kindle *your fuel* from thence. Is not he who hath created the heavens and the earth, able to create *new creatures* like unto them? Yea, certainly for he *is* the wise Creator. His command, when he willeth a thing, *is* only that he saith unto it, Be, and it is. Wherefore praise be unto him, in whose hand is the kingdom of all things, and unto whom ye shall return *at the last day*.

CHAPTER XXXVII

ENTITLED, THOSE WHO RANK THEMSELVES IN ORDER, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY *the angels* who rank themselves in order;[c] and by those who drive forward and dispel *the clouds*[d] and by those who read *the Korân* for an admonition verily your GOD is one the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is* between them, and the LORD of the east[e] We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornament of the stars and *we have placed therein* a guard, against every rebellious devil, that they may not listen to *the discourse of* the exalted princes (for they are darted at from every side, to repel *them*, and a lasting torment *is prepared* for them), except him who catcheth a word by stealth, and is pursued by a shining flame[f] Ask *the Meccans*, therefore, whether they *be* stronger by nature, or *the angels* whom we have created? We have surely created them of stiff clay Thou wonderest at *God's power and their obstinacy*, but they mock *at the arguments urged to convince*

[a] See chapter 16 p 195 note

[b] The usual way of striking fire in the east is by rubbing together two pieces of wood, one of which is commonly of the tree called Markh and the other of that called Afâr and it will succeed even though the wood be green and wet [1]

[c] Some understand by these words the *souls of men* who *range themselves* in obedience to GOD's laws and *put away* from them all infidelity and corrupt doings or the *souls* of those who *rank themselves* in battle array to fight for the true religion and *push on* their horses to charge the infidels &c.[2]

[d] Or who *put in motion* all bodies in the upper and lower world according to the divine command or who *keep off* men from disobedience to GOD by inspiring them with good thoughts and inclinations or who drive away the devils from them &c [3]

[e] The original word being in the plural number is supposed to signify the different points of the horizon from whence the sun rises in the course of the year which are in number 360 (equal to the number of days in the old civil year) and have as many corresponding points where it successively sets during that space [4] Marracci groundlessly imagines this interpretation to be built on the error of the plurality of worlds [5]

[f] See chapter 15 p 192

[1] Vide Hyde de Rel Vet Pers c. 25, p 233, &c. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem [4] Idem, Yahya. [5] Marracc in Alc p 589

them. when they are warned, they do not take warning; and when they see any sign, they scoff *thereat*, and say, This *is* no other than manifest sorcery after we shall be dead, and become dust and bones, shall we really *be* raised to life, and our forefathers also? Answer, Yea and ye *shall then be* despicable There shall be but one blast *of the trumpet*, and they shall see *themselves raised* and they shall say, Alas for us! this *is* the day of judgment, this is the day of distinction *between the righteous and the wicked*, which ye rejected as a falsehood Gather together those who have acted unjustly, and their comrades, and the *idols* which they worshipped besides GOD, and direct them in the way to hell and set them *before God's tribunal*, for they *shall be* called to account What aileth you that ye defend not one another? But on this day they shall submit themselves *to the judgment of God* and they shall draw nigh unto one another, and shall dispute among themselves *And the seduced* shall say *unto those who seduced them*, Verily ye came unto us with presages of prosperity,[g] *and the seducers* shall answer, Nay, rather ye were not true believers for we had no power over you *to compel you*, but ye were people who *voluntarily* transgressed wherefore the sentence of our LORD hath been justly pronounced against us *and* we shall surely taste *his vengeance* We seduced you, *but* we also erred ourselves They *shall both* therefore *be* made partakers of the *same* punishment on that day Thus will we deal with the wicked because, when it is said unto them, There is no god besides *the true* GOD, they swell with arrogance, and say, Shall we abandon our gods for a distracted poet? Nay, he cometh with the truth, and beareth witness to the *former* apostles Ye shall surely taste the painful torment *of hell,* and ye shall not be rewarded but according to your works But *as for* the sincere servants of GOD, they shall have a certain provision *in paradise, namely, delicious* fruits and they *shall be* honoured *they shall be placed* in gardens of pleasure, *leaning* on couches, opposite to one another [h] a cup shall be carried round unto them, *filled* from a limpid fountain, for the delight of those who drink it shall not oppress the understanding, neither shall they be inebriated therewith And near them *shall lie the virgins of paradise*, refraining their looks *from beholding any besides their spouses*, having large black eyes *and* resembling the eggs *of an ostrich* covered *with feathers from the dust*[i] And they shall turn the one unto the other, and shall ask one another questions And one of them shall say, Verily I had an intimate friend *while I lived in the world*, who said *unto me*, Art thou one of those who assertest the truth *of the resurrection?* After we shall be dead, and reduced to dust and bones, shall we surely be judged? *Then* he shall say *to his companions*, Will ye look down? And he shall look down, and shall see him in the midst of hell, *and* he shall say *unto him*, By GOD, it wanted little but thou hadst drawn me into ruin, and *had it* not *been* for the grace of my LORD, I had surely been *one* of those who had been delivered up *to*

[g] Literally *from the right hand* The words may also be rendered *with force*, to compel us or *with an oath* swearing that ye were in the right.

[h] See chapter 15, p 193, note

[i] This may seem an odd comparison to an European, but the orientals think nothing comes so near the colour of a fine woman's skin as that of an ostrich's egg when kept perfectly clean

eternal torment. Shall we die any other than our first death; or do we suffer any punishment? Verily this is great felicity: for *the obtaining* a *felicity* like this let the labourers labour. Is this a better entertainment, or the tree of Al Zakkum?[k] Verily we have designed the same for an occasion of dispute unto the unjust.[l] It is a tree which issueth from the bottom of hell: the fruit thereof resembleth the heads of devils;[m] and *the damned* shall eat of the same, and shall fill *their* bellies therewith; *there shall be given* them thereon a mixture of filthy and boiling water to drink: afterwards shall they return into hell.[n] They found their fathers going astray, and they trod hastily in their footsteps: for the greater part of the ancients erred before them. And we sent warners unto them heretofore: and see how *miserable* was the end of those who were warned; except the sincere servants of GOD. Noah called on us in former days, and we heard him graciously: and we delivered him and his family out of the great distress: and we caused his offspring *to be* those who survived *to people the earth*: and we left *the following salutation to be bestowed* on him by the latest posterity, *namely*, Peace *be* on Noah among all creatures! Thus do we reward the righteous; for he *was one* of our servants the true believers. Afterwards we drowned the others. Abraham also *was* of his religion:[o] when he came unto his LORD with a perfect heart. When he said unto his father and his people, What do ye worship? Do ye choose false gods preferably to *the true* GOD? What therefore *is* your opinion of the LORD of all creatures? And he looked and observed the stars, and said, Verily I *shall be* sick,[p] *and shall not assist at your sacrifices*: and they turned their backs and departed from him.[q] And *Abraham* went privately to their gods, and said *scoffingly unto them*, Do ye not eat *of the meat which is set before you*? What aileth you that ye speak not? And he turned upon them, and struck *them* with his right hand, *and demolished them.* And *the people* came hastily unto him: *and* he said, Do ye worship the *images* which ye carve? whereas GOD hath created you, and also that which ye make. They said, Build a pile for him, and cast him into the glowing fire. And they devised a plot against him; but we made them the inferior, *and delivered him*.[r] And *Abraham* said, Verily I *am* going unto my LORD,[s] who will direct me. O LORD, grant me a righteous *issue*. Wherefore we acquainted him *that he should have a son who should be* a meek youth. And when he had

[k] There is a thorny tree so called, which grows in Tehâma, and bears fruit like an almond, but extremely bitter; and therefore the same name is given to this infernal tree.

[l] The infidels not conceiving how a tree could grow in hell, where the stones themselves serve for fuel.

[m] Or of serpents ugly to behold; the original word signifies both.

[n] Some suppose that the entertainment above mentioned will be the welcome given the damned before they enter that place; and others, that they will be suffered to come out of hell from time to time, to drink their scalding liquor.

[o] For Noah and he agreed in the fundamental points both of faith and practice; though the space between them was no less than 2640 years.[1]

[p] He made as if he gathered so much from the aspect of the heavens—the people being greatly addicted to the superstitions of astrology—and made it his excuse for being absent from their festival, to which they had invited him.

[q] Fearing he had some contagious distemper.[2]

[r] See chapter 22, p. 246, &c.

[s] Whither he hath commanded me.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem.

attained to *years of* discretion,[t] *and could join in acts of religion* with him; *Abraham* said *unto him,* O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I should offer thee in sacrifice[u] consider therefore what thou art of opinion *I should do* He answered, O my father, do what thou art commanded thou shalt find me, if GOD please, a patient person. And when they had submitted themselves *to the divine will*, and *Abraham* had laid *his son* prostrate on his face,[x] we cried unto him, O Abraham, now hast thou verified the vision Thus do we reward the righteous. Verily this was a manifest trial. And we ransomed him with a noble victim[y] And we left *the following salutation to be bestowed* on him by the latest posterity, *namely*, Peace *be* on Abraham! Thus do we reward the righteous: for he *was one* of our faithful servants And we rejoiced him with the promise of Isaac, a righteous prophet, and we blessed him and Isaac and of their offspring *were* some righteous doers, and *others* who manifestly injured their own souls We were also gracious unto Moses and Aaron, heretofore and we delivered them and their people from a great distress And we assisted them *against the Egyptians*, and they became the conquerors And we gave them the perspicuous book *of the law*, and we directed them into the right way: and we left *the following salutation to be bestowed* on them by the latest posterity, *namely*, Peace *be* on Moses and Aaron! Thus do we reward the righteous; for they *were two* of our faithful servants. And Elias[z]

[t] He was then thirteen years old[8]

[u] The commentators say, that Abraham was ordered in a vision, which he saw on the eighth night of the month Dhu'lhajja, to sacrifice his son and to assure him that this was not from the devil, as he was inclined to suspect, the same vision was repeated a second time the next night, when he *knew* it to be from GOD, and also a third time the night following, when he resolved to obey it, and to *sacrifice* his son, and hence some think the eighth, ninth, and tenth days of Dhu'lhajja are called *Yawm altarwiya, yawm ar afat*, and *yawm alnehr*, that is, *the day of the vision, the day of knowledge*, and *the day of the sacrifice*

It is the most received opinion among the Mohammedans that the son whom Abraham offered was Ismael, and not Isaac, Ismael being his only son at that time for the promise of Isaac's birth is mentioned lower, as subsequent in time to this transaction They also allege the testimony of their prophet, who is reported to have said, *I am the son of the two who were offered in sacrifice*, meaning his great ancestor, Ismael, and his own father Abd'allah for Abd'almotalleb had made a vow that if GOD would permit him to find out and open the well Zemzem, and should give him ten sons, he would sacrifice one of them Accordingly, when he had obtained his desire in both respects, he cast lots on his sons, and the lot falling on Abd'allah, he redeemed him by offering a hundred camels, which was therefore ordered to be the price of a man's blood in the Sonna[1]

[x] The commentators add, that Abraham went so far as to draw the knife with all his strength across the lad's throat, but was miraculously hindered from hurting him[2]

[y] The epithet of *great* or *noble* is here added, either because it was large and fat, or because it was accepted as the ransom of a prophet Some suppose this victim was a ram, and, if we may believe a common tradition, the very same which Abel sacrificed, having been brought to Abraham out of paradise, others fancy it was a wild goat, which came down from Mount Thabîr, near Mecca, for the Mohammedans lay the scene of this transaction in the valley of Mina, as a proof of which they tell us that the horns of the victim were hung up on the spout of the Caaba, where they remained till they were burnt, together with that building, in the days of Abda'llah Ebn Zobeir,[3] though others assure us that they had been before taken down by Mohammed himself, to remove all occasion of idolatry[4]

[z] This prophet the Mohammedans generally suppose to be the same with al Khedr, and confound him with Phineas,[5] and sometimes with Edris, or Enoch. Some say he was the son of Yasin, and nearly related to Aaron, and others suppose him to have been a different person He was sent to the inhabitants of Baalbec, in Syria, the Heliopolis of the Greeks, to reclaim them from the worship of their idol Baal, or the sun, whose name makes part of that of the city, which was anciently called Becc.[6]

[8] Idem [1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, al Zamakh. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin [3] Idem. [4] Vide D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Ismail [5] See cap. 18, p. 293, note [6] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi.

was also one of those who were sent *by us.* When he said unto his people, Do ye not fear *God?* Do ye invoke Baal, and forsake the most excellent Creator? GOD *is* your LORD, and the LORD of your forefathers. But they accused him of imposture: wherefore they shall be delivered up *to eternal punishment;* except the sincere servants of GOD. And we left *the following salutation to be bestowed* on him by the latest posterity, *namely,* Peace *be* on Ilyâsin![a] Thus do we reward the righteous: for he *was one* of our faithful servants. And Lot *was also one* of those who were sent *by us.* When we delivered him and his whole family, except an old woman, *his wife, who perished* among those that remained behind afterwards we destroyed the others[b] And ye, *O people of Mecca,* pass by *the places where they once dwelt,* as ye journey in the morning and by night. will ye not therefore understand? Jonas *was also one* of those who were sent *by us*[c] When he fled[d] into the loaded ship, and *those who were on board* cast lots among themselves,[e] and he was condemned.[f] and the fish swallowed him,[g] for he was worthy of reprehension. And if he had not been *one* of those who praised GOD,[h] verily he had remained in the belly thereof until the day of resurrection And we cast him on the naked *shore,* and he *was* sick.[i] and we caused a plant of a gourd[k] to grow up over him, and we sent him to a hundred thousand *persons,* or they were a greater number, and they believed: wherefore we granted them to enjoy *this life* for a season. Inquire of the *Meccans* whether thy LORD hath daughters, and they sons?[l] Have we created the angels of the female sex? and *were* they witnesses

[a] The commentators do not well know what to make of this word. Some think it is the plural of Elias, or, as the Arabs write it, Ilyâs, and that both that prophet and his followers, or those who resembled him, are meant thereby, others divide the word, and read *Al Yasin, i e, the family of Yasin,* who was the father of Elias according to an opinion mentioned above; and others imagine it signifies Mohammed, or the Korân, or some other book of scripture But the most probable conjecture is that Ilyâs and Ilyâsin are the same name, or design one and the same person, as Sinai and Sinin denote one and the same mountain, the last syllable being added here, to keep up the rhyme or cadence, at the close of the verse

[b] See chapter 7, p 113, &c, and chapter 11, p 166, &c.

[c] See chapter 10, p 157

[d] See chapter 21, p 248

[e] Al Beidâwi says the ship stood stock-still, wherefore they concluded that they had a fugitive servant on board, and cast lots to find him out.

[f] *i e,* He was taken by the lot

[g] When the lot fell on Jonas he cried out, *I am the fugitive,* and immediately threw himself into the sea.[7]

[h] The words seem to relate particularly to Jonas's supplication while in the whale's belly.[8]

[i] By reason of what he had suffered, his body becoming like that of a new-born child[9] It is said that the fish, after it had swallowed Jonas, swam after the ship with its head above water, that the prophet might breathe, who continued to praise GOD till the fish came to land and vomited him out

The opinions of the Mohammedan writers as to the time Jonas continued in the fish's belly differ very much some suppose it was part of a day, others three days, others seven, others twenty, and others forty[10]

[k] The original word signifies a plant which spreads itself upon the ground, having no erect stalk or stem to support it, and particularly a gourd, though some imagine Jonas's plant to have been a fig, and others the small tree or shrub called Mauz,[1] which bears very large leaves, and excellent fruit[2] The commentators add, that this plant withered the next morning, and that Jonas being much concerned at it, GOD made a remonstrance to him in behalf of the Ninivites, agreeable to what is recorded in scripture.

[l] See chapter 16, p 199

[7] Idem. [8] See cap 21, p. 248 [9] Al Beidâwi [10] Idem [1] Idem. [2] Vide J Leon Descr Afric. lib 9 Gab Sionit. de Urb Orient ad calcem Geogr. Nub. p. 32, et Hottinger Hist Orient. p 98. &c.

thereof? Do they not say of their own false invention, GOD hath begotten *issue?* and are they not really liars? Hath he chosen daughters preferably to sons? Ye have no *reason* to judge thus. Will ye not therefore be admonished? Or have ye a manifest proof *of what ye say?* Produce now your book *of revelations*, if ye speak truth. And they make him to be of kin unto the genii,[m] whereas the genii know that they *who affirm such things*, shall be delivered up *to eternal punishment* (far be that from GOD which they affirm *of him!*) except the sincere servants of GOD. Moreover ye and that which ye worship shall not seduce *any* concerning *God*, except him who *is destined* to be burned in hell. There *is* none of us, but hath an appointed place we range ourselves in order, *attending the commands of God*, and we celebrate *the divine praise*.[n] *The infidels* said, If we had been favoured with a book of divine revelations, of *those which were delivered to* the ancients, we had surely been sincere servants of GOD yet *now the Korân is revealed*, they believe not therein; but hereafter shall they know *the consequence of their unbelief* Our word hath formerly been given unto our servants the apostles, that they should certainly be assisted *against the infidels*, and that our armies should surely be the conquerors Turn aside therefore from them, for a season and see *the calamities which shall afflict* them, for they shall see *thy future success and prosperity*. Do they therefore seek to hasten our vengeance? Verily when it shall descend into their courts, an evil morning *shall it be* unto those who were warned *in vain* Turn aside from them therefore for a season; and see hereafter shall they see *thy success and their punishment* Praise be unto thy LORD, the LORD who is far exalted above what they affirm *of him!* And peace *be* on *his* apostles! And praise *be* unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures!

CHAPTER XXXVIII

ENTITLED, S, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

S.[o] BY the Korân full of admonition.[p] Verily the unbelievers *are addicted to* pride and contention. How many generations have

[m] That is, the angels, who are also comprehended under the name of *genii*, being a species of them Some say that the infidels went so far as to assert that GOD and the devil were brothers,[8] which blasphemous expression may have been occasioned by the *magian* notions

[n] These words are supposed to be spoken by the angels, disclaiming the worship paid to them by the idolaters, and declaring that they have each their station and office appointed them by GOD, whose commands they are at all times ready to execute, and whose praises they continually sing There are some expositors, however, who think they are the words of Mohammed and his followers, the meaning being, that each of them has a place destined for him in paradise, and that they are the men who range themselves in order before GOD, to worship and pray to him, and who celebrate his praise by rejecting every false notion derogatory to the divine wisdom and power

[o] The meaning of this letter is unknown[1] some guess it stands for *Sidk*, *i e*, *Truth*, or for *Sadaka*, *i e*, *He* (viz, Mohammed) *speaketh the truth*, and others propose different conjectures, all equally uncertain

[p] Something must be understood to answer this oath which the commentators variously supply

[8] Al Beidâwi. [1] See the Prelim. Disc Sect III p 46, &c.

we destroyed before them; and they cried *for mercy*, but it was not a time to escape They wonder that a warner from among themselves hath come unto them And the unbelievers said, This *man is* a sorcerer *and* a liar doth he affirm the gods *to be but* one GOD? Surely this *is* a wonderful thing And the chief men among them departed,[q] *saying to one another*, Go, and persevere in *the worship of* your gods verily this is the thing which is designed[r] We have not heard *anything like* this in the last religion,[s] this *is* no other than a *false* contrivance. Hath an admonition been sent unto him *preferably to any other* among us? Verily they are in a doubt concerning my admonition but they have not yet tasted my vengeance Are the treasuries of the mercy of thy LORD, the mighty, the munificent *God*, in their hands? Is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and of whatever is between them, in their possession? *If it be so*, let them ascend by steps *unto heaven* *But* any army of the confederates shall *even* here be put to flight. The people of Noah, and *the tribe of* Ad, and Pharaoh the contriver of the stakes,[t] and *the tribe of* Thamud, and the people of Lot, and the inhabitants of the wood *near Madian*,[u] accused *the prophets* of imposture before them these were the confederates *against the messengers of* GOD All *of them did no other* than accuse *their* apostles of falsehood wherefore my vengeance hath been justly executed *upon them* And these wait only for one sounding *of the trumpet*, which there shall be no deferring And they *scoffingly* say, O LORD, hasten our sentence unto us, before the day of account Do thou patiently bear that which they utter and remind *them* of our servant David, endued with strength,[x] for he *was* one who seriously turned himself *unto* GOD We compelled the mountains to celebrate *our* praise with him, in the evening and at sunrise, and also the birds, which gathered themselves together *unto him*[y] all *of them* returned frequently unto him *for this purpose* And we established his kingdom, and gave him wisdom and eloquence of speech. Hath the story of the *two* adversaries[z] come to *thy knowledge*, when they ascended over the wall into the upper apartment when they went in unto David, and

[q] On the conversion of Omar, the Koreish being greatly irritated the most considerable of them went in a body to Abu Taleb, to complain to him of his nephew Mohammed's proceedings, but being confounded and put to silence by the prophet's arguments, they left the assembly, and encouraged one another in their obstinacy[2]

[r] Namely, to draw us from their worship

[s] *i e*, In the religion which we received from our fathers, or, in the religion of Jesus, which was the last before the mission of Mohammed[3]

[t] For they say Pharaoh used to tie those he had a mind to punish by the hands and feet to four stakes fixed in the ground, and so tormented them[4] Some interpret the words, which may also be translated the *lord* or *master of the stakes*, figuratively of the firm establishment of Pharaoh's kingdom, because the Arabs fix their tents with stakes,[5] but they may possibly intend that prince's *obstinacy* and *hardness of heart*

[u] See chapter 15, p 194

[x] The commentators suppose that ability to undergo the frequent practice of religious exercises is here meant. They say David used to fast every other day, and to spend one half of the night in prayer[6]

[y] See chapter 21, p 247

[z] These were two angels, who came unto David in the shape of men, to demand judgment in the feigned controversy after mentioned It is no other than Nathan's parable to David,[7] a little disguised.

[2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem. [4] Jallalo'ddin [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] Idem interp [7] 2 Sam xii.

he was afraid of them?[a] They said, Fear not: *we are* two adversaries *who have a controversy to be decided.* The one of us hath wronged the other: wherefore judge between us with truth, and be not unjust; and direct us into the even way. This my brother had ninety and nine sheep; and I had only one ewe and he said, Give her me to keep; and he prevailed against me in the discourse *which we had together.* *David* answered, Verily he hath wronged thee, in demanding thine ewe *as an addition* to his own sheep: and many of them who are concerned together *in business*, wrong one another, except those who believe and do that which is right, but how few are they! And David perceived that we had tried him *by this parable*, and he asked pardon of his LORD. and he fell down and bowed himself, and repented.[b] Wherefore we forgave him this *fault*, and he *shall be* admitted to approach near unto us, and *shall have* an excellent place of abode *in paradise.* O David, verily we have appointed thee a sovereign prince in the earth judge therefore between men with truth; and follow not *thy own* lust, lest it cause thee to err from the way of GOD for those who err from the way of GOD, shall suffer a severe punishment, because they have forgotten the day of account. We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, in vain[c] This *is* the opinion of the unbelievers but woe unto those who believe not, because of the fire *of hell* Shall we deal with those who believe and do good works, as with those who act corruptly in the earth? Shall we deal with the pious as with the wicked? A blessed book have we sent down unto thee, *O Mohammed*, that they may attentively meditate on the signs thereof, and that *men* of understanding may be warned. And we gave unto David Solomon, how excellent a servant! for he frequently turned himself *unto* GOD When the *horses* standing on three feet, and touching the ground with the edge of the fourth foot, *and* swift in the course, were set in parade before him in the evening,[d] he said, Verily I have loved the love of *earthly* good above the remembrance of my LORD, *and have spent the time in viewing these horses,* until *the sun* is hidden by the veil of *night* bring the *horses* back unto me *And when they were brought back*, he began to cut off *their*

[a] Because they came suddenly upon him on a day of privacy, when the doors were guarded, and no person admitted to disturb his devotions For David, they say, divided his time regularly, setting apart one day for the service of GOD, another day for rendering justice to his people, another day for preaching to them, and another day for his own affairs [3]

[b] The crime of which David had been guilty, was the taking the wife of Uriah and ordering her husband to be set in the front of the battle to be slain [4]

Some suppose this story was told to serve as an admonition to Mohammed who, it seems, was apt to covet what was another's

[c] So as to permit injustice to go unpunished, and righteousness unrewarded

[d] Some say that Solomon brought these horses being a thousand in number, from Damascus and Nisibis, which cities he had taken, others say that they were left him by his father, who took them from the Amalekites while others, who prefer the marvellous pretend that they came up out of the sea, and had wings However, Solomon, having one day a mind to view these horses, ordered them to be brought before him, and was so taken up with them that he spent the remainder of the day, till after sunset, in looking on them, by which means he neglected the prayer, which ought to have been said at that time, till it was too late but when he perceived his omission, he was so greatly concerned at it, that ordering the horses to be brought back, he killed them all as an offering to GOD, except only a hundred of the best of them But GOD made him ample amends for the loss of these horses, by giving him dominion over the winds [5]

[3] Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin [4] Idem [5] Al Beidâwi, al Zamakh Yahya

legs and *their* necks. We also tried Solomon, and placed on his throne a *counterfeit* body.[e] afterwards he turned *unto* GOD, *and* said, O LORD, forgive me, and give me a kingdom which may not be obtained by any after me,[f] for thou *art* the giver *of kingdoms.* And we made the wind subject to him; it ran gently at his command, whithersoever he directed. And *we also put* the devils *in subjection under him; and among them* such as were every way skilled in building, and in diving *for pearls* [g] and others *we delivered to him* bound in chains, *saying,* This *is* our gift: therefore be bounteous, or be sparing *unto whom thou shalt think fit*,[h] without rendering an account. And he shall approach near unto us, and shall have an excellent abode *in paradise.* And remember our servant Job;[i] when he cried unto his LORD, *saying,* Verily Satan hath afflicted me with calamity and pain. *And it was said unto him,* Strike *the earth* with thy foot, *which when he had done, a fountain*[k] *sprang up, and it was said to him,* This *is for thee* to wash in, to refresh *thee*, and to drink. And we restored unto him his family, and as many more with them, through our mercy; and for an admonition unto those who are endued with understanding. And *we said unto him,* Take a handful *of rods*[l] in thy hand, and strike *thy wife* therewith,[m] and break not thine oath[n] Verily we found him a patient person · how excellent a servant *was he* ! for he *was* one who frequently turned himself *unto us* Remember also our servants Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, *who were* men strenuous and prudent. Verily

[e] The most received exposition of this passage is taken from the following Talmudic fable.[1] Solomon, having taken Sidon, and slain the king of that city, brought away his daughter Jerâda, who became his favourite, and because she ceased not to lament her father's loss, he ordered the devils to make an image of him for her consolation which being done, and placed in her chamber, she and her maids worshipped it morning and evening, according to their custom At length Solomon being informed of this idolatry, which was practised under his roof, by his vizir Asâf, he broke the image, and having chastised the woman went out into the desert, where he wept and made supplications to GOD, who did not think fit, however, to let his negligence pass without some correction It was Solomon's custom, while he eased or washed himself, to entrust his signet, on which his kingdom depended, with a concubine of his named Amina one day, therefore, when she had the ring in her custody, a devil, named Sakhar, came to her in the shape of Solomon, and received the ring from her, by virtue of which he became possessed of the kingdom, and sat on the throne in the shape which he had borrowed, making what alterations in the law he pleased Solomon, in the meantime, being changed in his outward appearance, and known to none of his subjects, was obliged to wander about, and beg alms for his subsistence, till at length, after the space of forty days, which was the time the image had been worshipped in his house, the devil flew away, and threw the signet into the sea the signet was immediately swallowed by a fish, which being taken and given to Solomon, he found the ring in its belly, and having by this means recovered the kingdom, took Sakhar, and tying a great stone to his neck, threw him into the lake of Tiberias [2]

[f] *i e.*, That I may surpass all future princes in magnificence and power

[g] See chapter 21, p 247, chapter 27, p 284, &c

[h] Some suppose these words to relate to the genii, and that Solomon is thereby empowered to *release* or to *keep in chains* such of them as he pleased

[i] See chapter 21, p 247

[k] Some say there were two springs, one of hot water, wherein he bathed, and the other of cold, of which he drank [3]

[l] The original not expressing what the handful was to consist of, one supposes it was to be only a handful of dry grass or of rushes, and another that it was a branch of a palm-tree [4]

[m] The commentators are not agreed what fault Job's wife had committed to deserve this chastisement we have mentioned one opinion already.[5] Some think it was only because she stayed too long on an errand.

[n] For he had sworn to give her a hundred stripes if he recovered

[1] Vide Talm En Jacob, part ii. et Yalkut in lib. Reg p 182 [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Abulfeda. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See the notes to cap 21, p 247 [5] See ibid.

we purified them with a *perfect* purification, through the remembrance of the life to come,[o] and they were, in our sight, elect *and* good *men* And remember Ismael, and Elisha,[p] and Dhu lkefl [q] for all *these were* good *men* This *is* an admonition Verily the pious shall have an excellent place to return unto, *namely*, gardens of perpetual abode, the gates *whereof shall stand* open unto them As they lie down therein, they shall there ask for many *sorts of* fruits, and for drink, and near them *shall sit the virgins of paradise*, refraining their looks *from beholding any besides their spouses, and* of equal age *with them*[r] This *is* what ye are promised at the day of account. This *is* our provision, which shall not fail This *shall be the reward of the righteous* But for the transgressors *is prepared* an evil receptacle, *namely*, hell they shall be cast into the same to be burned, and a wretched couch *shall it be.* This let them taste, *to wit*, scalding water, and corruption *flowing from the bodies of the damned*, and divers other things of the same kind *And it shall be said to the seducers*, This troop *which was guided by you*, shall be thrown, together with you, headlong *into hell* they shall not be bidden welcome, for they shall enter the fire to be burned. *And the seduced* shall say *to their seducers*, Verily ye shall not be bidden welcome ye have brought it upon us, and a wretched abode *is hell* They shall say, O LORD, doubly increase the torment of him who hath brought this *punishment* upon us, in the fire *of hell* And *the infidels* shall say, Why do we not see the men whom we numbered among the wicked, *and* whom we received with scorn? Or do *our* eyes miss them? Verily this is a truth, *to wit*, the disputing of the inhabitants of *hell* fire Say, *O Mohammed, unto the idolaters*, Verily I *am* no other than a warner and there *is* no god except the one only GOD, the Almighty the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatsoever *is* between them the mighty, the forgiver *of sins* Say, It is a weighty message from which ye turn aside I had no knowledge of the exalted princes,[s] when they disputed *concerning the creation of man* (it hath been revealed unto me only *as a proof* that I am a public preacher) when thy LORD said unto the angels, Verily I am about to create man of clay when I shall have formed him, therefore, and shall have breathed my spirit into him, do ye fall down and worship him[t] And all the angels worshipped *him*, in general, except Eblis, *who* was puffed up with pride, and became an unbeliever *God* said *unto him*, O Eblis, what hindereth thee from worshipping that which I have created with my hands? Art thou elated with vain pride? Or art thou *really* one of exalted merit? He answered, I am more excellent than he thou hast created me of fire,

[o] Or as the words may be interpreted according to al Zamakhshari *We have purified them* or *peculiarly destined and fitted them for paradise*

[p] See chapter 6 p 96

[q] See chapter 21 p. 248 Al Beidâwi here takes notice of another tradition concerning this prophet, viz, that he entertained and took care of a hundred Israelites who fled to him from certain slaughter, from which action he probably had the name of Dhu lkefl given him the primary signification of the verb *cafala* being to *maintain or take care of* another If a conjecture might be founded on this tradition I should fancy the person intended was Obadiah, the governor of Ahab s house [6]

[r] *i e* About thirty or thirty three [1]

[s] That is the angels

[t] See chapter 2 p 4.

[6] See 1 Kings xviii. 4. [1] See the Prelim Disc. Sect. IV p. 73.

and hast created him of clay? God said *unto him*, Get thee hence therefore, for thou shalt be driven away *from mercy* and my curse *shall be* upon thee until the day of judgment. He replied, O LORD, Respite me, therefore until the day of resurrection. God said, Verily thou shalt be *one* of those who are respited until the day of the determined time. *Eblis* said, By thy might *do I swear* I will surely seduce them all, except thy servants *who shall be* peculiarly chosen from among them. God said, *It is* a just sentence; and I speak the truth: I will surely fill hell with thee, and with such of them as shall follow thee altogether.[u] Say *unto the Meccans*, I ask not of you any reward for this *my preaching*; neither am I *one* of those who assume a part which belongs not to them. *The Korân* is no other than an admonition unto all creatures; and ye shall surely know what is delivered therein *to be true* after a season.

CHAPTER XXXIX

ENTITLED, THE TROOPS;[x] REVEALED AT MECCA[y]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE revelation of *this* book *is* from the mighty, the wise GOD. Verily we have revealed *this* book unto thee with truth: wherefore serve GOD, exhibiting the pure religion unto him. *Ought* not the pure religion *to be exhibited* unto GOD? But *as to* those who take other patrons besides him, *saying*, We worship them only that they may bring us nearer unto GOD; verily GOD will judge between them concerning that wherein they disagree. Surely GOD will not direct him who is a liar *or* ungrateful. If GOD had been minded to have had a son, he had surely chosen what he pleased[1] out of that which he hath created.[z] But far be *such a thing* from him![1] He is the sole, the almighty GOD. He hath created the heavens and the earth with truth: he causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night; and he obligeth the sun and the moon to perform their services: each *of them* hasteneth to an appointed period. Is not he the mighty, the forgiver *of sins*?[2] He created you of one man, and afterwards out of him formed his wife: and he hath bestowed[a] on you

[u] See chapter 7, p. 106, and chapter 15, p. 192, &c.

[x] This title is taken from the latter end of the chapter, where it is said the wicked shall be sent to hell, and the righteous admitted into paradise by troops.

[y] Except the verse beginning, Say, O my servants who have transgressed against your own souls, &c.[1]

[z] Because, says Al Beidâwi, there is no being besides himself but what hath been created by him, since there cannot be two necessarily existent beings; and hence appears the absurdity of the imagination here condemned, because no creature can resemble the Creator, or be worthy to bear the relation of a son to him.

[a] Literally, *He hath sent down*; from which expression some have imagined that these four kinds of beasts were created in paradise, and thence sent down to earth.[2]

[1] Jallaloddin, al Beidâwi. [2] A[illegible]

four pair of cattle.[b] He formeth you in the wombs of your mothers, by several gradual formations,[c] within three veils of darkness.[d] This *is* GOD, your LORD his *is* the kingdom · there is no GOD but he. Why therefore are ye turned aside *from the worship of him to idolatry?* If ye be ungrateful, verily GOD hath no need of you, yet he liketh not ingratitude in his servants but if ye be thankful, he will be well pleased with you A burdened *soul* shall not bear the burden of another: hereafter shall ye return unto your LORD, and he shall declare unto you that which ye have wrought, *and will reward you accordingly;* for he knoweth the innermost parts of *your* breasts When harm befalleth a man, he calleth upon his LORD, and turneth unto him yet afterwards, when *God* hath bestowed on him favour from himself, he forgetteth that *Being* which he invoked before,[e] and setteth up equals unto GOD, that he may seduce *men* from his way Say *unto such a man*, Enjoy *this life* in thy infidelity for a little while *but hereafter* shalt thou surely be *one* of the inhabitants of *hell* fire Shall he who giveth himself up to prayer in the hours of the night, prostrate and standing, *and* who taketh heed as to the life to come, and hopeth for the mercy of his LORD, *be dealt with as the wicked unbeliever?* Say, Shall they who know *their duty*, and they who know *it* not, be held equal? Verily the men of understanding only will be warned Say, O my servants who believe, fear your LORD They who do good in this world, shall obtain good *in the next*,[f] and GOD'S earth *is* spacious [g] verily those who persevere with patience shall receive their recompence without measure Say, I am commanded to worship GOD, and to exhibit the pure religion unto him and I am commanded to be the first Moslem [h] Say, Verily I fear, if I be disobedient unto my LORD, the punishment of the great day. Say, I worship GOD, exhibiting my religion pure unto him but do ye worship that which ye will besides him Say, Verily they *will be* the losers, who shall lose their own souls, and their families, on the day of resurrection is not this manifest loss? Over them *shall be* roofs of fire, and under them *shall be* floors *of fire* With this doth GOD terrify his servants wherefore, O my servants, fear me But those who eschew the worship of idols, and are turned unto GOD, shall receive good tidings Bear good tidings therefore unto my servants, who harken unto *my* word, and follow that which is most excellent therein these *are they* whom GOD directeth, and these are *men* of understanding Him therefore on whom the sentence of *eternal* punishment shall be justly pronounced, canst thou, O *Mohammed*, deliver him who *is destined to dwell* in the fire *of hell?* But for those who fear their LORD *will be prepared* high apartments *in paradise*, over which *shall be other* apartments built; *and* rivers shall run beneath them *this is* the promise of GOD, *and* GOD will not be contrary to the promise. Dost thou not see that GOD sendeth down

[b] See chapter 6, p 102
[c] See chapter 22 p [illegible]50
[d] *i e*, The belly, the womb, and the membranes which enclose the embryo
[e] Or, *He forgetteth the evil which he before prayed against*
[f] Or, *They who do good, shall obtain good even in this world.*
[g] Wherefore let him who cannot safely exercise his religion where he was born or resides, fly to a place of liberty and security [1]
[h] *i e*, The first of the Koreish who professeth the true religion or the leader in chief of the Moslems

[1] Al Beidawi

water from heaven, and causeth the same to enter *and form* sources in the earth; and produceth thereby corn of various sorts? Afterwards he causeth *the same* to wither; and thou seest it become yellow: afterwards he maketh it crumble into dust. Verily herein is an instruction to men of understanding. Shall he, therefore, whose breast GOD hath enlarged to *receive the religion of* Islâm, and who followeth the light from his LORD, *be as he whose heart is hardened?* But woe unto those whose hearts are hardened against the remembrance of GOD! they are in a manifest error. GOD hath revealed a most excellent discourse, a book conformable to itself, *and* containing repeated *admonitions*. The skins of those who fear their LORD shrink for fear thereat: afterwards their skins grow soft, and their hearts *also*, at the remembrance of their LORD. This *is* the direction of GOD: he will direct thereby whom he pleaseth; and whomsoever GOD shall cause to err, he shall have no director. Shall he therefore who shall *be obliged to* screen himself with his face[i] from the severity of the punishment on the day of resurrection, *be as he who is secure therefrom?* And it shall be said unto the ungodly, Taste that which ye have deserved. Those who *were* before them, accused *their apostles* of imposture; wherefore a punishment came upon them from whence they expected *it* not: and GOD caused them to taste shame in this present life, but the punishment of the life to come *will* certainly *be* greater. If they were men of understanding, *they would know this.* Now have we proposed unto mankind, in this Korân, every kind of parable, that they may be warned: an Arabic Korân, wherein there is no crookedness,[k] that they may fear *God*. GOD propoundeth as a parable a man who hath *several* companions which are at mutual variance, and a man who committeth himself wholly to one person:[l] shall these be held in equal comparison? GOD forbid! But the greater part of them do not understand. Verily thou, *O Mohammed*, shalt die, and they also shall die: and ye shall debate *the matter*[m] with one another before your LORD, at the day of resurrection. (XXIV.) Who *is* more unjust than he who uttereth a lie concerning GOD, and denieth the truth, when it cometh unto him? Is there not a dwelling *provided* in hell for the unbelievers? But he who bringeth the truth, and giveth credit thereto,[n] these are they who fear *God*, they *shall obtain* whatever they shall desire, in the sight of their LORD: this *shall be* the recompence of the righteous: that GOD may expiate from them the *very* worst of that which they have wrought, and may render them their reward according to the utmost merit of the good which they have wrought. Is not GOD a sufficient *protector* of

[i] For his hands shall be chained to his neck, and he shall not be able to oppose anything but his face to the fire.[1]

[k] *i.e.*, No contradiction, defect, or doubt.

[l] This passage represents the uncertainty of the idolater, who is distracted in the service of different masters; and the satisfaction of mind which attends the worshipper of the only true GOD.[2]

[m] For the prophet will represent his endeavours to reclaim them from idolatry, and their obstinacy, and they will make frivolous excuses, as that they obeyed their chiefs, and kept to the religion of their fathers, &c.[3]

[n] *i.e.*, Mohammed and his followers. Some suppose that by the latter words Abu Becr is particularly intended, because he asserted the prophet's veracity in respect to his journey to heaven.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem.

his servant? yet they will attempt to make thee afraid of the *false deities* which *they worship* besides GOD.[o] But he whom GOD shall cause to err, shall have none to direct *him*: and he whom GOD shall direct, shall have none to mislead *him*. Is not GOD most mighty, able to avenge? If thou ask them who hath created the heavens and the earth, they will surely answer, GOD. Say, Do ye think therefore that *the deities* which ye invoke besides GOD, if GOD be pleased to afflict me, are able to relieve *me* from his affliction? or if he be pleased to show mercy unto me, that they are able to withhold his mercy? Say, GOD is my sufficient support: in him let those put their trust, who *seek in whom to* confide. Say, O my people, do ye act according *to your* state; verily I will act *according to mine*: hereafter shall ye know on which of us will be inflicted a punishment that shall cover him with shame, and on whom a lasting punishment shall fall. Verily we have revealed unto thee the book *of the Korân, for the instruction of* mankind, with truth. Whoso shall be directed *thereby, shall be directed* to *the advantage of* his own soul; and whoso shall err, shall only err against the same: and thou *art* not a guardian over them. GOD taketh unto himself the souls *of men* at the time of their death; and those which die not *he also taketh* in their sleep;[p] and he withholdeth those on which he hath passed the decree of death,[q] but sendeth back the others till a determined period.[r] Verily herein *are* signs unto people who consider. Have *the Koreish* taken idols for their intercessors *with God*? Say, What, although they have not dominion over anything, neither do they understand? Say, Intercession is altogether in the disposal of GOD:[s] his *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and hereafter shall ye return unto him. When the one sole GOD is mentioned, the hearts of those who believe not in the life to come, shrink with horror: but when the *false gods*, which *are worshipped* besides him, are mentioned, behold, they are filled with joy. Say, O GOD, the creator of heaven and earth, who knowest that which is secret and that which is manifest; thou shalt judge between thy servants concerning that wherein they disagree. If those who act unjustly were masters of whatever is in the earth, and as much more therewith, verily they would give it to ransom themselves from the evil of the punishment, on the day of resurrection: and there shall appear unto them, from God, *terrors* which they never imagined; and there shall appear unto them the evils of that which they shall have gained, and that which they mocked at shall encom-

[o] The Koreish used to tell Mohammed that they feared their gods would do him some mischief, and deprive him of the use of his limbs, or of his reason, because he spoke disgracefully of them. It is thought by some that this passage was verified in Khâled Ebn al Walid, who, being sent by Mohammed to demolish the idol al Uzza, was advised by the keeper of her temple to take heed what he did, because the goddess was able to avenge herself severely; but he was so little moved at the man's warning, that he immediately stepped up to the idol, and broke her nose. To support the latter explication they say that what happened to Khâled is attributed to Mohammed, because the former was then executing the prophet's orders.[1] A circumstance not much different from the above mentioned is told of the demolition of Allat.[2]

[p] That is, seemingly and to outward appearance, sleep being the image of death.

[q] Not permitting them to return again into their bodies.

[r] viz. Into their bodies, when they awake.[3]

[s] For none can or dare presume to intercede with him, unless by his permission.

[1] Idem. [2] Vide Gagnier, not. in Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 127. [3] Al Beidâwi.

pass them. When harm befalleth man, he calleth upon us; yet afterwards, when we have bestowed on him favour from us, he saith, I have received it merely because of GOD's knowledge *of my deserts*.[t] On the contrary, it *is* a trial, but the greater part of them know *it* not. Those who *were* before them, said the same:[u] but that which they had gained, profited them not, and the evils which they had deserved, fell upon them. And whoever of these *Meccans* shall have acted unjustly, on them likewise shall fall the evils which they shall have deserved;[x] neither shall they frustrate *the divine vengeance*. Do they not know that GOD bestoweth provision abundantly on whom he pleaseth, and is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth?* Verily herein *are* signs unto people who believe. Say, O my servants who have transgressed against your own souls, despair not of the mercy of GOD: seeing that GOD forgiveth all sins;[y] for he is gracious *and* merciful. And be turned unto your LORD, and resign yourselves unto him, before the *threatened* punishment overtake you; *for* then ye shall not be helped. And follow the most excellent *instructions* which have been sent down unto you from your LORD, before the punishment come suddenly upon you, and ye perceive not *the approach thereof; and* a soul say, Alas! for that I have been negligent in my duty to GOD: verily I have been *one* of the scorners. Or say, if GOD had directed me, verily I had been one of the pious. Or say, when it seeth the *prepared* punishment, If I could return once more *into the world* I would become *one* of the righteous. But GOD *shall answer*, My signs came unto thee heretofore, and thou didst charge them with falsehood, and wast puffed up with pride, and thou becamest *one* of the unbelievers. On the day of resurrection thou shalt see the faces of those who have uttered lies concerning GOD, become black. Is there not an abode *prepared* in hell for the arrogant? But GOD shall deliver those who shall fear *him, and shall set them* in their place of safety: evil shall not touch them, neither shall they be grieved. GOD *is* the creator of all things, and he *is* the governor of all things. His are the keys of heaven and earth: and they who believe not in the signs of GOD, they shall perish. Say, Do ye therefore bid me to worship other than GOD, O ye fools? since it hath been spoken by revelation unto thee, and also unto *the prophets* who *have been* before thee, *saying*, Verily if thou join any partners *with* GOD, thy work will be altogether unprofitable, and thou shalt certainly be *one* of those who perish: wherefore rather fear GOD, and be *one* of those who give thanks. But they make not a due estimation of GOD:[z] since the whole earth *shall be but* his handful, on the day of resurrection; and the heavens *shall be* rolled together in his right hand. Praise be unto him! and far be he exalted above the *idols* which they associate *with him!* The trumpet shall be sounded,[a] and whoever

[t] Or by means of my own wisdom.

[u] As did Karûn in particular.[1]

[x] As it happened accordingly: for they were punished with a sore famine for seven years, and had the bravest of their warriors cut off at the battle of Bedr.[2]

[y] To those who sincerely repent and profess his unity: for the sins of idolaters will not be forgiven.[3]

[z] See chapter 6, p. 97, note [a].

[a] The first time, says Al Beidâwi, who consequently supposes there will be no more than

[1] See cap. 28, p. 295. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] See p. 10, note [a].

are in heaven and whoever *are* on earth shall expire; except those whom GOD shall please *to exempt from the common fate* [b] Afterwards ti shall be sounded again, and behold, they shall arise and look *up*. And the earth shall shine by the light of its LORD and the book shall be laid *open*,[c] and the prophets and the martyrs shall be brought *as witnesses*; and judgment shall be given between them with truth, and they shall not be treated unjustly And every soul shall be fully rewarded, according to that which it shall have wrought, for he perfectly knoweth whatever they do And the unbelievers shall be driven unto hell by troops, until, when they shall arrive at the same, the gates thereof shall be opened and the keepers thereof[d] shall say unto them, Did not apostles from among you come unto you, who rehearsed unto you the signs of your LORD, and warned you of the meeting of this your day? They shall answer, Yea but the sentence of *eternal* punishment hath been justly pronounced on the unbelievers [e] It shall be said *unto them*, Enter ye the gates of hell, to dwell therein for ever, and miserable *shall be* the abode of the proud! But those who shall have feared their LORD, shall be conducted by troops towards paradise, until they shall arrive at the same and the gates thereof shall be ready set open, and the guards thereof shall say unto them, Peace *be* on you! ye have been good wherefore enter ye into *paradise*, to remain therein for ever And they shall answer, Praise be unto GOD, who hath performed his promise unto us, and hath made us to inherit the earth,[f] that we may dwell in paradise wherever we please! How excellent *is* the reward of those who work *righteousness*! And thou shalt see the angels going in procession round the throne, celebrating the praises of their LORD and judgment shall be given between them with truth, and they shall say, Praise be unto GOD the LORD of all creatures!

two blasts (and two only are distinctly mentioned in the Korân), though others suppose there will be three [1]

[b] These, some say, will be the angels Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil and the angel of death, who yet will afterwards all die, at the command of GOD,[2] it being the constant opinion of the Mohammedan doctors, that every soul, both of men and of animals which live either on land or in the sea, and of the angels also, must necessarily taste of death [3] others suppose those who will be exempted are the angels who bear the throne of GOD,[4] or the black-eyed damsels, and other inhabitants of paradise [5]

The space between these two blasts of the trumpet will be forty days, according to Yahya and others, there are some, however, who suppose it will be as many years [6]

[c] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p [illegible]

[d] See chapter 74, and the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 72

[e] See chapter 7, p 100, chapter 11 p [illegible] &c It seems as if the damned, by these words, attributed their ruin to GOD's decree of predestination

[f] This is a metaphorical expression representing the perfect security and abundance which the blessed will enjoy in paradise

[1] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p [illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] Vide Pocock not in Port Mosis p 200 [4] Al Beidâwi [illegible] Jallaloddin [5] See the Prelim. Disc. ubi sup.

CHAPTER XL.

ENTITLED, THE TRUE BELIEVER,[g] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

H. M.[h] The revelation of *this* book *is* from the mighty, the wise GOD; the forgiver of sin, and the accepter of repentance, severe in punishing; long-suffering. There is no GOD but he: before him *shall be* the *general* assembly *at the last day*. None disputeth against the signs of GOD, except the unbelievers but let not their prosperous dealing in the land[i] deceive thee *with vain allurement*. The people of Noah, and the confederated *infidels which were* after them, accused *their respective prophets* of imposture before these; and each nation hatched *ill designs* against their apostle, that they might get him *into their power*, and they disputed with vain *reasoning*, that they might thereby invalidate the truth wherefore I chastised them, and how *severe* was my punishment! Thus hath the sentence of thy LORD justly passed on the unbelievers, that they *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire. *The angels* who bear the throne *of God*, and those who *stand* about it,[k] celebrate the praise of their LORD, and believe in him; and they ask pardon for the true believers, *saying*, O LORD, thou encompassest all things by *thy* mercy and knowledge, wherefore forgive those who repent and follow thy path, and deliver them from the pains of hell O LORD, lead them also into gardens of eternal abode, which thou hast promised unto them, and unto every one who shall do right, of their fathers, and their wives, and their children; for thou art the mighty, the wise *God* And deliver them from evil; for whomsoever thou shalt deliver from evil on that day, on him wilt thou show mercy; and this will be great salvation But the infidels, *at the day of judgment*, shall hear a voice crying unto them, Verily the hatred of GOD *towards you is* more grievous than your hatred towards yourselves: since ye were called unto the faith, and would not believe They shall say, O LORD, thou hast given us death twice, and thou hast twice given us life,[l] and we confess our sins: *is there* therefore no way to get forth *from this fire? And it shall be answered them*, This *hath befallen you*, for that when one GOD was preached *unto you*, ye believed not, but if *a plurality of gods* had been associated with him, ye had believed, and

[g] This title is taken from the passage wherein mention is made of one of Pharaoh's family who believed in Moses

[h] See the Prelim Disc. Sect III p 46, &c

[i] By trading into Syria and Yaman See chapter 3, p 52, note [m]

[k] These are the Cherubim, the highest order of angels, who approach nearest to GOD's presence[1]

[l] Having first created us in a state of death, or void of life and sensation, and then given life to the inanimate body,[2] and afterwards caused us to die a natural death, and raised us again at the resurrection Some understand the first death to be a natural death, and the second that in the sepulchre, after the body shall have been there raised to life in order to be examined;[3] and consequently suppose the two revivals to be those of the sepulchre and the resurrection[4]

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] See c p 2, p. 4. [3] See Prelim Disc Sect IV, p 60, &c. [4] Al Beidâwi Jallal

judgment *belongeth* unto the high, the great GOD. *It is* he who showeth you his signs, and sendeth down food unto you from heaven: but none will be admonished, except he who turneth himself *unto God*. Call therefore upon GOD, exhibiting *your* religion pure unto him although the infidels be averse *thereto*. *He is the Being* of exalted degree, the possessor of the throne; who sendeth down the spirit, at his command, on such of his servants as he pleaseth; that he may warn *mankind* of the day of meeting,[m] the day *whereon* they shall come forth *out of their graves, and* nothing of *what concerneth* them shall be hidden from GOD. Unto whom *will* the kingdom *belong*, on that day? Unto the only, the almighty GOD. On that day shall every soul be rewarded according to its merits; *there shall be* no injustice *done* on that day. Verily GOD *will be* swift in taking an account. Wherefore warn them, *O prophet*, of the day which shall suddenly approach; when *men's* hearts *shall come up* to their throats, and strangle *them*. The ungodly shall have no friend or intercessor who shall be heard. *God* will know the deceitful eye, and that which *their* breasts conceal; and GOD will judge with truth: but *the false gods* which they invoke besides him, shall not judge at all; for GOD *is* he who heareth *and* seeth. Have they not gone through the earth and seen what hath been the end of those who were before them? They were more mighty than these in strength, and *left more considerable* footsteps *of their power* in the earth: yet GOD chastised them for their sins, and there was none to protect them from GOD. This *they suffered*, because their apostles had come unto them with evident *signs*, and they disbelieved: wherefore GOD chastised them; for he *is* strong, *and* severe in punishing. We heretofore sent Moses with our signs and manifest power, unto Pharaoh, and Haman, and Karûn; and they said, *He is* a sorcerer *and* a liar. And when he came unto them with the truth from us, they said, Slay the sons of those wh have believed with him, and save their daughters alive:[n] but the stratagem of the infidels *was* no other than vain. And Pharaoh said, Let me alone, that I may kill Moses;[o] and let him call upon his LORD: verily I fear lest he change your religion, or cause violence to appear in the earth.[p] And Moses said *unto his people*, Verily I have recourse unto my LORD, and your LORD, *to defend me* against every proud person, who believeth not in the day of account. And a man *who was* a true believer, of the family of Pharaoh,[q] *and* concealed his faith, sai, Will ye put a man to death, because he saith, GOD *is* my LORD, seeir he is come unto you with evident signs from your LORD? If he be a liar, on him *will the punishment of* his falsehood *light*, but if he speaketh the truth, some of *those judgments* with which he threateneth you, will fall upon you: verily GOD directeth not him who is a transgressor *or*

[m] When the Creator and his creatures,[5] the inhabitants of heaven and of earth, the false deities and their worshippers, the oppressor and the oppressed, the labourer and his works, shall meet each other.[6]

[n] *i. e.*, Pursue the resolution which has been formerly taken, and execute it more strictly for the future. See chapter 7, p. 117, note.[1]

[o] For they advised him not to put Moses to death, lest it should be thought he was not to oppose him by dint of argument.[1]

[p] By raising of commotions and seditions, in order to introduce his new religion.

[q] This seems to be the same person who is mentioned, chapter 28, p. 291.

[5] See cap. 6, p. 91. [6] Al Beidâwi, Jallal. [1] Al Beidâwi.

a liar. O my people, the kingdom is yours this day, *and ye are* conspicuous in the earth but who shall defend us from the scourge of GOD, if it come unto us?[r] Pharaoh said, I only propose to you what I think *to be most expedient:* and I guide you only into the right path. And he who had believed, said, O my people, verily I fear for you a day like that of the confederates *against the prophets in former times;* a condition like that of the people of Noah, and *the tribes of* Ad, and Thamud, and of those who *have lived* after them for GOD willeth not *that* any injustice *be done* unto *his* servants. O my people, verily I fear for you the day whereon men shall call unto one another,[s] the day whereon ye shall be turned back *from the tribunal, and driven to hell: then* shall ye have none to protect you against GOD And he whom GOD shall cause to err, shall have no director Joseph came unto you, before *Moses,* with evident *signs,* but ye ceased not to doubt of the *religion* which he preached unto you, until, when he died, ye said, GOD will by no means send *another* apostle, after him Thus doth GOD cause him to err, who is a transgressor *and* a sceptic They who dispute against the signs of GOD, without any authority which hath come unto them, are in great abomination with GOD, and with those who believe Thus doth GOD seal up every proud *and* stubborn heart And Pharaoh said, O Haman, build me a tower, that I may reach the tracts, the tracts of heaven, and may view the GOD of Moses;[t] for I verily think him *to be* a liar And thus the evil of his work was prepared for Pharaoh, and he turned aside from the *right* path and the stratagems of Pharaoh *ended* only in loss And he who had believed, said, O my people, follow me I will guide you into the right way O my people, verily this present life *is* but a temporary enjoyment, but *the life* to come is the mansion of firm continuance Whoever worketh evil, shall only be rewarded in equal proportion to the same but whoever worketh good, whether male or female, and *is* a true believer, they shall enter paradise, they shall be provided for therein superabundantly And, O my people, as for me, I invite you to salvation, but ye invite me to *hell* fire ye invite me to deny GOD, and to associate with him that whereof I have no knowledge, but I invite you to the most mighty, the forgiver *of sins* *There is* no doubt but that the *false gods* to which ye invite me deserve not to be invoked, either in this world or in the next; and that we must return unto GOD, and that the transgressors shall be the inhabitants of *hell* fire · and ye shall *then* remember what I *now* say unto you And I commit my affair unto GOD · for GOD regardeth his servants Wherefore GOD delivered him from the evils which they had devised; and a grievous punishment encompassed the people of Pharaoh[u] They shall be exposed to the fire *of hell* morning

[r] See the speech of Gamaliel to the Jewish Sanhedrim, when the apostles were brought before them[2]

[s] *i e* The day of judgment, when the inhabitants of paradise and of hell shall enter into mutual discourse when the latter shall call for help, and the seducers and the seduced shall cast the blame upon each other[3]

[t] See chapter 28, p 293

[u] Some are of opinion that those who were sent by Pharaoh to seize the true believer, his kinsman, are the persons more particularly meant in this place for they tell us that the said believer fled to a mountain, where they found him at prayers, guarded by the wild beasts

[2] Acts v 38, 39 [3] Al Beidâwi Jallalo'ddin

and evening,[x] and the day whereon the hour *of judgment* shall come, *it shall be said unto them*, Enter, O people of Pharaoh, into a most severe torment. And *think on the time* when *the infidels* shall dispute together in *hell* fire; and the weak shall say unto those who behaved with arrogance,[y] Verily we were your followers: will ye, therefore, relieve us from *any* part of *this* fire? Those who behaved with arrogance shall answer, Verily we *are* all *doomed to suffer* therein: for GOD hath now judged between his servants. And they who *shall be* in the fire, shall say unto the keepers of hell,[z] Call ye on your LORD, that he would ease us, for one day, from *this* punishment. They shall answer, Did not your apostles come unto you with evident *proofs?* They shall say, Yea. *The keepers* shall reply, Do ye therefore call *on God*: but the calling of the unbelievers *on him* shall be only in vain. We will surely assist our apostles and those who believe, in this present life, and on the day whereon the witnesses shall stand forth; a day, whereon the excuse of the unbelievers shall not avail them; but a curse *shall attend* them, and a wretched abode. We heretofore gave unto Moses a direction; and we left as an inheritance unto the children of Israel the book *of the law*; a direction, and an admonition to *men* of understanding. Wherefore do thou, *O prophet*, bear *the insults of the infidels* with patience; for the promise of GOD *is* true: and ask pardon for thy fault;[a] and celebrate the praise of thy LORD, in the evening and in the morning. *As to* those who impugn the signs of GOD, without any convincing proof which hath been revealed unto them, there is nothing but pride in their breasts;[b] *but* they shall not attain *their desire*: wherefore, fly for refuge unto GOD, for *it is* he who heareth *and* seeth. Verily the creation of heaven and earth *is* more considerable than the creation of man: but the greater part of men do not understand. The blind and the seeing shall not be held equal; nor they who believe and work righteousness, and the evil-doer: how few revolve *these things* in their mind! The *last* hour will surely come: *there is* no doubt thereof: but the greater part of men believe *it* not. Your LORD saith, Call upon me, *and* I will hear you: but they who proudly disdain my service shall enter with ignominy into hell. *It is* GOD who hath appointed the night for you to take your rest therein, and the day to give *you* light: verily GOD *is* endued with beneficence towards mankind; but the greater part of men do not give thanks. This *is* GOD, your LORD, the Creator of all things: *there is* no GOD besides him: how therefore are ye turned aside *from his worship?* Thus are they turned aside who oppose the signs of GOD. *It is* GOD

which ranged themselves in order about him; and that his pursuers thereupon returned in a great fright to their master, who put them to death for not performing his command.[1]

[x] Some expound these words of the previous punishment they are doomed to suffer according to a tradition of Ebn Masúd, which informs us that their souls are in the crops of black birds, which are exposed to hell fire every morning and evening until the day of judgment.[2]

[y] See chapter 14, p. 187, note.

[z] See chapter 74.

[a] In being too backward and negligent in advancing the true religion, for fear of the infidels.[3]

[b] This sentence may be understood generally; though it was revealed on account of the idolatrous Meccans or of the Jews, who said of Mohammed, *This man is not our lord, but the Messias, the Son of David, whose kingdom will be extended over sea and land.*[4]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Idem.

who hath given you the earth for a stable floor, and the heaven for a ceiling. and who hath formed you, and made your forms beautiful; and feedeth you with good things This *is* GOD, your LORD. Wherefore, blessed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures! He *is* the living *God: there is* no GOD but he. Wherefore call upon him, exhibiting unto him the pure religion. Praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Say, Verily I am forbidden to worship the *deities* which ye invoke, besides GOD, after that evident proofs have come unto me from my LORD; and I am commanded to resign myself unto the LORD of all creatures. *It is* he who *first* created you of dust, and afterwards of seed, and afterwards of coagulated blood, and afterwards brought you forth infants *out of your mothers' wombs* then *he permitteth* you to attain your age of full strength, and afterwards to grow old men (but some of you die before *that age*), and to arrive at the determined period *of your life*,[c] that peradventure ye may understand *It is* he who giveth life, and causeth to die and when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is. Dost thou not observe those who dispute against the signs of GOD, how they are turned aside *from the true faith?* They who charge with falsehood the book *of the Korân*, and *the other scriptures and revealed doctrines* which we sent our *former* apostle *to preach*, shall hereafter know *their folly*, when the collars *shall be* on their necks, and the chains *by which* they shall be dragged into hell. then shall they be burned in the fire And it shall be said unto them, Where are the *gods* which ye associated, besides GOD? They shall answer, They have withdrawn themselves from us yea, we called on nothing[d] heretofore Thus doth GOD lead the unbelievers into error. This *hath befallen you*, for that ye rejoiced *insolently* on earth in that which was false; and for that ye were elated with immoderate joy Enter ye the gates of hell, to remain therein *for ever* and wretched *shall be* the abode of the haughty! Wherefore persevere with patience, *O Mohammed*, for the promise of GOD *is* true Whether we cause thee to see any part of the *punishment* with which we have threatened them, or whether we cause thee to die *before thou see it*, before us shall they be assembled *at the last day* We have sent *a great number of* apostles before thee,[e] *the histories of some* of whom we have related unto thee, and *the histories of others* of them we have not related unto thee but no apostle had the power to produce a sign, unless by the permission of GOD When the command of GOD, therefore, shall come, judgment shall be given with truth, and then shall they perish who endeavou to render *the signs of God* of no effect *It is* GOD who hath given you the cattle, that ye may ride on *some of* them, and may eat *of others* of them (ye also receive *other* advantages therefrom);[f] and that on them ye may arrive at the business *proposed* in your mind and on them are ye carried *by land*, and on ships *by sea* And he showeth you his signs; which, therefore, of the signs of GOD will ye deny? Do they not pass through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who *were*

[c] See chapter 22, p 250
[d] Seeing an idol is nothing in the world.[1]
[e] See the Prelim Disc. Sect IV, p 59.
[f] See chapter 16, p 195

[1] Idem.

before them? They were more numerous than these, and more mighty in strength, and *left more considerable* monuments *of their power* in the earth: yet that which they had acquired profited them not. And when their apostles came unto them with evident *proofs of their mission*, they rejoiced in the knowledge which was with them[g] but that which they mocked at encompassed them. And when they beheld our vengeance, they said, We believe in GOD alone, and we renounce *the idols* which we associated with him but their faith availed them not, after they had beholden our vengeance. *This was* the ordinance of GOD, which was formerly observed in respect to his servants: and then did the unbelievers perish.

CHAPTER. XLI.

ENTITLED, ARE DISTINCTLY EXPLAINED,[h] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

H. M.[i] *This is* a revelation from the most Merciful: a book the verses whereof are distinctly explained,[k] an Arabic Korân for *the instruction of* people who understand, bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats. but the greater part of them turn aside, and hearken not *thereto* And they say, Our hearts are veiled from *the doctrine* to which thou invitest us, and *there is* a deafness in our ears, and a curtain between us and thee wherefore act thou *as thou shalt think fit*, for we shall act *according to our own sentiments*. Say, Verily I am only a man like you. It is revealed unto me that your GOD is one GOD wherefore direct your way straight unto him; and ask pardon of him *for what is past* And woe *be* to the idolaters, who give not the appointed alms, and believe not in the life to come! But *as to* those who believe and work righteousness, they shall receive an everlasting reward. Say, Do ye indeed disbelieve in him who created the earth in two days,[l] and do ye set up equals unto him? He is the LORD of all creatures. And he placed in *the earth mountains* firmly rooted,[m] *rising* above the same and he blessed it; and provided therein the food *of the creatures designed to be the inhabitants* thereof, in four days;[n] equally for those who ask.[o] Then he set his mind to

[g] Being prejudiced in favour of their own erroneous doctrines, and despising the instructions of the prophets

[h] Some entitle this chapter *Worship*, or *Adoration*, because the infidels are herein commanded to forsake the worship of idols, and to worship GOD but the thirty second chapter bearing the same title, that which we have here prefixed is, for distinction, generally used.

[i] See the Prelim Disc Sect III p 40, &c

[k] See chapter 11, p 158, note [r]

[l] viz., The two first days of the week [1]

[m] See chapter 16, p 196

[n] That is, including the two former days wherein the earth was created

[o] *i e.*, For all, in proportion to the necessity of each, and as their several appetites require

[1] Jallalo'ddin

the creation of heaven; and it was smoke:[p] and he said unto it, and to the earth, Come, either obediently, or against your will. They answered, We come, obedient *to thy command.* And he formed them into seven heavens, in two days;[q] and revealed unto every heaven its office. And we adorned the lower heaven with lights, and *placed therein* a guard *of angels.*[r] This *is* the disposition of the mighty, the wise God. If *the Meccans* withdraw *from these instructions,* say, I denounce unto you a sudden destruction, like the destruction of Ad and Thamûd. When the apostles came unto them before them and behind them,[s] *saying,* Worship GOD alone, they answered, If our LORD had been pleased *to send messengers,* he had surely sent angels and we believe not *the message* with which ye are sent As to *the tribe of* Ad, they behaved insolently in the earth, without reason, and said, Who *is* more mighty than we in strength? Did they not see that GOD, who had created them, was more mighty than they in strength? And they knowingly rejected our signs Wherefore we sent against them a piercing wind, on days of ill luck,[t] that we might make them taste the punishment of shame in this world but the punishment of the life to come will be more shameful, and they shall not be protected *therefrom* And as to Thamûd, we directed them, but they loved blindness better than the *true* direction. wherefore the terrible noise of an ignominious punishment assailed them, for that which they had deserved, but we delivered those who believed and feared *God.*[u] And *warn them of* the day, on which the enemies of GOD shall be gathered together unto *hell* fire, and shall march in distinct bands, until, when they shall arrive thereat, their ears, and their eyes, and their skins shall bear witness against them of that which they shall have wrought. And they shall say unto their skins, Wherefore do ye bear witness against us? They shall answer, GOD hath caused us to speak, who giveth speech unto all things. he created you the first time, and unto him are ye returned Ye did not hide yourselves, *while ye sinned,* so that your ears, and your eyes, and your skins could not bear witness against you[x] but ye thought that GOD was ignorant of many things which ye did This *was* your opinion, which ye imagined of your LORD: it hath ruined you, and ye are

Some refer the word *sawâan*, here translated *equally*, and which also signifies *completely*, to the four days, and suppose the meaning to be that GOD created these things in just so many *entire* and *complete* days [2]

[p] Or darkness Al Zamakhshari says this smoke proceeded from the waters under the throne of GOD (which throne was one of the things created before the heavens and the earth) and rose above the water, that the water being dried up, the earth was formed out of it, and the heavens out of the smoke which had mounted aloft

[q] viz., On the fifth and sixth days of the week It is said the heavens were created on Thursday, and the sun moon, and stars on Friday, in the evening of which last day Adam was made [3]

[r] See chapter 15

[s] That is, on every side, persuading and urging them continually and by arguments drawn from past examples, and the expectation of future rewards or punishments

[t] It is said that this wind continued from Wednesday to Wednesday inclusive, being the latter end of the month Shawâl, and that a Wednesday is the day whereon GOD sends down his judgments on a wicked people [4]

[u] See chapter 7, p 112, &c

[x] *i e*, Ye hid your crimes from men, little thinking that your very members, from which you did not hide them, would rise up as witnesses against you

[2] Al Beidâwi [3] Idem [4] Idem

become lost *people*. Whether they bear *their torment, hell* fire *shall be* their abode, or whether they beg for favour, they shall not obtain favour. And we will give them *the devils to be their* companions; for they dressed up for them *the false notions which they entertained of* this present world, and *of* that which is to come, and the sentence justly fitteth them, which was formerly pronounced on the nations of genii and men who were before them, for they perished. The unbelievers say, Hearken not unto this Korân: but use vain discourse[y] during *the reading* thereof; that ye may overcome *the voice of the reader by your scoffs and laughter.* Wherefore we will surely cause the unbelievers to taste a grievous punishment, and we will certainly reward them for the evils which they shall have wrought. This *shall be* the reward of the enemies of GOD, *namely, hell* fire, therein *is prepared* for them an everlasting abode, *as* a reward for that they have wittingly rejected our signs. And the infidels shall say *in hell,* O LORD, show us the two who seduced us, of the genii and men,[z] and we will cast them under our feet, that they may become most base *and despicable. As for* those who say, Our LORD *is* GOD, and who behave uprightly; the angels shall descend unto them,[a] *and shall say,* Fear not, neither be ye grieved; but rejoice in the hopes of paradise, which ye have been promised. We *are* your friends in this life, and in that which is to come therein shall ye have that which your souls shall desire, and therein shall ye obtain whatever ye shall ask for, *as* a gift from a gracious *and* merciful *God* Who speaketh better than he who inviteth unto GOD, and worketh righteousness, and saith, I *am* a Moslem? Good and evil shall not be held equal Turn away *evil* with that which is better, and behold the *man* between whom and thyself *there was* enmity, *shall become,* as it were, *thy* warmest friend but none shall attain to this *perfection,* except they who are patient, nor shall any attain thereto, except he who is endued with a great happiness *of temper.* And if a malicious suggestion be offered unto thee from Satan, have recourse unto GOD, for *it is* he who heareth *and* knoweth Among the signs *of his power are* the night, and the day, and the sun, and the moon Worship not the sun, neither the moon but worship GOD, who hath created them, if ye serve him But if they proudly disdain *his service,* verily the *angels,* who are with thy LORD, praise him night and day, and are not wearied And among his signs *another is,* that thou seest the land waste but when we send down rain thereon, it is stirred and fermenteth. And he who quickeneth *the earth,* will surely quicken the dead, for he is almighty. Verily those who impiously wrong our signs, are not concealed from us *Is* he, therefore, better, who shall be cast into *hell* fire, or he who shall appear secure on the day of resurrection? Work that which ye will: he certainly beholdeth whatever ye do. Verily they who believe not in the admoni-

[y] Or, talk aloud

[z] *i e*, Those of either species, who drew us into sin and ruin Some suppose that the two more particularly intended here are Eblis and Cain, the two authors of infidelity and murder.[*]

[a] Either while they are living on earth to dispose their minds to good, to preserve them from temptations, and to comfort them, or at the hour of death to support them in their last agony; or at their coming forth from their graves at the resurrection.[†]

[*] Idem, Jallalo'ddin [†] Idem

unbelievers: GOD will elect thereto whom he pleaseth, and will direct unto the same him who shall repent. *Those who lived in times past* were not divided among themselves, until after that the knowledge *of God's unity* had come unto them, through their own perverseness: and unless a previous decree had passed from thy LORD, *to bear with them* till a determined time, verily *the matter* had been decided between them, *by the destruction of the gainsayers.* They who have inherited the scriptures after them,[l] *are* certainly in a perplexing doubt concerning *the same.*[m] Wherefore invite *them to receive the sure faith,* and be urgent *with them,* as thou hast been commanded, and follow not their *vain* desires: and say, I believe in *all* the scriptures which GOD hath sent down, and I am commanded to establish justice among you: GOD is our LORD and your LORD: unto us *will* our works *be imputed,* and unto you *will* your works *be imputed: let there be* no wrangling between us and you, for GOD will assemble us *all at the last day,* and unto him shall we return. *As to* those who dispute concerning GOD, after obedience hath been paid him *by receiving his religion,* their disputing *shall be* vain in the sight of their LORD; and wrath *shall fall* on them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. *It is* GOD who hath sent down the scripture with truth; and the balance *of true judgment:* and what shall inform thee whether the hour *be* nigh at hand? They who believe not therein, wish it to be hastened *by way of mockery:* but they who believe dread the same, and know it to be the truth. Are not those who dispute concerning the *last* hour in a wide error? GOD is bounteous unto his servants: he provideth for whom he pleaseth; and he is the strong, the mighty. Whoso chooseth the tillage of the life to come,[n] unto him will we give increase in his tillage: and whoso chooseth the tillage of this world, we will give him *the fruit* thereof; but he shall have no part in the life to come. Have *the idolaters* deities which ordain them a religion which GOD hath not allowed? But *had it* not *been* for the decree of *respiting their punishment to the day of* separating *the infidels from the true believers,* judgment had been *already* given between them: for the unjust shall surely suffer a painful torment. *On that day* thou shalt see the unjust in great terror, because of their demerits, and *the penalty thereof* shall fall upon them: but they who believe and do good works, *shall dwell* in the delightful meadows of paradise, they shall obtain whatever they shall desire, with their LORD. This *is* the greatest acquisition. This *is* what GOD promiseth unto his servants who believe and do good works. Say, I ask not of you, for this *my preaching,* any reward, except the love of *my* relations: and whoever shall have deserved well by *one* good action, unto him will we add *the merit of another* action thereto, for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* ready to reward. Do they say, *Mohammed* hath blasphemously forged a lie concerning GOD? If GOD pleaseth, he will seal up thy heart.[o] and GOD will absolutely abolish vanity, and will establish

[l] viz., The modern Jews and Christians.

[m] Not understanding the true meaning, nor believing the real doctrines thereof.

[n] Labouring here to obtain a reward hereafter, for what is sown in this world will be reaped in the next.

[o] The meaning of these words is somewhat obscure. Some imagine they express a detestation of the forgery charged on the prophet by the infidels, because none could be capable of [illegible]

the truth in his words ;[p] for he knoweth the innermost parts of *men's* breasts. *It is* he who accepteth repentance from his servants, and forgiveth sins, and knoweth that which ye do. He will incline his ear unto those who believe and work righteousness, and will add unto them *above what they shall ask or deserve*, of his bounty ; but the unbelievers shall suffer a severe punishment. If GOD should bestow abundance upon his servants, they would certainly behave insolently in the earth : but he sendeth down by measure *unto every one* that which he pleaseth ; for he well knoweth *and* seeth *the condition of* his servants. *It is* he who sendeth down the rain, after *men* have despaired *thereof*, and spreadeth abroad his mercy ; and he is the patron justly to be praised. Among his signs *is* the creation of heaven and earth, and of the living creatures with which he hath replenished them both ; and he *is* able to gather them together *before his tribunal* whenever he pleaseth. Whatever misfortune befalleth you *is sent you by God*, for that which your hands have deserved ; and *yet* he forgiveth many things : ye shall not frustrate *the divine vengeance* in the earth ; neither shall ye have any protector or helper against GOD. Among his signs *also are* the *ships* running in the sea, like high mountains : if he pleaseth he causeth the wind to cease, and they lie still on the back of *the water* (verily herein *are* signs, unto every patient *and* grateful person) : or he destroyeth them *by shipwreck*, because of that which *their crews* have merited ; though he pardoneth many things. And they who dispute against our signs shall know that *there will be* no way for them to escape *our vengeance*. Whatever things are given you, *they are* the provision of this present life : but the *reward* which is with GOD is better and more durable, for those who believe and put their trust in their LORD ; and who avoid heinous and filthy crimes, and when they are angry, forgive ; and who hearken unto their LORD, and are constant at prayer, and whose affairs *are directed by* consultation among themselves, and who give *alms* out of what we have bestowed on them ; and who, when an injury is done them, avenge themselves[q] (and the retaliation of evil *ought to be* an evil proportionate thereto) : but he who forgiveth, and is reconciled *unto his enemy* shall receive his reward from GOD ;[r] for he loveth not the unjust *doers*. And whoso shall avenge himself, after he hath been injured ; as to these it is not lawful to punish them *for it* : but it is only lawful to punish those who wrong men, and act insolently in the earth, against justice ; these shall suffer a grievous punishment. And whoso beareth *injuries* patiently, and forgiveth ; verily this *is* a necessary work. Whom GOD shall cause to err, he shall afterwards have no protector. And thou shalt see the ungodly, who shall say,

said, *God forbid that thou shouldst be destitute of grace, or have so little sense of thy duty.* Others think the signification to be, that GOD might strike all the revelations which had been vouchsafed to Mohammed, out of his heart at once ; and others, that GOD would strengthen his heart with patience against the insults of the unbelievers.[1]

p Wherefore if the doctrine taught by this be of man, it will certainly fail and come to nothing ; but if it be of GOD, it can never be overthrown.[2]

q Using the means which GOD has put into their hands for their own defence. This is added to complete the character here given ; for valour and courage are not inconsistent with clemency,[3] the rule being,

Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

r See chapter 5, p. 79, &c.

1 Al Beidâwi. 2 Idem. 3 Idem.

when they behold the punishment *prepared for them, Is there* no way to return back *into the world?* And thou shalt see them exposed unto *hell fire;* dejected, because of the ignominy *they shall undergo:* they shall look *at the fire* sideways and by stealth; and the true believers shall say, Verily the losers are they who have lost their own souls, and their families, on the day of resurrection: *shall* not the ungodly *continue* in eternal torment? They shall have no protectors to defend them against GOD: and whom GOD shall cause to err, he shall find no way *to the truth.* Hearken unto your LORD, before the day come, which GOD will not keep back: ye shall have no place of refuge on that day; neither shall ye be able to deny *your sins.* But if *those to whom thou preachest* turn aside *from thy admonitions*, verily we have not sent thee *to be* a guardian over them: thy duty is preaching only. When we cause man to taste mercy from us, he rejoiceth thereat: but if evil befall them, for that which their hands have formerly committed, verily man *becometh* ungrateful. Unto GOD *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth: he createth that which he pleaseth; he giveth females unto whom he pleaseth, and he giveth males unto whom he pleaseth; or he giveth them males and females jointly: and he maketh whom he pleaseth to be childless; for he *is* wise *and* powerful. It is not *fit* for man that GOD should speak unto him otherwise than by *private* revelation, or from behind a veil, or by his sending of a messenger to reveal, by his permission, that which he pleaseth; for he *is* high *and* wise. Thus have we revealed unto thee a revelation,[s] by our command. Thou didst not understand, *before this*, what the book *of the Korân* was, nor *what* the faith *was:* but we have ordained the same *for* a light, we will thereby direct such of our servants as we please: and thou shalt surely direct *them* into the right way, the way of GOD, unto whom *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and in earth. Shall not *all* things return unto GOD?

CHAPTER XLIII.

ENTITLED, THE ORNAMENTS OF GOLD,[t] REVEALED AT MECCA.[u]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

H. M.[x] By the perspicuous book, verily we have ordained the same an Arabic Koran, that ye may understand: and it *is* certainly *written* in the original book,[y] *kept* with us, *being* sublime and

[s] Or, as the words may be also translated, *Thus have we sent the spirit* Gabriel *unto thee with a revelation.*

[t] The words chosen for the title of this chapter occurs p. 364.

[u] Some except the verse beginning with these words, *And ask our apostles whom we have sent before thee,* &c.

[x] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. III. p. 46, &c.

[y] *i.e.*, The preserved table; which is the original of all the scriptures in general.

full of wisdom. Shall we therefore turn away from you the admonition, and deprive *you thereof*, because ye are a people who transgress? And how many prophets have we sent among those of old? and no prophet came unto them, but they laughed him to scorn wherefore we destroyed *nations who were* more mighty than these in strength; and the example of those who were of old, hath been already *set before them.* If thou ask them who created the heavens and the earth, they will certainly answer, The mighty, the wise *God* created them who hath spread the earth *as* a bed for you, and hath made you paths therein, that ye may be directed. and who sendeth down rain from heaven by measure, whereby we quicken a dead country (so shall ye be brought forth *from your graves*): and who hath created all the *various* species *of things*, and hath given you ships and cattle, whereon ye are carried; that ye may sit firmly on the backs thereof, and may remember the favour of your LORD, when ye sit thereon, and may say, Praise be unto him, who hath subjected these unto our service! for we could not have mastered them *by our own power:* and unto our LORD shall we surely return. Yet have they attributed unto him some of his servants *as his* offspring. verily man is openly ungrateful. Hath *God* taken daughters out of *those beings* which he hath created, and hath he chosen sons for you? But when one of them hath the news brought of *the birth of a child of that sex* which they attribute unto the Merciful, as *his* similitude, his face becometh black, and he is oppressed with sorrow.* Do they therefore *attribute unto God female issue*, which are brought up among ornaments and are contentious without cause? And do they make the angels, who are the servants of the Merciful, females? Were they present at their creation? Their testimony shall be written down, and they shall be examined *concerning the same, on the day of judgment.* And they say, If the Merciful had pleased, we had not worshipped them. They have no knowledge herein. they only utter a vain lie. Have we given them a book *of revelations* before this, and do they keep the same in their custody? But they say, Verily we found our fathers practising a religion; and we *are* guided in their footsteps Thus we sent no preacher, before thee, unto *any* city, but the inhabitants thereof who lived in affluence, said, Verily we found our fathers practising a religion and we tread in their footsteps. *And the preacher* answered, What, although I bring you a more right *religion* than that which ye found your fathers to practise? *And* they replied, Verily we believe not that which ye are sent *to preach* Wherefore we took vengeance on them · and behold what hath been the end of those who accused *our apostles* of imposture *Remember* when Abraham said unto his father, and his people, Verily I am clear of *the gods* which ye worship, except him who hath created me, for he will direct me *aright.* And he ordained this *to be* a constant doctrine among his posterity; that they should be turned *from idolatry to the worship of the only true God.* Verily I have permitted these *Meccans* and their fathers to live in prosperity, until the truth should come unto them, and a manifest apostle but now the truth is come unto them, they say, This *is* a piece of forgery; and we believe not therein. And they say, Had this Korân

* See chapter 16, p. 199, &c.

been sent down unto some great man of *either of* the two cities,[a] *we would have received it* Do they distribute the mercy of thy LORD?[b] We distribute their necessary provision among them, in this present life, and we raise some of them *several* degrees above the others, that the one of them may take the other to serve him and the mercy of thy LORD is more valuable than the *riches* which they gather together. If *it were* not that mankind would have become one sect *of infidels*, verily we had given unto those who believe not in the Merciful, roofs of silver to their houses, and stairs *of silver*, by which they might ascend *thereto*, and doors *of silver* to their houses, and couches *of silver* for them to lean on, and ornaments of gold for all this *is* the provision of the present life; but the next *life* with thy LORD *shall be* for those who fear *him*. Whoever shall withdraw from the admonition of the Merciful, we will chain a devil unto him, and he shall be his inseparable companion (and *the devils* shall turn them aside from the way *of truth*, yet they shall imagine themselves *to be* rightly directed): until, when he shall appear before us *at the last day*, he shall say *unto the devil*,[c] Would to GOD that between me and thee *there was* the distance of the east from the west! Oh how wretched a companion *art thou!* But *wishes* shall not avail you on this day, since ye have been unjust; for ye shall be partakers of the *same* punishment Canst thou, *O prophet* make the deaf to hear, or canst thou direct the blind, and him who is in a manifest error? Whether we take thee away, we will surely take vengeance on them, or whether we cause thee to see *the punishment* with which we have threatened them, *executed*, we will certainly prevail over them Wherefore hold fast *the doctrine* which hath been revealed unto thee, for thou *art* in a right way, and it is a memorial unto thee and thy people, and hereafter shall ye be examined *concerning your observance thereof* And ask our apostles whom we have sent before thee,[d] whether we have appointed gods for them to worship, besides the Merciful. We formerly sent Moses with our signs unto Pharaoh and his princes, and he said, Verily I am the apostle of the LORD of all creatures And when he came unto them with our signs, behold, they laughed him to scorn, although we showed them no sign, but it was greater than the other[e] and we inflicted a punishment[f] on them, that peradventure they might be converted And they said *unto Moses*, O magician, pray unto thy LORD for us, according to the covenant which he hath made with thee, for we *will* certainly *be* directed But when we took the plague from off them, behold, they brake their promise. And Pharaoh made proclamation among his people, saying, O my people, is not the kingdom of Egypt mine, and these rivers[g] which flow beneath

[a] *i.e.*, To one of the principal inhabitants of Mecca, or of Tâyef, such as al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, or Orwa Ebn Masud, the Thakifite[1]

[b] By this expression the prophetic office is here particularly intended

[c] See chapter 19.

[d] That is, ask those who profess the religions which they taught, and their learned men[2]

[e] Literally, *Than its sister* The meaning is that the miracles were *all very great and considerable*, or, as the French may express it, by a phrase nearly the same, *les uns plus grands que les autres*

[f] viz., The successive plagues which they suffered, previous to their final destruction in the Red Sea

[g] To wit, the Nile and its branches[3]

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Idem, Jallal, &c [3] Idem.

me? Do ye not see? Am not I better than this *Moses;* who is a contemptible person, and can scarce express himself intelligibly?[h] Have bracelets of gold, therefore, been put upon him;[i] or do the angels attend him in orderly procession? And *Pharaoh* persuaded his people to light behaviour; and they obeyed him for they were a wicked people. And when they had provoked us to wrath, we took vengeance on them, and we drowned them all: and we made them a precedent and an example unto others. And when the son of Mary was proposed for an example; behold, thy people cried out *through excess of joy* thereat;[k] and they said, *Are* our gods better, or he? They have proposed this *instance* unto thee no otherwise than for an occasion of dispute: yea, they are contentious men. *Jesus* is no other than a servant, whom we favoured *with the gift of prophecy;* and we appointed him for an example[l] unto the children of Israel (if we pleased, verily we could from yourselves produce angels, to succeed *you* in the earth)[m] and he *shall be* a sign of the *approach of the last* hour;[n] wherefore doubt not thereof. And follow me: this *is* the right way. And let not Satan cause you to turn aside: for he *is* your open enemy. And when *Jesus* came with evident *miracles*, he said, Now am I come unto you with wisdom;[o] and to explain unto you part of *those things* concerning which ye disagree: wherefore fear GOD, and obey me. Verily GOD is my LORD and your LORD, wherefore worship him: this *is* the right way. And the confederated sects among them fell to variance:[p] but woe unto those who have acted unjustly, because of the punishment of a grievous day. Do *the unbelievers* wait for any other than the hour *of judgment*, that it may come upon them suddenly, while they foresee *it* not? The intimate friends, on that day, *shall be* enemies unto one

[h] See chapter 20, p. 234, note.

[i] Such bracelets were some of the insignia of royalty: for when the Egyptians raised a person to the dignity of a prince, they put a collar or chain of gold about his neck[1] and bracelets of gold on his wrists.[2]

[k] This passage is generally supposed to have been revealed on occasion of an objection made by one Ebn al Zabari to those words in the 21st chapter,[3] by which all in general, who were worshipped as deities, besides GOD, are doomed to hell: whereupon the infidels cried out, *We are contented that our gods should be with Jesus; for he also is worshipped as* GOD.[4] Some, however, are of opinion it might have been revealed in answer to certain idolaters, who said that the Christians, who received the scriptures, worshipped Jesus, supposing him to be the son of GOD; whereas the angels were more worthy of that honour than he.[5]

[l] Or an instance of our power, by his miraculous birth.

[m] As easily as we produced Jesus without a father.[6] The intent of the words is to show how just and reasonable it is to think that the angels should bear the relation of children to men, rather than to GOD; they being his creatures, as well as men, and equally in his power.

[n] For some time before the resurrection Jesus is to descend on earth, according to the Mohammedans, near Damascus,[7] or, as some say, near a rock in the holy land named Afik, with a lance in his hand, wherewith he is to kill Antichrist, whom he will encounter at Ludd, or Lydda, a small town not far from Joppa.[8] They add that he will arrive at Jerusalem at the time of morning prayer, that he shall perform his devotions after the Mohammedan institution, and officiate instead of the Imâm, who shall give place to him; that he will break down the cross, and destroy the churches of the Christians, of whom he will make a general slaughter, excepting only such as shall profess Islâm, &c.[9]

[o] That is, with a book of revelations, and an excellent system of religion.

[p] This may be understood either of the Jews in the time of Jesus, who opposed his doctrine, or of the Christians since, who have fallen into various opinions concerning him; some making him to be GOD, others the Son of GOD, and others, one of the persons of the Trinity, &c.[10]

[1] See Gen. xli. 42. [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [3] See p. 249. [4] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. [6] Idem. [7] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 63. [8] See ibid. p. 62. [9] Al Beidâwi. [10] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

another; except the pious. O my servants, *there shall* no fear *come* on you this day, neither shall ye be grieved, who have believed in our signs, and have been Moslems: enter ye into paradise, ye and your wives, with great joy. Dishes of gold shall be carried round unto them, and cups without handles: and therein *shall they enjoy* whatever *their* souls shall desire, and *whatever their* eyes shall delight in: and ye shall remain therein for ever. This is paradise, which ye have inherited *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. Therein shall ye have fruits in abundance, of which ye shall eat. But the wicked shall remain for ever in the torment of hell: it shall not be made lighter unto them; and they *shall* despair therein. We deal not unjustly with them, but they deal unjustly *with their own souls*. And they shall call aloud, *saying*, O Malec,[q] *intercede for us* that thy LORD would end us *by annihilation*. He shall answer,[r] Verily ye shall remain *here for ever*. We brought you the truth heretofore, but the greater part of you abhorred the truth. Have *the infidels* fixed on a method *to circumvent our apostle?* Verily we will fix *on a method to circumvent them*. Do they imagine that we hear not their secrets, and their private discourse? Yea; and our messengers who attend them[s] write down *the same*. Say, If the Merciful had a son, verily I *would be* the first of those who should worship *him*. Far be the LORD of heaven and earth, the LORD of the throne, from that which they affirm *of him!* Wherefore let them wade *in their vanity*, and divert themselves, until they arrive at their day with which they have been threatened. He who is GOD in heaven, is GOD on earth also: and he *is* the wise, the knowing. And blessed be he unto whom *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of whatever is between them; with whom *is* the knowledge of the *last* hour, and before whom ye shall be assembled. They whom they invoke besides him, have not the privilege to intercede *for others*, except those who bear witness to the truth, and know *the same*.[t] If thou ask them who hath created them, they will surely answer, GOD. How therefore are they turned away *to the worship of others?* GOD *also heareth* the saying of *the prophet*, O LORD, verily these *are* people who believe not: *and he answered*, Therefore turn aside from them; and say, Peace.[u] hereafter shall they know *their folly*.

[q] This the Mohammedans suppose to be the name of the principal angel who has the charge of hell.

[r] Some say that this answer will not be given till a thousand years after.

[s] *i.e.*, The guardian angels.

[t] That is, to the doctrine of GOD's unity. The exception comprehends Jesus, Ezra, and the angels, who will be admitted as intercessors, though they have been worshipped as gods.[1]

[u] See chapter 25, p. 275, note [d].

[1] Idem.

CHAPTER XLIV.

ENTITLED, SMOKE,[x] REVEALED AT MECCA.[y]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

H. M.[z] By the perspicuous book *of the Korân;* verily we have sent down the same on a blessed night[a] (for we had engaged *so to do*), *on the night* wherein is distinctly sent down the decree of every determined thing, *as* a command from us.[b] Verily we have *ever* used to send *apostles with revelations, at proper intervals, as* a mercy from thy LORD, for it is he who heareth *and* knoweth the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is* between them; if ye are *men* of sure knowledge. There *is* no GOD but he: he giveth life, and he causeth to die; *he is* your LORD, and the LORD of your forefathers. Yet do they amuse themselves with doubt. But observe *them* on the day *whereon* the heaven shall produce a visible smoke, which shall cover mankind:[c] this *will be* a tormenting plague. *They shall say*, O LORD, take *this* plague from off us: verily we *will become* true believers. How *should* an admonition *be of avail* to them *in this condition*, when a manifest apostle came unto them, but they retired from him, saying, *This man is* instructed *by others*,[d] *or is* a distracted person? We will take the plague from off *you*, a little: *but* ye will certainly return *to your infidelity*.[e] On the day whereon we shall fiercely assault *them* with great power,[f] verily we will take vengeance *on them*. We made trial of the people of Pharaoh before them, and an honourable messenger

x This word occurs within a few lines from the beginning of the chapter.

y Some except the verse beginning, *We will take the plague off you a little*, &c.

z See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. III. p. 46, &c.

a Generally supposed to be that between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of Ramadân. See ibid. p. 50, and chapter 97, and the notes there.

b For annually on this night, as the Mohammedans are taught, all the events of the ensuing year with respect to life and death and the other affairs of this world, are disposed and settled.[1] Some, however, suppose that these words refer only to that particular night on which the Korân, wherein are completely contained the divine determinations in respect to religion and morality, was sent down;[2] and according to this exposition the passage may be rendered, *The night whereon every determined* or *adjudged matter was sent down*.

c The commentators differ in their expositions of this passage. Some think it spoke of a smoke which seemed to fill the air during the famine which was inflicted on the Meccans in Mohammed's time,[3] and was so thick that, though they could hear, yet they could not see one another.[4] But, according to a tradition of Ali, the smoke here meant is that which is to be one of the previous signs of the day of judgment,[5] and will fill the whole space from east to west, and last for forty days. This smoke, they say, will intoxicate the infidels, and issue at their nose, ears, and posteriors, but will very little inconvenience the true believers.[6]

d See chapter 16, p. 203.

e If we follow the former exposition, the words are to be understood, of the ceasing of the famine upon the intercession of Mohammed, at the desire of the Koreish, and on their promise of believing on him; notwithstanding which, they fell back to their old incredulity; but if we follow the latter exposition, they are to be understood of GOD's taking away the plague of the smoke, after the expiration of the forty days, at the prayer of the infidels, and on their promise of receiving the true faith, which being done, they will immediately return to their wonted obstinacy.

f Some expound this of the slaughter at Bedr, and others of the day of judgment.

1 Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. 2 Idem. 3 See cap. 23, p. 259, note. 4 Al Zamakh., al Beidâwi, Yahya, Jallalo'ddin. 5 See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 63. 6 Al Zamakh., al Beidâwi.

came unto them, *saying*, Send unto me the servants of GOD;[g] verily I *am* a faithful messenger unto you: and lift not yourselves up against GOD: for I come unto you with manifest power. And I fly for protection unto my LORD and your LORD, that ye stone me not.[h] If ye do not believe me, *at least* depart from me.[i] And *when they accused him of imposture*, he called upon his LORD, *saying*, These are a wicked people. *And God said unto him*, March forth with my servants by night; for ye *will be* pursued: and leave the sea divided, *that the Egyptians may enter the same;* for they *are* a host *doomed* to be drowned. How many gardens, and fountains, and fields of corn, and fair dwellings, and advantages which they enjoyed, did they leave behind them? Thus *we dispossessed them thereof*, and we gave the same for an inheritance unto another people.[k] Neither heaven or earth wept for them;[l] neither were they respited *any longer*. And we delivered the children of Israel from a shameful affliction; from Pharaoh; for he was haughty, and a transgressor: and we chose them, knowingly,[m] above *all* people; and we showed them *several* signs,[n] wherein was an evident trial. Verily these *Meccans* say, Assuredly *our final end* will be no other than our first *natural* death; neither shall we be raised again bring now our forefathers *back to life*, if ye speak truth. Are they better, or the people of Tobba,[o] and those who *were* before them? we destroyed them, because they wrought wickedness. We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, by way of sport. we have created them no otherwise than in truth,[p] but the greater part of them do not understand. Verily the day of separation[q] *shall be* the appointed term of them all; a day, whereon the master and the servant shall be of no advantage to one another, neither shall they be helped; excepting those on whom GOD shall have mercy for he *is* the mighty, the merciful Verily *the fruit of* the tree of al Zakkum *shall be* the food of the impious:[r] as the dregs of oil shall it boil in the bellies *of the damned*, like the boiling of the hottest water *And it shall be said to the tormentors*, Take him, and drag him into the midst of hell: and pour on his head the torture of boiling waters, *saying*, Taste *this*, for thou art that mighty *and* honourable person. Verily this is the *punishment* of

[g] *i e*, Let the Israelites go with me to worship their GOD

[h] Or that ye injure me not, either by word or deed [1]

[i] Without opposing me or offering me any injury, which I have not deserved from you

[k] See chapter 26, p 278

[l] That is, none pitied their destruction

[m] *i e*, Knowing that they were worthy of our choice, or, notwithstanding we knew they would, in time to come fall into idolatry, &c

[n] As the dividing of the Red Sea, the cloud which shaded them, the raining on them manna and quails, &c [2]

[o] The Hamyarites, whose kings had the title of Tobba [3] The commentators tell us that the Tobba here meant was very potent, and built Samarcand, or, as others say, demolished it, and that he was a true believer, but his subjects were infidels [4]

This prince seems to have been Abu Carb Asaad, who flourished about seven hundred years before Mohammed, and embraced Judaism, which religion he first introduced into Yaman (being the true religion at that time, inasmuch as *Christianity was not then promulgated*), and was, for that cause probably, slain by his own people [5]

[p] See chapter 21, p 242, and chapter 38, p 341

[q] *i.e*, The day of judgment, when the wicked shall be separated from the righteous, &c

[r] Jallalo'ddin supposes this passage to have been particularly levelled against Abu Jahl.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] See the Prelim Disc Sect. I. p. 9. &c. [4] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [5] Al Jannâbi Vide Poc Spec p 60.

which ye doubted. But the pious *shall be lodged* in a place of security; among gardens and fountains: they shall be clothed in fine silk and in satin; *and they shall sit* facing one another. Thus *shall it be*: and we will espouse them to fair damsels, having large black eyes. In that place shall they call for all *kinds of* fruits, in full security: they shall not taste death therein, after the first death, and *God* shall deliver from the pains of hell. through the gracious bounty of thy LORD. This will be great felicity. Moreover we have rendered *the Korân* easy *for thee, by revealing it* in thine own tongue: to the end that they may be admonished: wherefore do thou wait *the event*; for they wait *to see some misfortune befall thee*

CHAPTER XLV.

ENTITLED, THE KNEELING;[*] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

H. M.[†] The revelation of *this* book *is* from the mighty, the wise GOD. Verily *both* in heaven and earth *are* signs of *the divine power* unto the true believers: and in the creation of yourselves, and of the beasts which are scattered *over the face of the earth, are* signs unto people of sound judgment; and *also in* the vicissitude of night and day, and the rain which GOD sendeth down from heaven, whereby he quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead: in the change of the winds also *are* signs, unto people of understanding. These *are* the signs of GOD, we rehearse them unto thee with truth. In what revelation therefore will they believe, after *they have rejected* GOD and his signs? Woe unto every lying *and* impious person, who heareth the signs of GOD, which are read unto him, and afterwards proudly persisteth *in infidelity*, as though he heard them not (denounce unto him a painful punishment): and who, when he cometh to the knowledge of any of our signs, receiveth the same with scorn. For these *is prepared* a shameful punishment: before them *lieth* hell: and whatever they shall have gained shall not avail them at all, neither *shall* the *idols* which they have taken for *their* patrons, besides GOD: and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. This *is* a *true* direction: and for those who disbelieve the signs of their LORD, *is prepared* the punishment of a painful torment. *It is* GOD who hath subjected the sea unto you, that the ships may sail therein, at his command, and that ye may seek *advantage unto yourselves by commerce*, of his bounty; and that ye may give thanks: and he obligeth whatever *is* in heaven and on earth to serve you; the whole *being* from him. Verily herein *are* signs, unto people who consider. Speak unto the true believers, that they forgive

[*] The word from which this chapter is denominated occurs p. 370.
[†] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. III. p. 46, &c.

those who hope not for the days of GOD,[u] that he may reward people according to what they shall have wrought. Whoso doth that which is right *doth it* to *the advantage of* his own soul; and whoso doth evil, *doth it* against the same. hereafter shall ye return unto your LORD. We gave unto the children of Israel the book *of the law*, and wisdom, and prophecy; and we fed them with good things, and preferred them above all nations, and we gave them plain *ordinances* concerning the business *of religion*; neither did they fall to variance, except after that knowledge had come unto them, through envy amongst themselves. but thy LORD will decide the controversy between them on the day of resurrection, concerning that wherein they disagree. Afterwards we appointed thee, *O Mohammed*, to *promulgate* a law concerning the business *of religion*: wherefore follow the same, and follow not the desires of those who are ignorant.[x] Verily they shall not avail thee against GOD at all the unjust *are* the patrons of one another; but GOD *is* the patron of the pious This *Korân* delivereth evident *precepts* unto mankind; and *is* a direction and a mercy, unto people who judge aright. Do the workers of iniquity imagine that we will deal with them as with those who believe and do good works, *so that* their life and their death *shall be* equal? An ill judgment do they make GOD hath created the heavens and the earth in truth, that he may recompence every soul according to that which it shall have wrought and they shall not be treated unjustly What thinkest thou? He who taketh his own lust for his GOD, and whom GOD causeth knowingly to err, and whose ears and whose heart he hath sealed up, and over whose eyes he hath cast a veil; who shall direct him, after GOD *shall have forsaken him*? Will ye not therefore be admonished? They say, *There* is no *other life*, except our present life we die and we live, and nothing but time destroyeth us But they have no knowledge in this *matter*, they only follow a *vain* opinion And when our evident signs are rehearsed unto them, their argument *which they offer against the same* is no other than that they say, Bring *to life* our fathers *who have been dead*, if ye speak truth Say, GOD giveth you life, and afterwards causeth you to die hereafter will he assemble you together on the day of resurrection; there is no doubt thereof, but the greater part of men do not understand Unto GOD *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and the day whereon the hour shall be fixed, on that day shall those who charge *the Korân* with vanity perish And thou shalt see every nation[y] kneeling every nation shall be called unto its book *of account; and it shall be said unto them*, This day shall ye be rewarded according to that which ye have wrought This our book will speak concerning you with truth; *therein* have we written down whatever ye

[u] By the days of GOD, in this place, are meant the prosperous successes of his people in battle against the infidels[1] The passage is said to have been revealed on account of Omar, who being reviled by one of the tribe of Ghifâr, was thinking to revenge himself by force. Some are of opinion that this verse is abrogated by that of *war*[2]

[x] That is, of the principal Koreish, who were urgent with Mohammed to return to the religion of his forefathers.[3]

[y] The original word *Ommat* properly signifies a people who profess one and the same law or religion.

[1] See p. 186, note 4. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem.

have done.[a] As to those who shall have believed and done good works, their LORD shall lead them into his mercy: this shall be manifest felicity But as to the infidels, *it shall be said unto them*, Were not my signs rehearsed unto you? but ye proudly rejected *them*, and became a wicked people? And when it was said *unto you*, Verily the promise of GOD *is* true, and as to the hour *of judgment, there is* no doubt thereof ye answered, We know not what the hour *of judgment is*. we hold an *uncertain* opinion only; and we are not well assured *of this matter*. But *on that day* the evils of that which they have wrought shall appear unto them; and that which they mocked at shall encompass them and it shall be said *unto them*, This day will we forget you, as ye did forget the meeting of this your day and your abode *shall be hell* fire; and ye shall have none to deliver you This *shall ye suffer*, because ye turned the signs of GOD to ridicule, and the life of the world deceived you. On this day, therefore, they shall not be taken forth from thence, neither shall they be asked *any more* to render themselves well pleasing *unto God* Wherefore praise be unto GOD, the LORD of the heavens and the LORD of the earth, the LORD of all creatures and unto him be glory in heaven and earth, for he *is* the mighty, the wise *God*

CHAPTER XLVI.

ENTITLED, AL AHKAF,[a] REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

(XXVI) H. M[b] The revelation of *this* book *is* from the mighty, the wise GOD We have not created the heavens, and the earth, and whatever is between them, otherwise than in truth,[c] and for a determined period[d] but the unbelievers turn away from the warning which is given them. Say, What think ye? show me what *part* of the earth *the idols* which ye invoke, besides GOD, have created? Or had they any share in *the creation of* the heavens? Bring me a book *of scripture revealed* before this, or some footstep of *ancient* knowledge, *to countenance your idolatrous practices*, if ye are men of veracity Who is in a wider error than he who invoketh, besides GOD, that which cannot return him an answer, to the day of resurrection, and *idols* which regard not their calling *on them* and which, when men shall be gathered together *to judgment*, will become their enemies, and will ungratefully deny their worship? When our evident signs are

[a] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 90

[a] Al Ahkâf is the plural of Hekf, and signifies lands which lie in a crooked or winding manner, whence it became the name of a territory in the province of Hadramaut, where the Adites dwelt It is mentioned about the middle of the chapter

[b] See the Prelim Disc Sect III p 46, &c.

[c] See chapter 21, p. 242, and chapter 38, p. 341, &c

[d] Being to last but a certain space of time, and not for ever

rehearsed unto them, the unbelievers say of the truth,[e] when it cometh unto them, This *is* a manifest piece of sorcery. Will they say, *Mohammed* hath forged it? Answer, If I have forged it, verily ye shall not obtain for me any *favour* from GOD he well knoweth the *injurious language* which ye utter concerning it he is a sufficient witness between me and you, and he *is* gracious *and* merciful. Say, I am not singular among the apostles,[f] neither do I know what will be done with me or with you *hereafter:* I follow no other than what is revealed unto me; neither am I any more than a public warner. Say, What is your opinion? If *this book* be from GOD, and ye believe not therein; and a witness of the children of Israel bear witness to its consonancy *with the law*,[g] and believeth therein, and ye proudly reject *the same: are ye not unjust doers?* Verily GOD directeth not unjust people. But those who believe not, say of the true believers, If *the doctrine of the Korân* had been good, they had not embraced the same before us[h] And when they are not guided thereby, they say, This *is* an antiquated lie. Whereas the book of Moses *was revealed* before *the Korân, to be* a guide and a mercy. and this *is* a book confirming *the same, delivered* in the Arabic tongue; to denounce threats unto those who act unjustly, and to bear good tidings unto the righteous doers. *As to* those who say, Our LORD *is* GOD; and who behave uprightly: on them *shall* no fear *come*, neither shall they be grieved. These *shall be* the inhabitants of paradise, they shall remain therein for ever. in recompence for that which they have wrought. We have commanded man *to show* kindness to his parents his mother beareth him *in her womb* with pain, and bringeth him forth with pain and *the space of* his being carried *in her womb*, and *of* his weaning, *is* thirty months,[i] until, when he attaineth his age of strength, and attaineth *the age of* forty years, he saith,[k] O LORD, excite me, by thy inspiration, that I may be grateful for thy favours, wherewith thou hast favoured me and my parents, and that I may work righteousness, which may please thee and be gracious unto me in my issue, for I am turned unto thee, and am a Moslem These *are* they from whom we accept the good work which they have wrought, and whose evil *works* we pass by, *and they shall be* among the inhabitants of paradise this *is* a true promise, which they are promised *in*

[e] *i.e.*, Any part of the revelations of the Korân

[f] That is, I do not teach a doctrine different from what the former apostles and prophets have taught, nor am I able to do what they could not, particularly to show the signs which every one shall think fit to demand[1]

[g] This witness is generally supposed to have been the Jew Abd'allah Ebn Salâm, who declared that Mohammed was the prophet foretold by Moses. Some, however, suppose the witness here meant to have been Moses himself[2]

[h] These words were spoken, as some think, by the Jews, when Abd'allah professed Islâm, or, according to others, by the Koreish, because the first followers of Mohammed were for the most part poor and mean people, or else by the tribes of Amer, Ghatfân, and Asad, on the conversion of those of Joheinah, Mozeinah, Aslam, and Ghifar[3]

[i] At the least For if the full time of suckling an infant be two years,[4] or twenty-four months, there remain but six months for the space of his being carried in the womb, which is the least that can be allowed[5]

[k] These words, it is said, were revealed on account of Abu Becr, who professed Islâm in the fortieth year of his age, two years after Mohammed's mission, and was the only person, either of the Mohâjerin or the Ansârs, whose father and mother were also converted; his son Abd'alrahmân, and his grandson Abu Atik, likewise embracing the same faith.[6]

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin [3] Idem [4] See cap 2 p. 25. [5] Al Beidâwi [6] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, &c.

this world. He who saith unto his parents, Fie on you! do ye promise me that I shall be taken forth *from the grave, and restored to life;* when *many* generations have passed away before me, *and none of them have returned back?*[l] And *his parents* implore GOD'S assistance, *and say to their son,* Alas for thee! Believe. for the promise of GOD *is* true. But he answereth, This *is* no other than silly fables of the ancients. These *are they* whom the sentence *passed* on the nations which have been before them, of genii and of men, justly fitteth they shall surely perish.[m] For every one *is prepared* a certain degree *of happiness or misery,* according to that which they shall have wrought; that *God* may recompence them for their works; and they shall not be treated unjustly. On a certain day, the unbelievers shall be exposed before the fire *of hell; and it shall be said unto them,* Ye received your good things in your lifetime, *while ye were* in the world; and ye enjoyed yourselves therein wherefore this day ye shall be rewarded with the punishment of ignominy, for that ye behaved insolently in the earth, without justice, and for that ye transgressed. Remember the brother of Ad,[n] when he preached unto his people in al Ahkâf (and there were preachers before him and after him), *saying,* Worship none but GOD: verily I fear for you the punishment of a great day. They answered, Art thou come unto us that thou mayest turn us aside from *the worship of* our gods? Bring on us now *the punishment* with which thou threatenest us, if thou art a man of veracity He said, Verily the knowledge *of the time when your punishment will be inflicted is* with GOD; and I *only* declare unto you that which I am sent *to preach,* but I see ye are an ignorant people. And when they saw *the preparation made for their punishment, namely,* a cloud traversing *the sky, and* tending towards their valleys, they said, This *is* a traversing cloud, which bringeth us rain *Hud answered,* Nay; it is what ye demanded to be hastened a wind, wherein *is* a severe vengeance it will destroy everything,[o] at the command of its LORD. And in the morning nothing was to be seen, besides their *empty* dwellings Thus do we reward wicked people We had established them in the *like flourishing condition* wherein we have established you, *O men of Mecca,* and we had given them ears, and eyes, and hearts: yet neither their ears, nor their eyes, nor their hearts profited them at all, when they rejected the signs of GOD, but the *vengeance* which they mocked at fell upon them. We heretofore destroyed the cities which *were* round about you,[p] and we variously proposed *our* signs unto them, that they might repent. Did those protect them, whom they took for gods, besides GOD, *and imagined*

[l] The words seem to be general; but it is said they were revealed particularly on occasion of Abd'alrahmân, the son of Abu Becr, who used these expressions to his father and mother before he professed Islâm[7]

[m] Unless they redeem their fault by repentance, and embracing the true faith, as did Abd'alrahmân

[n] *i e,* The prophet Hud

[o] Which came to pass accordingly; for this pestilential and violent wind killed all who believed not in the doctrine of Hud, without distinction of sex, age, or degree, and entirely destroyed their possessions See the Prelim Disc Sect. I p 5, and the notes to chapter 7, p. 111.

[p] As the settlements of the Thamudites, Midianites, and the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah &c.

[7] Al Beidâwi.

to be honoured with his familiarity? Nay; they withdrew from them: yet this *was* their false opinion *which seduced them*, and *the blasphemy* which they had devised. *Remember* when we caused certain of the genii[q] to turn aside unto thee, that they might hear the Korân: and when they were present at *the reading of* the same, they said *to one another*, Give ear. and when it was ended. they returned back unto their people, preaching *what they had heard*. They said, Our people, verily we have heard a book *read unto us*, which hath been revealed since Moses,[r] confirming the *scripture* which *was delivered* before it; *and* directing unto the truth and the right way. Our people, obey GOD'S preacher. and believe in him. that he may forgive you your sins, and may deliver you from a painful punishment. And whoever obeyeth not GOD'S preacher, shall by no means frustrate *God's vengeance* on earth: neither shall he have any protectors besides him. These *will be* in a manifest error. Do they not know that GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and was not fatigued with the creation thereof, *is* able to raise the dead to life? Yea, verily. for he *is* almighty. On a certain day the unbelievers shall be exposed unto *hell* fire, *and it shall be said unto them*, Is not this really *come to pass*? They shall answer, Yea, by our LORD. *God* shall reply, Taste, therefore, the punishment *of hell*, for that ye have been unbelievers. Do thou, *O prophet*, bear *the insults of thy people* with patience, as *our* apostles, who were endued with constancy, bare *the injuries of their people*: and require not *their punishment* to be hastened unto them. On the day whereon they shall see the *punishment* wherewith they have been threatened, it shall seem as though they had tarried *in the world* but an hour of a day. *This is a fair* warning. Shall any perish except the people who transgress?

CHAPTER XLVII.

ENTITLED, MOHAMMED,[s] REVEALED AT MEDINA.[t]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

GOD will render of none effect the works of those who believe not, and *who* turn away *men* from the way of GOD: but as to those who believe, and work righteousness, and believe in *the revelation* which hath been sent down unto Mohammed (for it is the truth from

[q] These genii, according to different opinions, were of Nisibin, or of Yaman, or of Ninive, and in number nine or seven. They heard Mohammed reading the Korân by night, or after the morning prayer, in the valley of al Nakhlah, during the time of his retreat to al Tayef, and believed on him.[1]

[r] Hence the commentators suppose those genii, before their conversion to Mohammedism, to have been of the Jewish religion.

[s] Some entitle this chapter *War*, which is therein commanded to be vigorously carried on against the enemies of the Mohammedan faith.

[t] Some suppose the whole to have been revealed at Mecca.

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

their LORD), he will expiate their evil deeds from them, and will dispose their heart aright. This *will he do*, because those who believe not follow vanity, and because those who believe follow the truth from their LORD. Thus GOD propoundeth unto men their examples. When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off *their* heads, until ye have made a great slaughter among them; and bind *them* in bonds and either *give them* a free dismission afterwards, or *exact* a ransom; until the war shall have laid down its arms.[u] This *shall ye do*. Verily if GOD pleased, he could take vengeance on them, *without your assistance;* but *he commandeth you to fight his battles*, that he may prove the one of you by the other. And *as to* those who fight[x] in defence of GOD'S true religion, *God* will not suffer their works to perish he will guide them, and will dispose their heart aright; and he will lead them into paradise, of which he hath told them O true believers, if ye assist GOD, *by fighting for his religion*, he will assist you *against your enemies*, and will set your feet fast. but *as for* the infidels, let them perish · and their works shall *God* render vain. This *shall befall them*, because they have rejected with abhorrence that which GOD hath revealed wherefore their works shall become of no avail. Do they not travel through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who *were* before them? GOD utterly destroyed them and the like *catastrophe* awaiteth the unbelievers. This *shall come to pass* for that GOD is the patron of the true believers, and for that the infidels have no protector Verily GOD will introduce those who believe, and do good works, into gardens beneath which rivers flow but the unbelievers indulge themselves in pleasures, and eat as beasts eat, and their abode *shall be hell* fire. How many cities were more mighty in strength than thy city which hath expelled thee; *yet* have we destroyed them, and *there was* none to help them? Shall he, therefore, who followeth the plain declaration of his LORD, *be* as he whose evil works have been dressed up for him *by the devil*, and who follow their own lusts? The description of paradise, which is promised unto the pious therein *are* rivers of incorruptible water, and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changeth not, and rivers of wine, pleasant unto those who drink, and rivers of clarified honey and therein shall they have *plenty* of all *kinds of* fruits, and pardon from their LORD. *Shall the man for whom these things are prepared, be* as he who must dwell for ever in *hell* fire, and will have the boiling water given them to drink, which shall burst their bowels? Of the *unbelievers there are* some who give ear unto thee, until, when they go out from thee, they say, *by way of derision*,

[u] This law the Hanifites judge to be abrogated, or to relate particularly to the war of Bedr, for the severity here commanded, which was necessary in the beginning of Mohammedism,[1] they think too rigorous to be put in practice in its flourishing state But the Persians and some others hold the command to be still in full force, for, according to them, all the men of full age who are taken in battle are to be slain unless they embrace the Mohammedan faith, and those who fall into the hands of the Moslems after the battle are not to be slain, but may either be set at liberty gratis or on payment of a certain ransom, or may be exchanged for Mohammedan prisoners, or condemned to slavery, at the pleasure of the Imâm or prince [2]

[x] Some copies instead of *kâtilu*, read *kútilu*, according to which latter reading it should be rendered, *who are slain*, or *suffer martyrdom*, &c.

[1] See cap. 8. p. 137 and 132

[2] Al Beidâwi Vide Reland Dissert de Jure Militari Mohammedanor p. 32.

unto those to whom knowledge hath been given,[y] What hath he said now? These *are they* whose hearts GOD hath sealed up, and who follow their own lusts · but *as to* those who are directed, *God* will grant them a more ample direction, and he will instruct them what to avoid[z] Do *the infidels* wait for any other than the *last* hour, that it may come upon them suddenly? Some signs thereof are already come[a] and when it shall actually overtake them, how can they *then* receive admonition? Know, therefore, that there is no god but GOD: and ask pardon for thy sin,[b] and for the true believers, both men and women GOD knoweth your busy employment *in the world*, and the place of your abode *hereafter*. The true believers say, Hath not a Sura been revealed *commanding war against the infidels*? But when a Sura without any ambiguity is revealed, and war is mentioned therein, thou mayest see those in whose hearts is an infirmity,[c] look towards thee with the look of one whom death overshadoweth. But obedience *would be* more eligible for them, and to speak that which is convenient. And when the command is firmly established, if they give credit unto GOD, it will be better for them. Were ye ready, therefore, if ye had been put in authority,[d] to commit outrages in the earth, and to violate your ties of blood? These *are they* whom GOD hath cursed, and hath rendered deaf, and whose eyes he hath blinded Do they not therefore attentively meditate on the Korân? Are there locks upon their hearts? Verily they who turn their backs, after the *true* direction is made manifest unto them; Satan shall prepare *their wickedness* for them, and *God* shall bear with them for a time. This *shall befall them*, because they say *privately* unto those who detest what GOD hath revealed, We will obey you in part of the matter.[e] But GOD knoweth their secrets How therefore *will it be with them*, when the angels shall cause them to die, *and* shall strike their faces and their backs?[f] This *shall they suffer*, because they follow that which provoketh GOD to wrath, and are averse to what is well pleasing unto him: and he will render their works vain Do they in whose hearts is an infirmity, imagine that GOD will not bring their malice to light? If we pleased, we could surely show them unto thee, and thou shouldst know them by their marks; but thou shalt certainly know them by *their* perverse pronunciation of *their* words. GOD knoweth your actions. and we will try you, until we know those among you who fight valiantly, and

[y] *i e*, The more learned of Mohammed's companions, such as Ebn Masúd and Ebn Abbâs.[1]

[z] Or, as the words may also be translated, *and he will reward them for their piety*

[a] As the mission of Mohammed, the splitting of the moon, and the smoke,[1] mentioned in the forty fourth chapter

[b] Though Mohammed here and elsewhere[2] acknowledges himself to be a sinner, yet several Mohammedan doctors pretend he was wholly free from sin, and suppose he is here commanded to ask forgiveness, not that he wanted it, but that he might set an example to his followers wherefore he used to say of himself, if the tradition be true, *I ask pardon of* GOD *a hundred times a day*[3]

[c] As hypocrisy, cowardice, or instability in their religion.

[d] Or, as the words may also be translated, *If ye had turned back*, and apostatized from your faith.

[e] *i.e*, In part of what ye desire of us; by staying at home and not going forth with Mohammed to war, and by private combination against him.[4]

[f] These words are supposed to allude to the examination of the sepulchre.

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [1] Idem, al Beidâwi. [2] See cap 48, in the beginning. [3] Jallalo'ddin
[4] Al Beidâwi.

who persevere with constancy; and we will try the reports of your behaviour. Verily those who believe not, and turn away *men* from the way of GOD, and make opposition against the apostle,[g] after the *divine* direction hath been manifested unto them, shall not hurt GOD at all; but he shall make their works to perish. O true believers, obey GOD; and obey the apostle: and render not your works of no effect. Verily those who believe not, and who turn away *men* from the way of GOD, and then die, being unbelievers, GOD will by no means forgive. Faint not, therefore, neither invite *your enemies* to peace, while ye *are* the superior: for GOD *is* with you, and will not defraud you of *the merit of* your works. Verily this present life *is* only a play and a vain amusement: but if ye believe, and fear *God*, he will give you your rewards. He doth not require of you your *whole* substance: if he should require the whole of you, and earnestly press you, ye would become niggardly, and it would raise your hatred *against his apostle*. Behold, ye *are* those who are invited to expend *part of your substance* for the support of GOD'S true religion, and *there are* some of you who are niggardly. But whoever shall be niggardly, shall be niggardly towards his own soul: for GOD wanteth nothing, but ye *are* needy: and if ye turn back, he will substitute *another* people in your stead, who shall not be like unto you.[h]

CHAPTER XLVIII

ENTITLED, THE VICTORY; REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

VERILY we have granted thee a manifest victory,[i] that GOD may forgive thee[k] thy preceding and thy subsequent sin,[l] and may

[g] These were the tribes of Koreidha and al Nadir, or those who distributed provision to the army of the Koreish at Bedr.[1]

[h] *i.e.*, In backwardness and aversion to the propagation of the faith. The people here designed to be put in the place of these lukewarm Moslems are generally supposed to be the Persians, there being a tradition that Mohammed, being asked what people they were, at a time when Salmân was sitting by him, clapped his hand on his thigh, and said, *This man and his nation.* Others, however, are of opinion the Ansârs or the angels are intended in this place.[2]

[i] This victory, from which the chapter takes its title, according to the most received interpretation, was the taking of the city of Mecca. The passage is said to have been revealed on Mohammed's return from the expedition of al Hodeibiya, and contains a promise or prediction of this signal success, which happened not till two years after, the preterite tense being therein used, according to the prophetic style, for the future.[3]

There are some, notwithstanding, who suppose the advantage here intended was the pacification of al Hodeibiya, which is here called a *victory*, because the Meccans sued for peace, and made a truce there with Mohammed, their breaking of which occasioned the taking of Mecca. Others think the conquest of Khaibar, or the victory over the Greeks at Mûta, &c., to be meant in this place.

[k] That is to say, that GOD may give thee an opportunity of deserving forgiveness by eradicating of idolatry, and exalting his true religion, and the delivering of the weak from the hands of the ungodly, &c.

[l] *i.e.*, Whatever thou hast done worthy reprehension; or, thy sins committed as well in the time of ignorance as since. Some expound the words more particularly, and say the *preceding*

[1] Al Beidâwi. See cap. 8, p. 129, note [?]. [2] Idem. [3] Al Zamakh. al Beidâwi, &c.

complete his favour on thee, and direct thee in the right way; and that GOD may assist thee with a glorious assistance. It is he who sendeth down secure tranquillity into the hearts of the true believers, that they may increase in faith, beyond their *former* faith (the hosts of heaven and earth are GOD'S; and GOD is knowing *and* wise) that he may lead the true believers of both sexes into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever; and may expiate their evil deeds from them (this will be great felicity with GOD) and that he may punish the hypocritical men, and the hypocritical women, and the idolaters, and the idolatresses, who conceive an ill opinion of GOD. They shall experience a turn of evil fortune; and GOD shall be angry with them, and shall curse them, and hath prepared hell for them, an ill journey shall it be *thither!* Unto GOD *belong* the hosts of heaven and earth, and GOD is mighty *and* wise Verily we have sent thee *to be* a witness, and a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats, that ye may believe in GOD and his apostle; and may assist him, and revere him, and praise him morning and evening Verily they who swear fealty[m] unto thee, swear fealty unto GOD the hand of GOD *is* over their hands[n] Whoever shall violate *his oath*, will violate *the same* to the hurt only of his own soul: but whoever shall perform that which he hath covenanted with GOD, he will surely give him a great reward. The Arabs of the desert who were left behind[o] will say unto thee, Our substance and our families employed us, *so that we went not forth with thee to war*, wherefore ask pardon for us. They speak that with their tongues, which *is* not in their hearts Answer, Who shall be able *to obtain* for you anything from GOD *to the contrary*, if he is pleased to afflict you, or is pleased to be gracious unto you? Yea verily, GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. Truly ye imagined that the apostle and the true believers would never return to their families: and this was prepared in your hearts but ye imagined an evil imagination, and ye are a corrupt people Whoso believeth not in GOD and his apostle, verily we have prepared burning fire for the unbelievers Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth. he forgiveth whom he pleaseth, and he punisheth whom he pleaseth, and GOD is inclined to forgive, *and* merciful Those who were left behind will say, when ye go forth to take the spoil,[p] Suffer us

or *former* fault was his lying with his handmaid Mary,[1] contrary to his oath, and the *latter*, his marrying of Zeinab,[2] the wife of Zeid his adopted son [3]

[m] The original word signifies publicly to acknowledge or inaugurate a prince, by swearing fidelity and obedience to him

[n] That is, he beholdeth from above, and is witness to the solemnity of your giving your faith to his apostle, and will reward you for it [4] The expression alludes to the manner of their plighting their faith on these occasions

[o] These were the tribes of Aslam, Joheinah, Mozeinah, and Ghifâr, who, being summoned to attend Mohammed in the expedition of al Hodeibiya, stayed behind, and excused themselves by saying their families must suffer in their absence, and would be robbed of the little they had (for these tribes were of the poorer Arabs), whereas in reality they wanted firmness in the faith, and courage to face the Koreish [5]

[p] viz, In the expedition of Khaibar The prophet returned from al Hodeibiya in Dhu'lhajja, in the sixth year of the Hejra, and stayed at Medina the remainder of that month and the beginning of Moharram, and then set forward against the Jews of Khaibar, with those only who had attended him to Hodeibiya; and having made himself master of the place, and all the

[1] See cap 66, and the notes thereon [2] See cap 33, and the notes thereon [3] Al Zamakh Jallalo'ddin [5] Idem al Beidâwi

to follow you. They seek to change the word of GOD.[q] Say, Ye shall by no means follow us: thus hath GOD said heretofore. They will reply, Nay; ye envy us *a share of the booty.* But they are men of small understanding. Say unto the Arabs of the desert who were left behind, Ye shall be called forth against a mighty *and* a warlike nation:[r] ye shall fight against them, or they shall profess Islâm. If ye obey, GOD will give you a glorious reward: but if ye turn back, as ye turned back heretofore, he will chastise you with a grievous chastisement. It shall be no crime in the blind, neither shall it be a crime in the lame, neither shall it be a crime in the sick, *if they go not forth to war:* and whoso shall obey GOD and his apostle, he shall lead him into gardens beneath which rivers flow; but whoso shall turn back, he will chastise him with a grievous chastisement. Now GOD was well pleased with the true believers, when they sware fidelity unto thee under the tree;[s] and he knew that which *was* in their hearts: wherefore he sent down on them tranquillity of mind,[t] and rewarded them with a speedy victory,[u] and many spoils which they took: for GOD is mighty *and* wise. GOD promised you many spoils which ye should take; but he gave you these by way of earnest; and he restrained the hands of men from you:[x] and the same may be a sign unto the true believers; and that he may guide you into the right way. And *he also promiseth you* other *spoils,* which ye have not *yet* been able *to take:* but now hath GOD encompassed them *for you*; and GOD is almighty. If the unbelieving *Meccans* had fought against you, verily they had turned *their* backs, and they would not have found a patron or protector: *according to* the ordinance of GOD, which hath been put in execution heretofore *against opposers of the prophets;* for thou shalt not find any change in the ordinance of GOD. *It was* he who restrained their hands from you, and your hands from them, in the valley of Mecca; after that he had given you the victory over them;[y] and GOD

castles and strongholds in that territory,[1] took spoils to a great value, which he divided among them who were present at that expedition, and none else.[2]

[q] Which was his promise to those who attended the prophet to al Hodeibiya, that he would make them amends for their missing of the plunder of Mecca at that time, by giving them that of Khaibar in lieu thereof. Some think the *word* here intended, to be that passage in the ninth chapter,[3] *Ye shall not go forth with me for the future,* &c., which yet was plainly revealed long after the taking of Khaibar, on occasion of the expedition of Tabûc.[4]

[r] These were Banu Honeifa, who inhabited al Yamâma, and were the followers of Moseilama, Mohammed's competitor; or any other of those tribes which apostatized from Mohammedism;[5] or, as others rather suppose, the Persians or the Greeks.[6]

[s] Mohammed, when at al Hodeibiya, sent Jawwâs Ebn Omeyya the Khozaite, to acquaint the Meccans that he was come with a peaceable intention to visit the temple; but they, on some jealousy conceived, refusing to admit him, the prophet sent Othman Ebn Affân, whom they imprisoned, and a report ran that he was slain: whereupon Mohammed called his men about him, and they took an oath to be faithful to him, even to death; during which ceremony he sat under a tree, supposed by some to have been an Egyptian thorn, and by others a kind of lote-tree.[7]

[t] The original word is *Sakînat*, of which notice has been taken elsewhere.[8]

[u] Namely, the success at Khaibar; or, as some rather imagine, the taking of Mecca, &c.

[x] *i.e.*, The hands of those of Khaibar, or of their successors of the tribes of Asad and Ghatfân, or of the inhabitants of Mecca, by the pacification of al Hodeibiya.[1]

[y] Jallalo'ddin says that fourscore of the infidels came privately to Mohammed's camp at al Hodeibiya, with an intent to surprise some of his men, but were taken and brought before the

[1] Vide Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 87, &c. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Page 144. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. [6] Jallalo'ddin. [7] Idem, al Beidâwi. Vide Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 86. [8] In not. ad cap. 2, p. 27. [1] Al Beidâwi.

saw that which ye did. These *are they* who believed not, and hindered you from *visiting* the holy temple, and *also hindered* the offering, being detained, that it should not arrive at the place where it ought to be sacrificed.[1] Had it not been that ye might have trampled on *divers* true believers, *both* men and women, whom ye knew not, *being promiscuously assembled with the infidels*, and that a crime might therefore have lighted on you on their account, without *your* knowledge, *he had not restrained your hands from them but this was done*, that GOD might lead whom he pleaseth into his mercy. If they had been distinguished from one another, we had surely chastised such of them as believed not, with a severe chastisement. When the unbelievers had put in their hearts an affected preciseness, the preciseness of ignorance, and GOD sent down his tranquillity on his apostle and on the true believers;[a] and firmly fixed in them the word of piety,[b] and they were the most worthy of the same, and the most deserving thereof: for GOD knoweth all things. Now hath GOD in truth verified unto his apostle the vision,[c] *wherein he said*, Ye shall surely enter the holy temple *of Mecca*, if GOD please, in full security; having your heads shaved, and

prophet, who pardoned them and ordered them to be set at liberty, and this generous action was the occasion of the truce struck up by the Koreish with Mohammed, for thereupon they sent Sohail Ebn Amru and some others (and not Arwa Ebn Masúd, as is said by mistake in another place,[2] for his errand was an actual defiance) to treat for peace.

Al Beidâwi explains the passage by another story, telling us that Acrema Ebn Abi Jahl marching from Mecca at the head of five hundred men to al Hodeibiya, Mohammed sent against him Khâled Ebn al Walîd with a detachment, who drove the infidels back to the innermost part of Mecca (as the word here translated *valley* properly signifies), and then left them, out of respect to the place.

[a] Mohammed's intent, in the expedition of al Hodeibiya, being only to visit the temple of Mecca in a peaceable manner, and to offer a sacrifice in the valley of Mina, according to the established rites, he carried beasts with him for that purpose; but was not permitted by the Koreish either to enter the temple or to go to Mina.

[a] This passage was occasioned by the stiffness of Sohail and his companions in wording the treaty concluded with Mohammed; for when the prophet ordered Ali to begin with the form, *In the name of the most merciful* GOD, they objected to it, and insisted that he should begin with this, *In thy name, O* GOD; which Mohammed submitted to, and proceeded to dictate, *These are the conditions on which Mohammed, the apostle of* GOD, *has made peace with those of Mecca*; to this Sohail again objected, saying, *If we had acknowledged thee to be the apostle of* GOD *we had not given thee any opposition*; whereupon Mohammed ordered Ali to write as Sohail desired, *These are the conditions which Mohammed, the son of Abdallah*, &c. But the Moslems were so disgusted thereat, that they were on the point of breaking off the treaty, and had fallen on the Meccans, had not GOD appeased and calmed their minds, as it follows in the text.[3]

The terms of this pacification were that there should be a truce for ten years; that any person might enter into league either with Mohammed or with the Koreish as he should think fit; and that Mohammed should have the liberty to visit the temple of Mecca the next year for three days.[4]

[b] *i.e.*, The Mohammedan profession of faith, or the *Bismillah*, and the words, *Mohammed, the apostle of* GOD, which were rejected by the infidels.

[c] Or dream which Mohammed had at Medina before he set out for al Hodeibiya, wherein he dreamed that he and his companions entered Mecca in security, with their heads shaven and their hair cut. This dream being imparted by the prophet to his followers, occasioned a great deal of joy among them, and they supposed it would be fulfilled that same year; but when they saw the truce concluded, which frustrated their expectation for that time, they were deeply concerned; whereupon this passage was revealed for their consolation, confirming the vision, which was not to be fulfilled till the year after, when Mohammed performed the visitation distinguished by the addition of al Kadâ, or completion, because he then completed the visitation of the former year, when the Koreish not permitting him to enter Mecca, he was obliged to kill his victims, and to shave himself at al Hodeibiya.[5]

[2] Prelim Disc Sect II p 41. [3] Al Beidâwi. Vide Abulf Vit Moh. p 87. [4] Idem. [5] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. Vide Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 84, 87.

your hair cut:[d] ye shall not fear: for *God* knoweth that which ye know not; and he hath appointed *you*, besides this, a speedy victory.[e] *It is* he who hath sent his apostle with the direction, and the religion of truth; that he may exalt the same above every religion: and GOD is a sufficient witness *hereof*. Mohammed *is* the apostle of GOD: and those who are with him *are* fierce against the unbelievers, *but* compassionate towards one another. Thou mayest see them bowing down, prostrate, seeking a recompence from GOD, and *his* goodwill. Their signs *are* in their faces, being marks of *frequent* prostration. This *is* their description in the Pentateuch, and their description in the gospel: *they are* as seed which putteth forth its stalk, and strengtheneth it, and swelleth in the ear, and riseth upon its stem; giving delight unto the sower. *Such are the Moslems described to be*: that the infidels may swell with indignation at them. GOD hath promised unto such of them as believe and do good works, pardon and a great reward.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ENTITLED, THE INNER APARTMENTS; REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

O TRUE believers, anticipate not *any matter* in the sight of GOD and his apostle:[f] and fear GOD; for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. O true believers, raise not your voices above the voice of the prophet;[g] neither speak loud unto him in discourse, as ye speak loud unto one another, lest your works become vain, and ye perceive *it* not. Verily they who lower their voices in the presence of the apostle of GOD, *are* those whose hearts GOD hath disposed unto piety: they shall obtain pardon and a great reward. *As to* those who call unto thee from without the inner apartments,[h] the greater part of them do not understand *the respect due to thee*. If they wait with patience, until thou come forth unto them, it will certainly be better for them: but GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. O true believers, if a wicked man come unto you with a tale, inquire strictly *into the truth*

[d] *i.e.*, Some being shaved, and others having only their hair cut.

[e] viz., The taking of Khaibar.

[f] That is, do not presume to give your own decision in any case, before ye have received the judgment of GOD and his apostle.

[g] This verse is said to have been occasioned by a dispute between Abu Becr and Omar, concerning the appointing of a governor of a certain place, in which they raised their voices so high, in the presence of the apostle, that it was thought proper to forbid such indecencies for the future.[1]

[h] These, they say, were Oyeyna Ebn Osein, and al Akrá Ebn Hâbes, who wanting to speak with Mohammed, when he was sleeping at noon in his women's apartment, had the rudeness to call out several times, *Mohammed, come forth to us*.[2]

[1] Jallal. [2] Al Beidâwi.

thereof; lest ye hurt people through ignorance, and afterwards repent of what ye have done :[i] and know that the apostle of GOD *is* among you : if he should obey you in many things, ye would certainly be guilty of a crime, *in leading him into a mistake.* But GOD hath made the faith amiable unto you, and hath prepared the same in your hea and hath rendered infidelity, and iniquity, and disobedience hateful unto you. These are they who walk in the right way ; through mercy from GOD, and grace . and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. If two parties of the believers contend with one another, do ye *endeavour to* compose the matter between them and if the one of them offer an insult unto the other, fight against that *party* which offered the insult, until they return unto the judgment of GOD ; and if they do return, make peace between them with equity and act with justice ; for GOD loveth those who act justly.[k] Verily the true believers *are* brethren : wherefore reconcile your brethren , and fear GOD, that ye may obtain mercy. O true believers, let not men laugh *other* men to scorn ; who peradventure may be better than themselves , neither *let* women *laugh other* women *to scorn,* who may possibly be better than themselves. Neither defame one another , nor call one another by *opprobrious* appellations An ill name *it is to be charged with* wickedness, after *having embraced* the faith and whoso repenteth not, they will be the unjust doers.[l] O true believers, carefully avoid *entertaining* a suspicion *of another* for some suspicions *are* a crime quire not too curiously *into other men's failings* neither let the one of you speak ill of another in his absence Would any of you desire to eat the flesh of his dead brother? Surely ye would abhor it And fear GOD for GOD *is* easy to be reconciled, *and* merciful O men, verily we have created you of a male and a female , and we have distributed you into nations and tribes, that ye might know one another. Verily the most honourable of you, in the sight of GOD, *is* the most pious of you . and GOD *is* wise *and* knowing. The Arabs of the desert[m] say, We believe. Answer, Ye do

[i] This passage was occasioned, it is said, by the following accident Al Walid Ebn Okba being sent by Mohammed to collect the alms from the tribe of al Mostalek, when he saw them come out to meet him in great numbers, grew apprehensive they designed him some mischief, because of past enmity between him and them in the time of ignorance, and immediately turned back , and told the prophet they refused to pay their alms and attempted to kill him , upon which Mohammed was thinking to reduce them by force but on sending Khâled Ebn al Walid to them, he found his former messenger had wronged them, and that they continued in their obedience [3]

[k] This verse is supposed to have been occasioned by a fray which happened between the tribes of al Aws and al Khazraj Some relate that the prophet one day riding on an ass as he passed near Abdallah Ebn Obba, the ass chanced to stale, at which Ebn Obba stopped his nose and Ebn Rawâha said to him, *By* GOD, *the piss of his ass smells sweeter than thy musk* whereupon a quarrel ensued between their followers, and they came to blows, though they struck one another only with their hands and slippers, or with palm branches [4]

[l] It is said that this verse was revealed on account of Safiya Bint Hoyai one of the prophet's wives , who came to her husband and complained that the women said to her, *O thou Jewess the daughter of a Jew and of a Jewess* to which he answered, *Canst thou not say, Aaron is my father, and Moses is my uncle, and Mohammed is my husband?*[5]

[m] These were certain of the tribe of Asad, who came to Medina in a year of scarcity, and having professed Mohammedism, told the prophet that they had brought all their goods and their families, and would not oppose him, as some other tribes had done and this they said to obtain a part of the alms, and to upbraid him with their having embraced his religion and party [6]

[3] Idem, Jallal. [4] Idem [5] Al Beidâwi. See Prid Life of Mahom p. 111, &c
[6] Idem.

by no means believe; but say, We have embraced Islâm:[n] for the faith hath not yet entered into your hearts. If ye obey GOD and his apostle, he will not defraud you of any part *of the merit* of your works: for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. Verily the true believers *are* those only who believe in GOD and his apostle, and afterwards doubt not; and who employ their substance and their persons in the defence of GOD'S true religion: these are they who speak sincerely. Say, Will ye inform GOD concerning your religion?[o] But GOD knoweth whatever *is* in heaven and in earth: for GOD *is* omniscient. They upbraid thee that they have embraced Islâm. Answer, Upbraid me not with your having embraced Islâm: rather GOD upbraideth you, that he hath directed you to the faith,[p] if ye speak sincerely. Verily GOD knoweth the secrets of heaven and earth: and GOD beholdeth that which ye do.

CHAPTER L.

ENTITLED, K, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

K.[q] By the glorious Korân: verily they wonder that a preacher from among themselves is come unto them, and the unbelievers say, This *is* a wonderful thing: after we shall be dead, and become dust, *shall we return to life?* This *is* a return remote *from thought*. Now we know what the earth consumeth of them, and with us *is* a book which keepeth an account *thereof*. But they charge falsehood on the truth, after it hath come unto them: wherefore they *are plunged* in a confused business.[r] Do they not look up to the heaven above them, *and consider* how we have raised it and adorned it; and that *there are* no flaws therein? We have also spread forth the earth, and thrown thereon *mountains* firmly rooted:[s] and we cause every beautiful kind *of vegetables* to spring up therein; for a subject of meditation, and an admonition unto every man who turneth *unto us*. And we send down rain as a blessing from heaven, whereby we cause gardens to spring forth, and the grain of harvest, and tall palm-trees having branches laden with dates hanging one above another, as a provision

[n] That is, Ye are not sincere believers, but outward professors only of the true religion.

[o] *i. e.*, Will ye pretend to deceive him, by saying ye are true believers?

[p] The obligation being not on GOD'S side, but on yours, for that he has favoured you so far as to guide you into the true faith, if ye are sincere believers.

[q] Some imagine that this letter is designed to express the mountain Kâf, which several eastern writers fancy encompasses the whole world.[1] Others say it stands for *Kada al amr*, *i. e.*, *The matter is decreed*, viz., the chastisement of the infidels.[2] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. III. p. 46, &c.

[r] Not knowing what certainly to affirm of the Korân; calling it sometimes a piece of poetry, at other times a piece of sorcery, and at other times a piece of divination, &c.

[s] See chapter 16, p. 196, and chapter 31, p. 307.

[1] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Caf. [2] Al Beidâwi. Jallalo'ddin.

for mankind; and we thereby quicken a dead country: so *shall be* the coming forth *of the dead from their graves.* The people of Noah, and those who dwelt at Al Rass,[t] and Thamud, and Ad, and Pharaoh accused *the prophets* of imposture before *the Meccans*, and also the brethren of Lot, and the inhabitants of the wood *near Midian*, and the people of Tobba:[u] all *these* accused the apostles of imposture; wherefore *the judgments* which I threatened were justly inflicted *on them.* Is our power exhausted by the first creation? Yea; they are in a perplexity, because of a new creation *which is foretold them, namely, the raising of the dead.* We created man, and we know what his soul whispereth within him; and we *are* nearer unto him than *his* jugular vein. When the two *angels* deputed to take account *of a man's behaviour*, take an account *thereof*; one sitting on the right hand, and *the other* on the left: he uttereth not a word, but *there is* with him a watcher, ready *to note it.*[x] And the agony of death shall come in truth: this, *O man, is* what thou soughtest to avoid. And the trumpet shall sound: this *will be* the day which hath been threatened. And every soul shall come, *and* therewith *shall be* a driver and a witness.[y] *And the former shall say unto the unbeliever,* Thou wast negligent heretofore of this *day*: but we have removed thy veil from off thee, and thy sight *is become* piercing this day. And his companion shall say, This *is* what *is* ready with me *to be attested.* *And God shall say,* Cast into hell every unbeliever, *and* perverse person, *and every one* who forbad good, *and every* transgressor, and doubter *of the faith,* who set up another god with *the true* GOD; and cast him into a grievous torment. His companion[z] shall say, O LORD, I did not seduce him; but he was in a wide error.[a] *God* shall say, Wrangle not in my presence: since I threatened you beforehand *with the torments which ye now see prepared for you.* The sentence is not changed with me: neither do I treat *my* servants unjustly. On that day we will say unto hell, Art thou full? and it shall answer, *Is there* yet any addition?[b] And paradise shall be brought near unto the pious; *and it shall be said unto them,*

[t] See chapter 25, p. 273.

[u] See chapter 44, p. 368.

[x] The intent of the passage is to exalt the omniscience of GOD, who wants not the information of the guardian angels, though he has thought fit, in his wisdom, to give them that employment; for if they are so exact as to write down every word which falls from a man's mouth, how can we hope to escape the observation of him who sees our inmost thoughts?

The Mohammedans have a tradition that the angel who notes a man's good actions has the command over him who notes his evil actions, and that when a man does a good action, the angel of the right hand writes it down ten times, and when he commits an ill action, the same angel says to the angel of the left hand, *Forbear setting it down for seven hours, peradventure he may pray, or may ask pardon.*[1]

[y] *i.e.*, Two angels, one acting as a sergeant, to bring every person before the tribunal, and the other prepared as a witness, to testify either for or against him. Some say the former will be the guardian angel who took down his evil actions, and the other the angel who took down his good actions.[2]

[z] *viz.*, The devil which shall be chained to him.

[a] This will be the answer of the devil, whom the wicked person will accuse as his seducer; for the devil has no power over a man to cause him to do evil, any otherwise than by suggesting what is agreeable to his corrupt inclinations.[3]

[b] *i.e.*, Are there yet any more condemned to this place, or is my space to be enlarged and rendered more capacious to receive them?

The commentators suppose hell will be quite filled at the day of judgment, according to that repeated expression in the Korân, *Verily I will fill hell with you,* &c.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] See cap. 14, p. 188, &c.

This *is* what ye have been promised; unto every one who turned himself *unto God*, and kept *his commandments*; who feared the Merciful in secret, and came *unto him* with a converted heart: enter the same in peace: this *is* the day of eternity. Therein shall they have whatever they shall desire; and *there will be* a superabundant addition *of bliss* with us.[c] How many generations have we destroyed before the *Meccans*, which were more mighty than they in strength? Pass, therefore, through the regions *of the earth, and see* whether *there be* any refuge *from our vengeance?* Verily herein *is* an admonition unto him who hath a heart *to understand*, or giveth ear, and is present *with an attentive mind*. We created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, in six days, and no weariness affected us.[d] Wherefore patiently suffer what they say,[e] and celebrate the praise of thy LORD before sunrise, and before sunset, and praise him *in some part* of the night, and *perform* the additional parts of worship.[f] And hearken unto the day whereon the crier shall call *men to judgment* from a near place;[g] the day whereon they shall hear the voice *of the trumpet* in truth: this *will be* the day of *men's* coming forth *from their graves*. We give life, and we cause to die; and unto us *shall be* the return *of all creatures*: the day whereon the earth shall suddenly cleave in sunder over them. This *will be* an assembly easy for us *to assemble*. We well know what *the unbelievers* say, and thou *art* not sent to compel them forcibly *to the faith*. Wherefore warn, by the Korân, him who feareth my threatening.

CHAPTER LI

ENTITLED, THE DISPERSING; REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the *winds* dispersing and scattering *the dust*,[h] and by the *clouds* bearing a load *of rain*,[i] by the *ships* running swiftly *in the sea*,[k] and by the *angels* who distribute things *necessary for the support of all*

[c] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 78.

[d] This was revealed in answer to the Jews, who said that GOD rested from his work of creation on the seventh day, and reposed himself on his throne, as one fatigued.[1]

[e] viz., Either what the idolaters say, in denying the resurrection; or the Jews, in speaking indecently of GOD.

[f] These are the two inclinations used after the evening prayer, which are not necessary, or of precept, but voluntary, and of supererogation; and may therefore be added, or omitted, indifferently.

[g] Namely, from a place whence every creature may equally hear the call. This place it is supposed will be the mountain of the temple of Jerusalem, which some fancy to be nearer heaven than any other part of the earth, whence Israfil will sound the trumpet, and Gabriel will make the following proclamation: "*O ye rotten bones, and torn flesh, and dispersed hairs,* GOD *commandeth you to be gathered together to judgment.*"[2]

[h] Or, *by the women who bring forth*, or *scatter children*, &c.

[i] Or, *by the women bearing a burden* in their womb, or *the winds bearing* the clouds, &c.

[k] Or, *by the winds passing swiftly* in the air, or *the stars moving swiftly* in their courses, &c.

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem.

creatures;[l] verily that wherewith ye are threatened is certainly true; and the *last* judgment will surely come. By the heaven furnished with paths;[m] ye widely differ in what ye say.[n] He will be turned aside from *the faith*, who shall be turned aside *by the divine decree*. Cursed be the liars; who *wade* in deep waters *of ignorance*, neglecting *their salvation*. They ask, When *will* the day of judgment *come*? On that day shall they be burned in *hell* fire; *and it shall be said unto them*, Taste your punishment; this *is* what ye demanded to be hastened. But the pious *shall dwell* among gardens and fountains, receiving that which their LORD shall give them; because they were righteous doers before this *day*. They slept but a small part of the night;[o] and early in the morning they asked pardon *of God*. and a due portion of their wealth *was given* unto him who asked, and unto him who was forbidden *by shame to ask*. *There are* signs *of the divine power and goodness* in the earth, unto *men* of sound understanding; and also in your own selves will ye not therefore consider? Your sustenance *is* in the heaven; and also that which ye are promised.[p] Wherefore by the LORD of heaven and earth *I swear* that this *is* certainly the truth; according to what yourselves speak.[q] Hath not the story of Abraham's honoured guests[r] come to thy knowledge? When they went in unto him, and said, Peace: he answered, Peace, *saying within himself, These are* unknown people. And he went privately unto his family, and brought a fatted calf. And he set it before them, *and when he saw they touched it not*, he said, Do ye not eat? And he began to entertain a fear of them They said, Fear not[s] and they declared unto him the promise of a wise youth. And his wife drew near with exclamation, and she smote her face,[t] and said, *I am* an old woman, *and* barren. The *angels* answered, Thus saith thy LORD. Verily he is the wise, the knowing (XXVII) *And Abraham* said *unto them*, What is your errand, therefore, O messengers *of God*? They answered, Verily we are sent unto a wicked people. that we may send down upon them stones of *baked* clay, marked from thy LORD, for *the destruction of* transgressors. And we brought forth the true believers who were in *the city* but we found not therein more than *one* family of Moslems. And we *overthrew the same, and* left a sign therein unto those who dread the severe chastisement *of God*. In Moses also *was a sign*. when we sent him unto Pharaoh with manifest power. But he turned back, with his princes,

[l] Or, *by the* winds *which distribute* the rain, &c.

[m] *i e*, The paths or orbs of the stars, or the streaks which appear in the sky like paths, being thin and extended clouds

[n] Concerning Mohammed, or the Korân, or the resurrection and day of judgment; speaking variously and inconsistently of them

[o] Spending the greater part in prayer and religious meditation

[p] *i e*, Your food cometh from above, whence proceedeth the change of seasons and rain, and your future reward is also there, that is to say, in paradise, which is situate above the seven heavens

[q] That is, without any doubt or reserved meaning, as ye affirm a truth unto one another.

[r] See chapter 11, p 165, and chapter 15, p 193

[s] Some add, that to remove Abraham's fear, Gabriel, who was one of these strangers, touched the calf with his wing, and it immediately rose up and walked to its dam; upon which Abraham knew them to be the messengers of GOD.[1]

[t] This, some pretend, she did for shame, because she felt her courses coming upon her.

[1] Al Beidâwi

saying, *This man is* a sorcerer or a madman. Wherefore we took him and his forces, and cast them into the sea. and he was one worthy of reprehension And in *the tribe of* Ad *also was a sign*. when we sent against them a destroying wind;[u] it touched not ought, whereon it came, but it rendered the same as a thing rotten *and reduced to dust*. In Thamud *likewise was a sign* · when it was said unto them, Enjoy *yourselves* for a time.[x] But they insolently transgressed the command of their LORD: wherefore a terrible noise from heaven assailed them, while they looked on;[y] and they were not able to stand *on their feet*, neither did they save themselves *from destruction*. And the people of Noah *did we destroy* before *these*: for they were a people who enormously transgressed. We have built the heaven with might; and we have given *it* a large extent. and we have stretched forth the earth beneath, and how evenly have we spread *the same*! And of everything have we created two kinds,[z] that peradventure ye may consider Fly, therefore, unto GOD, verily I *am* a public warner unto you, from him. And set not up another god with *the true* GOD. verily I *am* a public warner unto you, from him. In like manner there came no apostle unto their predecessors, but they said, *This man is* a magician or a madman. Have they bequeathed this *behaviour* successively the one to the other? Yea, they are a people who enormously transgress. Wherefore withdraw from them, and thou *shalt* not *be* blameworthy *in so doing*. Yet continue to admonish. for admonition profiteth the true believers I have not created genii and men *for any other end* than that they should serve me. I require not any sustenance from them, neither will I that they feed me. Verily GOD is he who provideth *for all creatures*, possessed of mighty power. Unto those who shall injure *our apostle shall be given* a portion like unto the portion of those who behaved like them *in times past*, and they shall not wish *the same* to be hastened. Woe, therefore, to the unbelievers, because of their day with which they are threatened!

CHAPTER LII.

ENTITLED, THE MOUNTAIN, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the mountain *of Sinai*, and by the book written in an expanded scroll,[a] and by the visited house,[b] and by the elevated roof *of*

[u] See chapter 7, p 111, &c
[x] *i e*, For three days See chapter 11 p 165
[y] For this calamity happened in the daytime
[z] *As for* example male and female, the heaven and the earth; the sun and the moon; light and darkness, plains and mountains, winter and summer, sweet and bitter, &c [1]
[a] The book here intended, according to different opinions, is either the book or register wherein every man's actions are recorded; or the *preserved table* containing GOD's decrees, or the book of the law, which was written by GOD, Moses hearing the creaking of the pen, or else the Korân.[2]
[b] *i.e.*, The Caaba, so much visited by pilgrims; or, as some rather think, the original model

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] Al Zamakh., al Beidâwi

heaven; and by the swelling ocean: verily the punishment of thy LORD will surely descend; *there shall be* none to withhold it. On that day the heaven shall be shaken, and shall reel; and the mountains shall walk and pass away. And on that day woe be unto those who accused *God's apostles* of imposture; who amused themselves in wading *in vain disputes!* On that day shall they be driven and thrust into the fire of hell; *and it shall be said unto them,* This *is* the fire which ye denied as a fiction. *Is* this a magic illusion? Or do ye not see? Enter the same to be scorched: whether ye bear *your torments* patiently, or impatiently, *it will be* equal unto you: ye shall surely receive the reward of that which ye have wrought. But the pious *shall dwell* amidst gardens and pleasures; delighting themselves in what their LORD shall have given them: and their LORD shall deliver them from the pains of hell. *And it shall be said unto them,* Eat and drink with easy digestion; because of that which ye have wrought: leaning on couches disposed in order: and we will espouse them unto virgins having large black eyes. And unto those who believe, and whose offspring follow them in the faith, we will join their offspring *in paradise:* and we will not diminish unto them ought of *the merit of* their works. (Every man *is* given in pledge for that which he shall have wrought.[c]) And we will give them fruits in abundance, and flesh of the *kinds* which they shall desire. They shall present unto one another therein a cup *of wine,* wherein there shall be no vain discourse, nor any incitement unto wickedness. And youths *appointed* to *attend* them, shall go round them: *beautiful* as pearls hidden *in their shell.* And they shall approach unto one another, and shall ask mutual questions. *And* they shall say, Verily we were heretofore amidst our family, in great dread *with regard to our state after death;* but GOD hath been gracious unto us, and hath delivered us from the pain of burning fire: for we called on him heretofore; and he is the beneficent, the merciful. Wherefore do thou, *O prophet,* admonish *thy people.* Thou *art* not, by the grace of thy LORD, a soothsayer or a madman. Do they say, *He is* a poet: we wait, concerning him, some adverse turn of fortune? Say, Wait ye *my ruin*: verily I wait, with you, *the time of your destruction.* Do their mature understandings bid them *say* this; or *are* they people who perversely transgress? Do they say, He hath forged *the Korân?* Verily they believe not. Let them produce a discourse like unto it, if they speak truth. Were they created by nothing; or were they the creators *of themselves?* Did they create the heavens and the earth? Verily they are not firmly persuaded *that God hath created them.*[d] Are the stores of thy LORD in their hands? Are they the supreme dispensers *of all things?* Have they a ladder, whereby they may *ascend to heaven, and* hear *the discourses of angels?* Let

of that house in heaven, called al Dorâh, which is visited and compassed by the angels, as the other is by men.[3]

[c] *i.e.*, Every man is pledged unto GOD for his behaviour; and if he does well, he redeems his pledge, but if evil, he forfeits it.

[d] For though they confess this with their tongues, yet they deny it by their averseness to render him his due worship.

[3] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV.

one, therefore, who hath heard them, produce an evident proof *thereof.* Hath *God* daughters, and have ye sons?[e] Dost thou ask them a reward *for thy preaching?* but they are laden with debts. Are the secrets of futurity with them; and do they transcribe *the same from the table of God's decrees?* Do they seek *to lay* a plot *against thee?* But the unbelievers are *they who shall be* circumvented.[f] Have they *any* god, besides GOD? Far be GOD exalted above the *idols* which they associate *with him!* If they should see a fragment of the heaven falling down *upon them,* they would say, *It is only* a thick cloud.[g] Wherefore leave them, until they arrive at their day wherein they shall swoon for fear;[h] a day in which their subtle contrivances shall not avail them at all, neither shall they be protected. And those who act unjustly shall surely suffer *another* punishment besides this;[i] but the greater part of them do not understand. And wait thou patiently the judgment of thy LORD *concerning them,* for thou *art* in our eye: and celebrate the praise of thy LORD, when thou risest up, and praise him in the night season, and when the stars begin to disappear.

CHAPTER LIII.

ENTITLED, THE STAR; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the star,[k] when it setteth,[l] your companion *Mohammed* erreth not, nor is he led astray: neither doth he speak of *his own* will. It is no other than a revelation, which hath been revealed *unto him.* One mighty in power, endued with understanding, taught *it* him:[m] and he appeared[n] in the highest part of the horizon. Afterwards he approached *the prophet,*[o] and drew near *unto him;* until he was at the

[e] See chapter 16, p. 199, &c.

[f] See chapter 8, p. 128, &c.

[g] This was one of the judgments which the idolatrous Meccans defied Mohammed to bring down upon them; and yet, says the text, if they should see a part of the heaven falling on them, they would not believe it till they were crushed to death by it.[1]

[h] *i.e.*, At the first sound of the trumpet.[2]

[i] That is, besides the punishment to which they shall be doomed at the day of judgment, they shall be previously chastised by calamities in this life, as the slaughter at Bedr, and the seven years' famine, and also after their death, by the examination of the sepulchre.[3]

[k] Some suppose the stars in general, and others the Pleiades in particular, to be meant in this place.

[l] Or, according to a contrary signification of the verb here used, *when it riseth.*

[m] Namely, the angel Gabriel.

[n] In his natural form, in which GOD created him, and in the eastern part of the sky. It is said that this angel appeared in his proper shape to none of the prophets, except Mohammed, and to him only twice: once when he received the first revelation of the Koran, and a second time when he took his night journey to heaven; as it follows in the text.

[o] In a human shape.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 64. [3] Al Beidâwi.

distance of two bows' length[p] *from him*, or yet nearer: and he revealed unto his servant that which he revealed. The heart *of Mohammed* did not falsly represent that which he saw.[q] Will ye therefore dispute with him concerning that which he saw? He also saw him another time, by the lote-tree beyond which there is no passing:[r] near it is the garden of *eternal* abode. When the lote-tree covered that which it covered,[s] *his* eyesight turned not aside, neither did it wander: and he really beheld *some* of the greatest signs of his LORD.[t] What think ye of Allât, and al Uzza, and Manah, that other third *goddess*?[u] Have ye male children, and *God* female?[x] This, therefore, *is* an unjust partition. They are no other than *empty* names, which ye and your fathers have named *goddesses*. GOD hath not revealed concerning them anything to authorize *their worship*. They follow no other than a vain opinion, and what *their* souls desire: yet hath the *true* direction come unto them from their LORD. Shall man have whatever he wisheth for?[y] The life to come and the present life *are* GOD'S: and how many angels soever *there be* in the heavens, their intercession shall be of no avail, until after GOD shall have granted permission unto whom he shall please and shall accept. Verily they who believe not in the life to come give unto the angels a female appellation. But they have no knowledge herein: they follow no other than a bare opinion; and a bare opinion attaineth not anything of truth. Wherefore withdraw from him who turneth away from our admonition, and seeketh only the present life. This *is* their highest pitch of knowledge. Verily thy LORD well knoweth him who erreth from his way, and he well knoweth him who is *rightly* directed. Unto GOD *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and earth: that he may reward those who do evil, according to that which they shall have wrought; and may reward those who do well, with the most excellent *reward*. As to those who avoid great crimes and heinous sins, *and are guilty* only *of* lighter faults; verily thy LORD *will be* extensive in mercy *towards them*. He well knew you when he produced you out of the earth, and when ye *were* embryos in your mothers' wombs: wherefore justify not yourselves: he best knoweth *the man* who feareth *him*. What thinkest thou of him who turneth aside *from following the truth*,

[p] Or, as the word also signifies, *two cubits' length*.

[q] But he saw it in reality.

[r] This tree, say the commentators, stands in the seventh heaven, on the right hand of the throne of GOD; and is the utmost bounds beyond which the angels themselves must not pass; or, as some rather imagine, beyond which no creature's knowledge can extend.

[s] The words seem to signify that what was under this tree exceeded all description and number. Some suppose the whole host of angels worshipping beneath it[1] are intended, and others the birds which sit on its branches.[2]

[t] Seeing the wonders both of the sensible and the intellectual world.[3]

[u] Those were three idols of the ancient Arabs, of which we have spoken in the Preliminary Discourse.[4]

As to the blasphemy which some pretend Mohammed once uttered, through inadvertence, as he was reading this passage, see chapter 22, p. 255.

[x] See chapter 16, p. 109, &c.

[y] *i.e.*, Shall he dictate to GOD, and name whom he pleases for his intercessors, or for his prophet; or shall he choose a religion according to his own fancy, and prescribe the terms of which he may claim the reward of this life and the next?[5]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Jallalo'ddin. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Sect. I. p. 14, &c. [5] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

and giveth little, and covetously stoppeth his hand?[a] *Is* the knowledge of futurity with him, so that he seeth *the same?*[a] Hath he not been informed of that which *is contained* in the books of Moses, and of Abraham who faithfully performed *his engagements? To wit:* that a burdened *soul* shall not bear the burden of another; and that nothing *shall be imputed* to a man *for righteousness*, except his own labour; and that his reward shall surely be made manifest hereafter, and *that* he shall be rewarded for the same with a most abundant reward; and that unto thy LORD *will be* the end *of all things*, and that he causeth to laugh, and causeth to weep, and that he putteth to death, and giveth life, and that he createth the two sexes, the male and the female, of seed when it is emitted; and that unto him *appertaineth* another production, *namely, the raising of the dead again to life hereafter*, and that he enricheth, and causeth to acquire possession, and that he is the LORD of the dog-star,[b] and that he destroyed the ancient *tribe of* Ad and Thamud, and left not *any of them* alive, and also the people of Noah, before *them*, for they were most unjust and wicked: and he overthrew the *cities which were* turned upside down,[c] and that which covered *them*, covered them. Which, therefore, of thy LORD'S benefits, *O man*, wilt thou call in question? This *our apostle* is a preacher like the preachers who preceded *him*. The approaching *day of judgment* draweth near: there is none who can reveal *the exact time of* the same, besides GOD. Do ye, therefore, wonder at this new revelation; and do ye laugh, and not weep, spending your time in idle diversions? But rather worship GOD, and serve *him*.

CHAPTER LIV.

ENTITLED, THE MOON, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE hour *of judgment* approacheth, and the moon hath been split in sunder:[d] but if *the unbelievers* see a sign, they turn aside,

[a] This passage, it is said, was revealed on account of al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, who, following the prophet one day, was reviled by an idolater for leaving the religion of the Koreish, and giving occasion of scandal, to which he answered, that what he did was out of apprehension of the divine vengeance: whereupon the man offered, for a certain sum, to take the guilt of his apostacy on himself, and the bargain being made, al Walid returned to his idolatry, and paid the man part of what had been agreed on, but afterwards, on farther consideration, he thought it too much, and kept back the remainder.[6]

[a] That is, is he assured that the person with whom he made the above-mentioned agreement will be allowed to suffer in his stead hereafter?[7]

[b] Sirius, or the greater dog star, was worshipped by some of the old Arabs.[1]

[c] viz., Sodom, and the other cities involved in her ruin. See chapter 11, p. 166.

[d] This passage is expounded two different ways. Some imagine the words refer to a famous miracle supposed to have been performed by Mohammed, for it is said that, on the infidels

[6] Al Beidâwi. [7] Idem. [1] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. I. p. 13, and Hyde, not. in Ulug Beig Tab. Stell. fix. p. 53.

saying, *This is* a powerful charm.[e] And they accuse *thee, O Mohammed,* of imposture, and follow their own lusts: but everything *will be* immutably fixed.[f] And now hath a message[g] come unto them, wherein *is* a determent *from obstinate infidelity; the same being* consummate wisdom; but warners profit *them* not; wherefore do thou withdraw from them. The day whereon the summoner shall summon *mankind* to an ungrateful business,[h] they shall come forth from *their* graves with downcast looks: *numerous* as locusts scattered far abroad; hastening with terror unto the summoner. The unbelievers shall say, This is a day of distress. The people of Noah accused *that prophet* of imposture, before *thy people rejected thee:* they accused our servant of imposture, saying, *He is* a madman; and he was rejected with reproach. He called, therefore, upon his LORD, *saying,* Verily, I *am* overpowered; wherefore avenge *me.*[i] So we opened the gates of heaven, with water pouring down, and we caused the earth to break forth into springs, so that the water *of heaven and earth* met, according to the decree which had been established. And we bare him on *a vessel* composed of planks and nails; which moved forward under our eyes[k] as a recompence unto him who had been ungratefully rejected. And we left the *said vessel* for a sign: but *is* any one warned *thereby?* And how *severe* was my vengeance and my threatening! Now have we made the Korân easy for admonition: but *is* any one admonished *thereby?* Ad charged *their prophet* with imposture: but how *severe* was my vengeance and my threatening! Verily we sent against them a roaring[l] wind, on a day of continued ill luck:[m] it carried men away, as though they *had been* roots of palm-trees forcibly torn up.[n] And how *severe* was my vengeance and my threatening! Now have we made the Korân easy for admonition: but *is* any one admonished *thereby?* Thamud charged the admonitions *of their prophet* with falsehood, and said, Shall we follow a single man among us? verily we should then be guilty of error and preposterous madness: is the *office of*

demanding a sign of him, the moon appeared cloven in two,[1] one part vanishing, and the other remaining; and Ebn Masúd affirmed that he saw Mount Hara interpose between the two sections. Others think the preter tense is here used in the prophetic style for the future, and that the passage should be rendered, *The moon shall be split in sunder;* for this, they say, is to happen at the resurrection. The former opinion is supported by reading, according to some copies, *wakad inshakka 'lkamaro, i.e., since the moon hath already been split in sunder;* the splitting of the moon being reckoned by some to be one of the previous signs of the last day.[2]

[e] Or, as the participle here used may also signify, *a continued series of magic,* or *a transient magic illusion.*

[f] Or will reach a final period of ruin or success in this world, and of misery or happiness in the next, which will be conclusive and unchangeable thenceforward for ever.[3]

[g] *i.e.*, The Korân, containing stories of former nations which have been chastised for their incredulity, and threats of a more dreadful punishment hereafter.

[h] That is, when the angel Israfil shall call men to judgment.

[i] This petition was not preferred by Noah till after he had suffered repeated violence from his people; for it is related that one of them having fallen upon him and almost strangled him, when he came to himself he said, O LORD, *forgive them, for they know not what they do.*[4]

[k] *i.e.*, Under our special regard and keeping.

[l] Or, a *cold* wind.

[m] *viz.*, On a Wednesday. See chapter 41, p. 356, note.[*]

[n] It is related that they sought shelter in the clefts of rocks, and in pits, holding fast by one another; but that the wind impetuously tore them away, and threw them down dead.[5]

[1] See a long and ludicrous account of this pretended miracle in Gagnier, Vie de Mah. c. 19.
[2] Al Zamakh., al Beidâwi. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] Idem. [5] Idem.

admonition committed unto him *preferably to the rest* of us? Nay; he is a liar *and* an insolent fellow. *But God said to Saleh,* To-morrow shall they know who *is* the liar *and* the insolent person: for we will surely send the she-camel for a trial of them;[o] and do thou observe them, and bear *their insults* with patience. and prophesy unto them that the water *shall be* divided between them,[p] and each portion *shall be* sat down to *alternately*. And they called their companion[q] and he took *a sword,*[r] and slew *her*. But how *severe* was my vengeance and my threatening! For we sent against them one cry *of the angel Gabriel*, and they became like the dry sticks used by him who buildeth a fold *for cattle*.[s] And now have we made the Korân easy for admonition: but *is* any one admonished *thereby*? The people of Lot charged *his* preaching with falsehood: but we sent against them *a wind* driving a shower of stones, *which destroyed them all* except the family of Lot; whom we delivered early in the morning, through favour from us. Thus do we reward those who are thankful. And *Lot* had warned them of our severity *in chastising*, but they doubted of that warning. And they demanded his guests of him, *that they might abuse them* but we put out their eyes,[t] *saying*, Taste my vengeance, and my threatening. And early in the morning a lasting punishment[u] surprised them. Taste, therefore, my vengeance, and my threatening Now have we made the Korân easy for admonition but *is* any one admonished *thereby*? The warning *of Moses* also came unto the people of Pharaoh, *but* they charged every one of our signs with imposture. wherefore we chastised them with a mighty *and* irresistible chastisement. Are your unbelievers, *O Meccans*, better than these? Is immunity from punishment *promised* unto you in the scriptures? Do they say, We are a body *of men* able to prevail *against our enemies*? The multitude shall surely be put to flight, and shall turn *their* back.[x] But the hour *of judgment is* their threatened time *of punishment*[y] and that hour *shall be* more grievous and more bitter *than their afflictions in this life* Verily the wicked *wander* in error, and *shall be tormented hereafter* in burning flames On that day they shall be dragged into the fire on their faces; *and it shall be said unto them*, Taste ye the touch of hell All things have we created *bound* by a fixed decree and our command *is* no more than a single *word*,[z] like the twinkling of an eye. We have

[o] See chapter 7, p 112, &c

[p] That is, between the Thamudites and the camel See chapter 26, p 280, note [f]

[q] Namely, Kodâr Ebn Salef, who was not an Arab, but a stranger dwelling among the Thamudites See chapter 7, p 112, note [k]

[r] Or, as the word also imports, *He became resolute and daring*

[s] The words may signify either the dry boughs with which in the east, they make folds or enclosures, to fence their cattle from wind and cold, or the stubble and other stuff with which they litter them in those folds during the winter season

[t] So that their sockets became filled up even with the other parts of their faces This, it is said, was done by one stroke of the wing of the angel Gabriel See chapter 11, p 166

[u] Under which they shall continue till they receive their full punishment in hell

[x] This prophecy was fulfilled by the overthrow of the Koreish at Bedr It is related, from a tradition of Omar, that when this passage was revealed, Mohammed professed himself to be ignorant of its true meaning, but on the day of the battle of Bedr, he repeated these words as he was putting on his coat of mail [1]

[y] *i e*, The time when they shall receive their full punishment; what they suffer in this world being only the forerunner or earnest of what they shall feel in the next.

[z] *viz*, *Kun*, *i e*, *Be* The passage may also be rendered, *The execution of our purpose is*

[1] Al Beidâwi.

formerly destroyed *nations* like unto you; but *is* any *of you* warned *by their example*? Everything which they do *is recorded* in the books *kept by the guardian angels*: and every *action, both* small and great, *is* written down *in the preserved table*. Moreover the pious *shall dwell* among gardens and rivers, in the assembly of truth, in the presence of a most potent king.

CHAPTER LV.

ENTITLED, THE MERCIFUL; REVEALED AT MECCA.[a]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

THE Merciful hath taught *his servant* the Korân. He created man: he hath taught him distinct speech. The sun and the moon *run their courses* according to a certain rule and the vegetables which creep on the ground, and the trees submit *to his disposition*. He also raised the heaven; and he appointed the balance,[b] that ye should not transgress in respect to the balance wherefore observe a just weight, and diminish not the balance. And the earth hath he prepared for living creatures therein *are various* fruits, and palm-trees bearing sheaths of flowers, and grain having chaff, and leaves. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny?[c] He created man of dried clay like an earthen vessel but he created the genii of fire clear from smoke Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? *He is* the LORD of the east, and the LORD of the west[d] Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? He hath let loose the two seas,[e] that they meet each other · between them *is placed* a bar which they cannot pass. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? From them are taken forth unions and lesser pearls. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? His also *are* the ships, carrying their sails aloft in the sea, like mountains. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Every *creature* which *liveth* on *the earth is* subject to decay: but the glorious and

but a single act, exerted in a moment Some suppose it refers to the business of the day of judgment[1]

[a] Most of the commentators doubt whether this chapter was revealed at Mecca or at Medina, or partly at the one place, and partly at the other

[b] Or justice and equity in mutual dealings

[c] The words are directed to the two species of rational creatures, men and genii; the verb and the pronoun being in the dual number

This verse is intercalated, or repeated by way of burden, throughout the whole chapter no less than thirty-one times, which was done, as Marracci guesses, in imitation of David[2]

[d] The original words are both in the dual number, and signify the different points of the horizon at which the sun rises and sets at the summer and winter solstice See chapter 37, p 334, note[c]

[e] Of salt water and fresh;[3] or the Persian and Mediterranean seas.[4]

[1] Idem. [2] See Psalm cxxxvi. [3] See cap. 25, p. 274. [4] Al Beidâwi.

honourable countenance of thy LORD shall remain *for ever.* Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Unto him do all *creatures* which *are* in heaven and earth make petition. every day *is* he *employed* in *some new* work.[f] Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? We will surely attend to *judge* you, O men and genii, *at the last day.* Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? O ye collective body of genii and men, if ye be able to pass out of the confines of heaven and earth,[g] pass forth: ye shall not pass forth but by absolute power. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? A flame of fire without smoke, and a smoke without flame[h] shall be sent down upon you, and ye shall not be able to defend yourselves *therefrom.* Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? And when the heaven shall be rent in sunder, and shall become *red as* a rose, *and shall melt* like ointment[i] (Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) On that day neither man nor genius shall be asked concerning his sin.[k] Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? The wicked shall be known by their marks?[l] and they shall be taken by the forelocks and the feet, *and shall be cast into hell.* Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? This *is* hell, which the wicked deny as a falsehood: they shall pass to and fro between the same and hot boiling water.[m] Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? But for him who dreadeth the tribunal of his LORD, *are prepared* two gardens.[n] (Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) Planted with shady trees. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *shall be* two fountains flowing. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *shall there be* of every fruit two kinds.[o] Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof *shall be* of thick silk interwoven with gold: and the fruit of the two gardens *shall be* near at hand *together.*[p] Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Therein *shall receive them beauteous*

[f] In executing those things which he hath decreed from eternity, by giving life and death, raising one and abasing another, hearing prayers and granting petitions, &c.[5]

[g] To fly from the power and to avoid the decree of GOD.

[h] Or, as the word also signifies, molten brass, which shall be poured on the heads of the damned.

[i] Or, *shall appear like red leather*, according to a different signification of the original word.

[k] For their crimes will be known by their different marks, as it follows in the text. This, says al Beidâwi, is to be understood of the time when they shall be raised to life, and shall be led towards the tribunal: for when they come to trial, they will then undergo an examination, as is declared in several places of the Korân.

[l] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 65, &c.

[m] For the only respite they shall have from the flames of hell, will be when they are suffered to go to drink this scalding liquor. See chapter 37, p. 536.

[n] *i. e.*, One distinct paradise for men, and another for genii: or, as some imagine, two gardens for each person, one as a reward due to his works, and the other as a free and superabundant gift, &c.

[o] Some being known, and like the fruits of the earth, and others of new and unknown species, or fruits both green and ripe.

[p] So that a man may reach them as he sits or lies down.

[5] Idem, Jallalo'ddin.

damsels, refraining their eyes *from beholding any besides their spouses*, whom no man shall have deflowered before them, neither any genius. (Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) *Having complexions* like rubies and pearls. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? *Shall* the reward of good works *be* any other than good? Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? And besides these *there shall be* two *other* gardens.[q] (Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) Of a dark green.[r] Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *shall be* two fountains pouring forth plenty of water. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? In each of them *shall be* fruits, and palm-trees, and pomegranates. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Therein *shall be* agreeable and beauteous *damsels*. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Having fine black eyes, *and* kept in pavilions *from public view*. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Whom no man shall have deflowered, before *their destined spouses*, nor any genius. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? *Therein shall they delight themselves*, lying on green cushions and beautiful carpets. Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? Blessed be the name of thy LORD, possessed of glory and honour!

CHAPTER LVI.

ENTITLED, THE INEVITABLE, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the inevitable[s] *day of judgment* shall suddenly come, no *soul* shall charge *the prediction of* its coming with falsehood. It will abase *some*, and exalt *others*. When the earth shall be shaken with a violent shock, and the mountains shall be dashed in pieces, and shall become *as* dust scattered abroad, and ye shall be *separated into* three *distinct* classes: the companions of the right hand (how *happy shall* the companions of the right hand *be*!), and the companions of the left hand[t] (how *miserable shall* the companions of the left hand *be*!), and

[q] For the inferior classes of the inhabitants of paradise.

From hence, says al Beidâwi, it may be inferred that these gardens will chiefly produce herbs or the inferior sorts of vegetables, whereas the former will be planted chiefly with fruit trees. The following part of this description also falls short of that of the other gardens, prepared for the superior classes.

[s] The original word, the force whereof cannot well be expressed by a single one in English, signifies a calamitous accident, which falls surely and with sudden violence, and is therefore made use of here to design the day of judgment.

[t] That is, the blessed and the damned, who may be thus distinguished here, because the books wherein their actions are registered will be delivered into the right hands of the former

those who have preceded *others in the faith*, shall precede *them to paradise*.[u] These are they who shall approach near *unto God: they shall dwell* in gardens of delight. (*There shall be* many of the former *religions*; and few of the last.[x]) Reposing on couches adorned with gold and precious stones; sitting opposite to one another thereon.[y] Youths which shall continue *in their bloom* for ever, shall go round about *to attend* them, with goblets, and beakers, and a cup of flowing *wine:* their heads shall not ache by *drinking* the same, neither shall their reason be disturbed. and with fruits of the *sorts* which they shall choose, and the flesh of birds of the *kind* which they shall desire. And *there shall accompany them* fair damsels having large black eyes; resembling pearls hidden *in their shells*. as a reward for that which they shall have wrought. They shall not hear therein any vain discourse, or any charge of sin; but only the salutation, Peace! Peace! And the companions of the right hand (how *happy shall* the companions of the right hand *be!*) *shall have their abode* among lote-trees free from thorns, and trees of mauz[z] loaded regularly *with their produce* from top to bottom; *under* an extended shade, *near* a flowing water,[a] and *amidst* fruits in abundance, which shall not fail, nor shall be forbidden *to be gathered* and *they shall repose themselves* on lofty beds.[b] Verily we have created *the damsels of paradise* by *a peculiar* creation[c] and we have made them virgins,[d] beloved by their husbands, of equal age *with them;* for *the delight of* the companions of the right hand *There shall be* many of the former *religions*, and many of the latter.[e] And the

and into the left hands of the latter,[1] though the words translated *right hand* and *left hand* do also signify *happiness* and *misery*

[u] Either the first converts to Mohammedism, or the prophets, who were the respective leaders of their people, or any persons who have been eminent examples of piety and virtue, may be here intended The original word literally rendered are, *The leaders the leaders* which repetition, as some suppose, was designed to express the dignity of these persons and the certainty of their future glory and happiness[2]

[x] *i e*, There shall be more *leaders*, who have preceded others in faith and good works, among the followers of the several prophets from Adam down to Mohammed, than of the followers of Mohammed himself[3]

[y] See chapter 25, p 193 note[a]

[z] The original word *Talh* is the name, not only of the mauz,[1] but also of a very tall and thorny tree, which bears abundance of flowers of an agreeable smell,[2] and seems to be the Acacia

[a] Which shall be conveyed in channels to such places and in such manner as every one shall desire[3] Al Beidâwi observes that the condition of the few who have preceded others in faith and good works, is represented by whatever may render a city life agreeable, and that the condition of the companions of the right hand, or the generality of the blessed, is represented by those things which make the principal pleasure of a country life, and that this is done to show the difference of the two conditions

[b] The word translated *beds*, signifies also, by way of metaphor, *wives or concubines*, and if the latter sense be preferred, the passage may be rendered thus, *And they shall enjoy damsels raised on lofty couches, whom we have created*, &c

[c] Having created them purposely of finer materials than the females of this world, and subject to none of those inconveniences which are natural to the sex[4] Some understand this passage of the beatified women, who, though they died old and ugly, shall yet be restored to their youth and beauty in paradise[5]

[d] For how often soever their husbands shall go in unto them, they shall always find them virgins

[e] Father Marracci thinks this to be a manifest contradiction to what is said above, *There shall be many of the former and few of the latter* but al Beidâwi obviates such an objection, by observing that the preceding passage speaks of the *leaders* only, and those who have preceded others in faith and good works, and the passage before us speaks of the righteous of

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem [3] Idem [1] See p 338 [2] Vide J Leon Descript Africæ, l 9 [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See the Prelim Disc Sect IV p. 75, &c [5] See ibid p. 80.

companions of the left hand (how *miserable shall* the companions of the left hand *be!*) *shall dwell* amidst burning winds,[f] and scalding water, under the shade of a black smoke, neither cool nor agreeable. For they enjoyed the pleasures of life before this, *while on earth*, and obstinately persisted in a heinous wickedness: and they said, After we shall have died, and become dust and bones, *shall* we surely *be* raised to life? *Shall* our forefathers also *be raised with us?* Say, Verily both the first and the last shall surely be gathered together *to judgment*, at the prefixed time of a known day. Then ye, *O men*, who have erred, *and* denied *the resurrection* as a falsehood, shall surely eat of *the fruit of* the tree of al Zakkum, and shall fill *your* bellies therewith, and ye shall drink thereon boiling water, and ye shall drink as a thirsty camel drinketh. This *shall be* their entertainment on the day of judgment. We have created you: will ye not therefore believe *that we can raise you from the dead?* What think ye? The *seed* which ye emit, do ye create the same, or *are* we the creators *thereof?* We have decreed death unto you *all*: and we shall not be prevented. *We are able* to substitute *others* like unto you *in your stead*, and to produce you *again* in the *condition or form* which ye know not. Ye know the original production *by creation*; will ye not therefore consider *that we are able to reproduce you by resuscitation?* What think ye? The *grain* which ye sow, do ye cause the same to spring forth, or do we cause *it* to spring forth? If we pleased, verily we could render the same dry and fruitless, *so that* ye would not cease to wonder,[g] *saying*, Verily we have contracted debts[h] *for seed and labour*; but we are not permitted[i] *to reap the fruit thereof*. What think ye? The water which ye drink, do ye send down the same from the clouds, or *are* we the senders *thereof?* If we pleased, we could render the same brackish: Will ye not therefore give thanks? What think ye? The fire which ye strike, do ye produce the tree *whence ye obtain* the same,[k] or *are* we the producers *thereof?* We have ordained the same for an admonition,[l] and an advantage unto those who travel through the deserts. Wherefore praise the name of thy LORD, the great *God*. Moreover I swear[m] by the setting of the stars (and it *is* surely a great oath, if ye knew *it*), that this *is* the excellent Korân, *the original whereof is written* in the preserved book: none shall touch the same, except those who are clean.[n] *It is* a revelation from the LORD of all creatures. Will ye, therefore, despise this new revelation? And do ye make *this return for* your food *which ye receive*

inferior merit and degree, so that though there be many of both sorts, yet there may be few of one sort, comparatively speaking, in respect to the other.

[f] Which shall penetrate into the passages of their bodies.

[g] Or *to repent* of your time and labour bestowed to little purpose, &c.

[h] Or, *We are undone*.

[i] Or, *We are unfortunate wretches*, who are denied the necessaries of life.

[k] See chapter 36, p. 334, note b.

[l] To put men in mind of the resurrection,[1] which the production of fire in some sort resembles; or, of the fire of hell.[2]

[m] The particle *la* is generally supposed to be intensive in this place; but if it be taken for a negative, the words must be translated, *I will not* or *do not swear*, because what is here asserted is too manifest to need the confirmation of an oath.[3]

[n] Or, *Let none touch the same*, &c. Purity both of body and mind being requisite in him who would use this book with the respect he ought, and hopes to edify by it: for which reason these words are usually written on the cover.[4]

[1] See cap. 36, p. 334. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem. [4] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. III. p. 56.

from God, that ye deny *yourselves to be obliged to him for the same?*[o] When *the soul of a dying person* cometh up to *his* throat, and ye at the same time are looking on (and we are nigher unto him than ye, but ye see not *his true condition*): would ye not, if ye are not to be rewarded *for your actions hereafter*, cause the same to return *into the body*, if ye speak truth?[p] And whether he be of those who shall approach near *unto God*,[q] *his reward shall be* rest, and mercy, and a garden of delights: or whether he be of the companions of the right hand, *he shall be saluted with the salutation*, Peace be unto thee! by the companions of the right hand *his brethren*: or whether he be of those who have rejected *the true faith, and* gone astray, *his* entertainment *shall consist* of boiling water, and the burning of hell *fire*. Verily this *is* a certain truth. Wherefore praise the name of thy LORD, the great *God*.

CHAPTER LVII.

ENTITLED, IRON;[r] REVEALED AT MECCA, OR AT MEDINA.[s]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHATEVER *is* in heaven and earth singeth praise unto GOD; and he *is* mighty *and* wise. His *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth; he giveth life, and he putteth to death, and he *is* almighty. He *is* the first and the last; the manifest and the hidden: and he knoweth all things. *It is* he who created the heavens and the earth in six days; and then ascended *his* throne. He knoweth that which entereth into the earth, and that which issueth out of the same, and that which descendeth from heaven, and that which ascendeth thereto: and he *is* with you wheresoever ye be: for GOD seeth that which ye do. His *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and unto GOD shall *all* things return. He causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night; and he knoweth the innermost part of *men's* breasts. Believe in GOD and his apostle, and lay out *in alms* a part of the *wealth* whereof GOD hath made you inheritors: for unto such of you as believe, and bestow alms, *shall be given* a great reward. And what aileth you, that ye believe not in GOD, when the apostle inviteth

[o] By ascribing the rains, which fertilize your lands, to the influence of the stars.[5] Some copies instead of *rezkacom*, i.e., *your food*, read *shocracom*, i.e. *your gratitude*, and then the passage may be rendered thus, *And do ye make this return of gratitude*, for God's revealing the Korân, *that ye reject* the same *as a fiction*?

[p] The meaning of this obscure passage is, if ye shall not be obliged to give an account of your actions at the last day, as by your denying the resurrection ye seem to believe, cause the soul of the dying person to return into his body; for ye may as easily do that as avoid the general judgment.[6]

[q] That is, of the *leaders*, or first professors of the faith.

[r] The word occurs toward the end of the chapter.

[s] It is uncertain which of the two places was the scene of revelation of this chapter.

[5] See ibid. Sect. I. p. 24. [6] Jallal. al Beidâwi.

you to believe in your LORD; and he hath received your covenant[t] *concerning this matter*, if ye believe *any proposition?* *It is* he who hath sent down unto his servant evident signs, that he may lead you out of darkness into light; for GOD *is* compassionate *and* merciful unto you. And what aileth you, that ye contribute not *of your substance* for the defence of GOD'S true religion? Since unto GOD *appertaineth* the inheritance of heaven and earth. Those among you who shall have contributed and fought *in defence of the faith*, before the taking *of Mecca*, shall not be held equal *with those who shall contribute and fight for the same afterwards.*[u] These shall be superior in degree unto those who shall contribute and fight *for the propagation of the faith* after *the above-mentioned success:* but unto all hath GOD promised a most excellent *reward*, and GOD well knoweth that which ye do. Who *is* he that will lend unto GOD an acceptable loan? for he will double the same unto him, and he shall receive *moreover* an honourable reward. On a *certain* day, thou shalt see the true believers of both sexes: their light shall run before them, and on their right hands,[x] *and it shall be said unto them*, Good tidings unto you this day, gardens through which rivers flow, *ye* shall remain therein for ever. This will be great felicity. On that day the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women shall say unto those who believe, Stay for us,[y] that we may borrow *some* of your light It shall be answered, Return back *into the world*, and seek light. And a high wall shall be set betwixt them, wherein *shall be* a gate, within which *shall be* mercy; and without it, over against the same, the torment *of hell*. The *hypocrites* shall call out unto *the true believers, saying*, Were we not with you? They shall answer, Yea; but ye seduced your own souls *by your hypocrisy*. and ye waited *our ruin*, and ye doubted *concerning the faith*, and *your* wishes deceived you, until the decree of GOD came, *and ye died*, and the deceiver deceived you concerning GOD. This day, therefore, a ransom shall not be accepted of you, nor of those who have been unbelievers Your abode *shall be hell* fire this *is* what ye have deserved; and an unhappy journey *shall it be thither!* Is not the time yet come unto those who believe, that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of GOD, and to that truth which hath been revealed, and that they be not as those unto whom the scripture was given heretofore, and to whom the time *of forbearance* was prolonged, but their hearts were hardened, and many of them *were* wicked doers? Know that GOD quickeneth the earth, after it hath been dead. Now have we distinctly declared *our* signs unto you, that ye may understand. Verily *as to* the almsgivers, both men and women, and *those who* lend unto GOD an acceptable loan, he will double the same unto them, and they shall *moreover* receive an honourable reward. And they who believe in GOD and his apostles, these are the men of veracity, and the witnesses in the presence of their LORD they *shall have* their reward and their light. But *as to* those who believe not, and accuse our signs

[t] That is, ye are obliged to believe in him by the strongest arguments and motives

[u] Because afterwards there was not so great necessity for either, the Mohammedan religion being firmly established by that great success

[x] One light leading them the right way to paradise, and the other proceeding from the book wherein their actions are recorded, which they will hold in their right hand.

[y] For the righteous will hasten to paradise swift as lightning

of falsehood, they *shall be* the companions of hell. Know that this present life *is* only a toy and a vain amusement: and *worldly* pomp, and the affectation of glory among you, and the multiplying of riches and children, *are* as the plants nourished by the rain, the springing up whereof delighteth the husbandmen; afterwards they wither, so that thou seest the same turn yellow, and at length they become dry stubble. And in the life to come *will be* a severe punishment *for those who covet worldly grandeur;* and pardon from GOD, and favour *for those who renounce it.* for this present life *is* no other than a deceitful provision. Hasten with emulation to *obtain* pardon from your LORD, and paradise, the extent whereof equalleth the extent of heaven and earth, prepared for those who believe in GOD and his apostles This *is* the bounty of GOD, he will give the same unto whom he pleaseth; and God is endued with great bounty. No accident happeneth in the earth, nor in your persons, but *the same was entered* in the book *of our decrees,* before we created it verily this *is* easy with GOD: *and this is written* lest ye *immoderately* grieve for the *good* which escapeth you, or rejoice for that which happeneth unto you, for GOD loveth no proud *or* vain-glorious person, *or those* who are covetous, and command men covetousness. And who so turneth aside *from giving alms,* verily GOD *is* self-sufficient, worthy to be praised We formerly sent our apostles with evident *miracles and arguments,* and we sent down with them the scriptures and the balance,[z] that men might observe justice and we sent *them* down iron,[a] wherein is mighty strength for war,[b] and *various* advantages unto mankind that GOD may know who assisteth him and his apostles in secret,[c] for GOD *is* strong *and* mighty We formerly sent Noah and Abraham, and we established in their posterity the gift of prophecy, and the scripture and of them *some were* directed, but many of them *were* evil-doers Afterwards we caused our apostles to succeed in their footsteps; and we caused Jesus the son of Mary to succeed *them,* and we gave him the gospel and we put in the hearts of those who followed him, compassion and mercy but *as to* the monastic state, they instituted the same (we did not prescribe it to them) only out of a desire to please GOD; yet they observed not the same as it ought truly to be observed And we gave unto such of them as believed, their reward but many of them *were* wicked doers. O ye who believe *in the former prophets,*[d] fear GOD, and believe in his apostle *Mohammed:* he will give you two portions of his mercy,[e] and he will ordain you a light wherein ye may walk, and he will forgive you, for GOD *is* ready to forgive *and* merciful· that those who have received the

[z] *I. e.*, A rule of justice Some think that a balance was actually brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel to Noah, the use of which he was ordered to introduce among his people

[a] That is, we taught them how to dig the same from mines Al Zamakhshari adds that Adam is said to have brought down with him from paradise five things made of iron, viz, an anvil, a pair of tongs two hammers, a greater and a lesser, and a needle

[b] Warlike instruments and weapons being generally made of iron

[c] That is sincerely and heartily

[d] These words are directed to the Jews and Christians, or rather to the latter only

[e] One as a recompence for their believing in Mohammed, and the other as a recompence for their believing in the prophets who preceded him, for they will not lose the reward of their former religion, though it be now abrogated by the promulgation of Islâm[1]

[1] Al Beidâwi.

scriptures may know that they have not power over any of the favours of GOD,[f] and that good *is* in the hand of GOD; he bestoweth the same on whom he pleaseth, for GOD *is* endued with great beneficence.

CHAPTER LVIII.

ENTITLED, SHE WHO DISPUTED; REVEALED AT MEDINA.[g]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

(XXVIII.) NOW hath GOD heard the speech of her who disputed with thee concerning her husband, and made her complaint unto GOD,[h] and GOD hath heard your mutual discourse; for GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth. *As to* those among you who divorce their wives by declaring that they will thereafter regard them as their mothers; *let them know that* they *are* not their mothers. They only *are* their mothers who brought them forth,[i] and they certainly utter an unjustifiable saying, and a falsehood but GOD *is* gracious *and* ready to forgive. Those who divorce their wives by declaring that they will for the future regard them as their mothers, and afterwards would repair[k] what they have said, *shall be obliged* to free a captive,[l] before they touch one another This *is* what ye are warned *to perform*. and GOD *is* well apprised of that which ye do. And whoso findeth not *a captive to redeem, shall observe* a fast of two consecutive months, before they touch one another. And whoso shall not be able *to fast that time, shall* feed threescore poor men This *is ordained you*, that ye may believe in GOD and his apostle These *are* the statutes of GOD. and for the unbelievers *is prepared* a grievous torment. Verily they who oppose

[f] *i e*, That they cannot expect to receive any of the favours above mentioned, because they believe not in his apostle, and those favours are annexed to faith in him, or, that they have not power to dispose of GOD's favours, particularly of the greatest of them, the gift of prophecy so as to appropriate the same to whom they please [1]

[g] Some are of opinion that the first ten verses of this chapter, ending with these words, *and fear* GOD, *before whom ye shall be assembled*, were revealed at Mecca, and the rest at Medina [2]

[h] This was Khawla bint Thálaba, the wife of Aws Ebn al Sâmat, who, being divorced by her husband by a form in use among the Arabs in the time of ignorance, viz, by saying to her, *Thou art to me as the back of my mother*,[3] came to ask Mohammed's opinion whether they were necessarily obliged to a separation, and he told her that it was not lawful for her to cohabit with her husband any more to which she replying, that her husband had not put her away the prophet repeated his former decision, adding that such form of speaking was by general consent understood to imply a perpetual separation Upon this the woman, being greatly concerned because of the smallness of her children, went home, and uttered her complaint to GOD in prayer and thereupon this passage was revealed,[4] allowing a man to take his wife again, notwithstanding his having pronounced the above-mentioned form of divorce, on doing certain acts of charity or mortification, by way of penance

[i] And therefore no woman ought to be placed in the same degree of prohibition, except those whom GOD has joined with them, as nursing mothers, and the wives of the prophet [5]

[k] This seems to be here the true meaning of the original word, which properly signifies *to return*, and is variously expounded by the Mohammedan doctors

[l] Which captive, according to the most received decision, ought to be a true believer, as is ordered for the expiation of manslaughter [6]

[1] Idem [2] Idem. [3] See cap 33, p 312. [4] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, &c. [5] Al Beidâwi See cap 4, p 56, and cap. 33, p 319. [6] See cap 4, p. 64.

GOD and his apostle, shall be brought low, as *the unbelievers* who preceded them were brought low. And now have we sent down manifest signs: and an ignominious punishment awaiteth the unbelievers. On a *certain* day GOD shall raise them all to life, and shall declare unto them that which they have wrought. GOD hath taken an exact account thereof; but they have forgotten the same: and GOD *is* witness over all things. Dost thou not perceive that GOD knoweth whatever *is* in heaven and in earth? There is no private discourse among three persons, but he *is* the fourth of them, nor *among* five, but he *is* the sixth of them; neither *among* a smaller *number* than this, nor a larger, but he *is* with them, wheresoever they be and he will declare unto them that which they have done, on the day of resurrection; for GOD knoweth all things. Hast thou not observed those who have been forbidden to use clandestine discourse, but afterwards return to what they have been forbidden, and discourse privily among themselves of wickedness, and enmity, and disobedience towards the apostle?[m] And when they come unto thee, they salute thee with that *form of salutation* wherewith GOD doth not salute thee[n] and they say among themselves, *by way of derision*, would not GOD punish us for what we say, *if this man were a prophet?* Hell *shall be* their sufficient *punishment* they shall go down into the same to be burned, and an unhappy journey *shall it be!* O true believers, when ye discourse privily together, discourse not of wickedness, and enmity, and disobedience towards the apostle, but discourse of justice and piety: and fear GOD, before whom ye shall be assembled Verily the clandestine discourse *of the infidels proceedeth* from Satan, that he may grieve the true believers but there shall be none to hurt them in the least, unless by the permission of GOD; wherefore in GOD let the faithful trust. O true believers, when it is said unto you, Make room in the assembly; make room[o] GOD will grant you ample room *in paradise* And when it is said *unto you*, Rise up; rise up: GOD will raise those of you who believe, and those to whom knowledge is given, to *superior* degrees of *honour:* and GOD *is* fully apprised of that which ye do. O true believers, when ye go to speak with the apostle, give alms previously to your discoursing *with him:*[p] this *will be* better for you and more pure. But if ye find not *what to give*, verily GOD *will be* gracious *and* merciful *unto you*. Do ye fear to give alms previously to your discoursing *with the prophet, lest ye should impoverish yourselves?* Therefore if ye do *it* not, and GOD is gracious unto you, *by dispensing with the said precept for the future*, be constant at prayer, and pay the legal alms; and obey GOD and his apostle *in all other matters:* for GOD well knoweth that

[m] That is, the Jews and hypocritical Moslems, who caballed privately together against Mohammed, and made signs to one another when they saw the true believers, and this they continued to do notwithstanding they were forbidden

[n] It seems they used, instead of *Al salâm aleica, i e, Peace be upon thee*, to say, *Al sâm aleica, i e, Mischief on thee*, &c[1]

[o] In this passage the Moslems are commanded to give place, in the public assemblies, to the prophet and the more honourable of his companions, and not to press and crowd upon him, as they used to do, out of a desire of being near him, and hearing his discourse

[p] To show your sincerity, and to honour the apostle It is doubted whether this be a counsel or a precept, but, however, it continued but a very little while in force, being agreed on all hands to be abrogated by the following passage, *Do ye fear to give alms*, &c[2]

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem

which ye do. Hast thou not observed those who have taken for their friends a people against whom GOD is incensed?[q] They *are* neither of you nor of them:[r] and they swear to a lie[s] knowingly. GOD hath prepared for them a grievous punishment, for it is evil which they do. They have taken their oaths for a cloak, and they have turned *men* aside from the way of GOD: wherefore a shameful punishment awaiteth them; neither their wealth nor their children shall avail them at all against GOD. These *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire; they shall abide therein for ever. On a *certain* day GOD shall raise them all: then will they swear unto him, as they swear *now* unto you, imagining that it will be of service to them. Are they not liars? Satan hath prevailed against them, and hath caused them to forget the remembrance of GOD. These *are* the party of the devil: and *shall* not the party of the devil *be* doomed to perdition? Verily they who oppose GOD and his apostle, *shall be placed among* the most vile GOD hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles for GOD *is* strong *and* mighty. Thou shalt not find people who believe in GOD and the last day, to love him who opposeth GOD and his apostle, although they be their fathers, or their sons, or their brethren, or their nearest relations. In the hearts of these hath GOD written faith; and he hath strengthened them with his spirit. and he will lead them into gardens, beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever. GOD is well pleased in them, and they are well pleased in him. These are the party of GOD: and shall not the party of GOD prosper?

CHAPTER LIX.

ENTITLED, THE EMIGRATION,[t] REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHATEVER *is* in heaven and earth celebrateth the praise of GOD: and he *is* the mighty, the wise. *It was* he who caused those who believed not, of the people who receive the scripture, to depart from their habitations at the first emigration.[u] Ye did not think that

[q] *i e*, The Jews

[r] Being hypocrites, and wavering between the two parties

[s] *i e*, They have solemnly professed Islâm, which they believe not in their hearts.

[t] The original word signifies the quitting or removing from one's native country or settlement, to dwell elsewhere, whether it be by choice or compulsion

[u] The people here intended were the Jews of the tribe of al Nadir, who dwelt in Medina, and when Mohammed fled thither from Mecca, promised him to stand neuter between him and his opponents, and made a treaty with him to that purpose When he had gained the battle of Bedr, they confessed that he was the prophet described in the law but upon his receiving that disgrace at Ohod, they changed their note, and Caab Ebn al Ashraf, with forty horse, went and made a league with Abu Sofiân, which they confirmed by oath Upon this, Mohammed got Caab dispatched, and, in the fourth year of the Hejra, set forward against al Nadir, and besieged them in their fortress, which stood about three miles from Medina, for six days, at the end of which they capitulated, and were allowed to depart, on condition that they

they would go forth: and they thought that their fortresses would protect them against GOD. But *the chastisement of* GOD came upon them, from whence they did not expect; and he cast terror into their hearts. They pulled down their houses with their own hands,[x] and the hands of the true believers. Wherefore take example *from them*, O ye who have eyes. And if GOD had not doomed them to banishment, he had surely punished them in this world;[y] and in the world to come they shall suffer the torment of *hell* fire. This because they opposed GOD and his apostle: and whoso opposeth GOD, verily GOD *will be* severe in punishing *him*. What palm-trees ye cut down, or left standing on their roots, *were so cut down or left* by the will of GOD, and that he might disgrace the wicked doers. And *as to the spoils* of these *people* which GOD hath granted *wholly* to his apostle,[z] ye did not push forward any horses or camels against the same;[a] but GOD giveth unto his apostles dominion over whom he pleaseth: for GOD *is* almighty. *The spoils* of the inhabitants of the towns which GOD hath granted to his apostle, *are due* unto GOD and to the apostle, and him who is of kin *to the apostle*, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller; that they may not be *for ever divided* in a circle among such of you as are rich. What the apostle shall give you, that accept; and what he shall forbid you, *that* abstain from: and fear GOD; for GOD *is* severe in chastising. *A part also belongeth* to the poor Mohâjerîn,[b] who have been dispossessed of their houses and their substance, seeking favour from GOD, and *his* goodwill, and assisting GOD and his apostle. These are the men of veracity. And they who quietly possessed the town *of Medina*, and *professed* the faith *without molestation*, before them,[c] love

should entirely quit that place: and accordingly some of them went into Syria, and others to Khaibar and Hira.[1]

This was the *first emigration*, mentioned in the passage before us. The other happened several years after, in the reign of Omar, when that Khalif banished those who had settled at Khaibar, and obliged them to depart out of Arabia.[2]

Dr. Prideaux, speaking of Mohammed's obliging those of al Nadir to quit their settlements, says that a party of his men pursued those who fled into Syria, and having overtaken them, put them all to the sword, excepting only one man that escaped. *With such cruelty*, continues he, *did those barbarians first set up to fight for that imposture they had been deluded into*.[3] But a learned gentleman has already observed that this is all grounded on a mistake, which the doctor was led into by an imperfection in the printed edition of Elmacinus, where, after mentioning the expulsion of the Nadirites, are inserted some incoherent words relating to another action which happened the month before, and wherein seventy Moslems, instead of putting others to the sword, were surprised and put to the sword themselves, together with their leader al Mondar Ebn Omar, Caab Ebn Zeid alone escaping.[4]

[x] Doing what damage they could, that the Moslems might make the less advantage of what they were obliged to leave behind them.

[y] By delivering them up to slaughter and captivity, as he did those of Koreidha.

[z] It is remarkable that in this expedition the spoils were not divided according to the law given for that purpose in the Korân,[5] but were granted to the apostle, and declared to be entirely in his disposition. And the reason was, because the place was taken without the assistance of horse, which became a rule for the future.[6]

[a] For the settlement of those of al Nadir being so near Medina, the Moslems went all on foot thither, except only the prophet himself.[7]

[b] Wherefore Mohammed distributed those spoils among the Mohâjerîn, or those who had fled from Mecca, only, and gave no part thereof to the Ansârs, or those of Medina, except only to three of them, who were in necessitous circumstances.[8]

[c] That is, the Ansârs, who enjoyed their houses and the free exercise of their religion before the Hejra, while the converts of Mecca were persecuted and harassed by the idolaters.

[1] Al Beidâwi, Jallal. &c. Vide Abulf. Vit. Moh. c. 35. [2] Idem interp. [3] Prid. Life of Mah. p. 82. [4] Vide Gagnier, not. in Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 72. [5] Cap. 8, p. 130. [6] Vide Abulf. Vit. Moh. 91. [7] Al Beidâwi. [8] Idem. Vide Abulf. ubi sup. p. 72.

him who hath fled unto them, and find in their breasts no want of that which is given the *Mohâjerîn*,[d] but prefer *them* before themselves, although there be indigence among them. And whoso is preserved from the covetousness of his own soul, those shall surely prosper. And they who have come after them[e] say, O LORD, forgive us and our brethren who have preceded us in the faith, and put not into our hearts ill-will against those who have believed: O LORD, verily thou *art* compassionate *and* merciful Hast thou not observed them who play the hypocrites? They say unto their brethren who believe not, of those who have received the scriptures,[f] Verily if ye be expelled *your habitations*, we will surely go forth with you; and we will not pay obedience, in your respect, unto any one for ever: and if ye be attacked, we will certainly assist you. But GOD is witness that they *are* liars. Verily if they be expelled, they will not go forth with them; and if they be attacked, they will not assist them,[g] and if they do not assist them, they will surely turn their backs and they shall not be protected Verily ye *are* stronger *than they*, by reason of the terror *cast* into their breasts from GOD. This, because they *are* not people of prudence. They will not fight against you in a body, except in fenced towns, or from behind walls. Their strength in war among themselves *is* great.[h] thou thinkest them *to be* united; but their hearts are divided. This, because they *are* people who do not understand Like those who lately preceded them,[i] they have tasted the evil consequence of their deed; and a painful torment *is prepared* for them *hereafter*. *Thus have the hypocrites deceived the Jews:* like the devil, when he saith unto a man, Be thou an infidel; and when he is become an infidel, he saith, Verily I *am* clear of thee, for I fear GOD, the LORD of all creatures. Wherefore the end of them both shall be that they *shall dwell* in *hell* fire, abiding therein for ever and this *shall be* the recompence of the unjust. O true believers, fear GOD; and let a soul look what it sendeth before for the morrow,[k] and fear GOD, for GOD *is* well acquainted with that which ye do. And be not as those who have forgotten GOD, and whom he hath caused to forget their own souls these are the wicked doers The inhabitants of *hell* fire and the inhabitants of paradise shall not be held equal. The inhabitants of paradise are they who shall enjoy felicity. If we had sent down this Korân on a mountain, thou wouldst certainly have seen the same humble itself, and cleave in sunder for fear of GOD. These similitudes do we propose unto men, that they may consider. He *is* GOD, besides whom there is no GOD; who knoweth that which is future and that which is present: he *is* the most Merciful;

[d] *i e*, And bear them no grudge or envy on that account.

[e] The persons here meant seem to be those who fled from Mecca after Mohammed began to gain strength, and his religion had made a considerable progress.

[f] That is, the Jews of the tribe of al Nadîr.

[g] And it happened accordingly, for Ebn Obba and his confederates wrote to the Nadîrites to this purpose, but never performed their promise [1]

[h] *i e*, It is not their weakness or cowardice which makes them decline a field battle with you, since they show strength and valour enough in their wars with one another; but both fail them when they enter into the lists with GOD and his apostle

[i] viz., The idolaters who were slain at Bedr, or the Jews of Kainokâ, who were plundered and sent into exile before those of al Nadîr

[k] That is, for the next life, which may be called *the morrow*, as this present life may be called *to-day*.

[1] Al Beidâwi.

he *is* GOD, besides whom there is no GOD: the King, the Holy, the Giver of peace, the Faithful, the Guardian, the Powerful, the Strong, the most High. Far be GOD exalted above *the idols*, which they associate *with him!* He is GOD, the Creator, the Maker, the Former. He hath most excellent names[1] Whatever *is* in heaven and earth praiseth him and he *is* the Mighty, the Wise.

CHAPTER. LX.

ENTITLED, SHE WHO IS TRIED;[m] REVEALED AT MEDINA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

O TRUE believers, take not my enemy and your enemy for *your* friends,[n] showing kindness toward them; since they believe not in the truth which hath come unto you, having expelled the apostle and yourselves *from your native city*, because ye believe in GOD, your LORD If ye go forth to fight in defence of my religion, and out of a desire to please me, and privately show friendship unto them,[o] verily I well know that which ye conceal, and that which ye discover · and whoever of you doth this, hath already erred from the strait path. If they get the better of you, they will be enemies unto you, and they will stretch forth their hands and their tongues against you with evil: and they earnestly desire that ye should become unbelievers. Neither your kindred nor your children will avail you at all on the day of resurrection, which will separate you from one another and GOD seeth that which ye do. Ye have an excellent pattern in Abraham, and those who were with him, when they said unto their people, Verily we *are* clear of you, and of the *idols* which ye worship, besides GOD. we have renounced you; and enmity and hatred is begun between us and you for ever, until ye believe in GOD alone. except Abraham's saying unto

[1] See cap 7, p 123, note x

[m] This chapter bears this title because it directs the women who desert and come over from the infidels to the Moslems to be examined, and tried whether they be sincere in their profession of the faith

[n] This passage was revealed on account of Hateb Ebn Abi Balpaa, who understanding that Mohammed had a design to surprise Mecca, wrote a letter to the Koreish, giving them notice of the intended expedition, and advised them to be on their guard which letter he sent by Sarah, a maid-servant belonging to the family of Hashem The messenger had not been gone long before Gabriel discovered the affair to the prophet, who immediately sent after her, and having intercepted the letter, asked Hateb how he came to be guilty of such an action? To which he replied that it was not out of infidelity, or a desire to return to idolatry, but merely to induce the Koreish to treat his family, which was still at Mecca, with some kindness, adding that he was well assured his intelligence would be of no service at all to the Meccans, because he was satisfied GOD would take vengeance on them Whereupon Mohammed received his excuse and pardoned him, but it was thought proper to forbid any such practices for the future [1]

[o] The verb here used has also a contrary signification, according to which the words may be rendered, *and yet openly show friendship unto them.*

[1] Idem. Vide Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 1

his father, Verily I will beg pardon for thee;[p] but I cannot obtain ought of GOD in thy behalf. O LORD, in thee do we trust, and unto thee are we turned; and before thee shall we be assembled *hereafter*. O LORD, suffer us not to be put to trial by the unbelievers;[q] and forgive us, O LORD, for thou *art* mighty *and* wise. Verily ye have in them an excellent example, unto him who hopeth in GOD and the last day: and whoso turneth back; verily GOD *is* self-sufficient, *and* praiseworthy. Peradventure GOD will establish friendship between yourselves and such of them as ye *now* hold for enemies;[r] for GOD *is* powerful; and GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. As to those who have not borne arms against you on account of religion, nor turned you out of your dwellings, GOD forbiddeth you not to deal kindly with them, and to behave justly towards them;[s] for GOD loveth those who act justly. But as to those who have borne arms against you on account of religion, and have dispossessed you of your habitations, and have assisted in dispossessing you, GOD forbiddeth you to enter into friendship with them: and whosoever *of you* entereth into friendship with them, those are unjust doers. O true believers, when believing women come unto you as refugees, try them: GOD well knoweth their faith. And if ye know them *to be* true believers, send them not back to the infidels: they *are* not lawful for the *unbelievers to have in marriage*, neither are *the unbelievers* lawful for them. But give *their unbelieving husbands* what they shall have expended *for their dowers*.[t] Nor *shall it be* any crime in you if ye marry them, provided ye give them their dowries.[u] And retain not the patronage of the unbelieving *women*: but demand back that which ye have expended *for the dowry of such of your wives as go over to the unbelievers*, and let them demand back that which they have expended *for the dowry of those who come over to you*. This *is* the judgment of GOD, which he establisheth among you: and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. If any of your wives[x] escape from you to the unbelievers, and ye have your turn *by the coming over of any of the un-*

[p] For in this Abraham's example is not to be followed. See chapter 9, p. 148.

[q] *i.e.*, Suffer them not to prevail against us, lest they thence conclude themselves to be in the right, and endeavour to make us deny our faith by the terror of persecution.[1]

[r] And this happened accordingly on the taking of Mecca, when Abu Sofiân and others of the Koreish, who had till then been inveterate enemies to the Moslems, embraced the same faith, and became their friends and brethren. Some suppose the marriage of Mohammed with Omm Habiba, the daughter of Abu Sofiân, which was celebrated the year before, to be here intended.[2]

[s] This passage, it is said, was revealed on account of Koteila bint Abd'al Uzza, who having, while she was an idolatress, brought some presents to her daughter, Asma bint Abi Becr, the latter not only refused to accept them, but even denied her admittance.[3]

[t] For, according to the terms of the pacification of al Hodeibiya,[4] each side was to return whatever came into their power belonging to the other; wherefore when the Moslems were, by this passage, forbidden to restore the married women who should come over to them, they were at the same time commanded to make some sort of satisfaction, by returning their dowry.

It is related that, after the aforesaid pacification, while Mohammed was yet at al Hodeibiya, Sobeia bint al Hareth, of the tribe of Aslam, having embraced Mohammedism, her husband, Mosâfer the Makhzumite, came and demanded her back; upon which this passage was revealed: and Mohammed, pursuant thereto, administered to her the oath thereafter directed, and returned her husband her dower; and then Omar married her.[5]

[u] For what is returned to their former husbands is not to be considered as their dower.

[x] Literally, *anything of your wives*, which some interpret, *any part of their dowry*.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Vide Gagnier, not. in Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 91. [3] Al Beidâwi. [4] See cap. 48, p. 380, &c. [5] Al Beidâwi.

believers' wives to you;[y] give unto those *believers* whose wives shall have gone away, *out of the dowries of the latter*, so much as they shall have expended *for the dowers of the former*. and fear GOD, in whom ye believe O prophet, when believing *women* come unto thee, and plight their faith unto thee,[z] that they will not associate anything with GOD, nor steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children,[a] nor come with a calumny which they have forged between their hands and their feet.[b] nor be disobedient to thee in that which shall be reasonable then do thou plight thy faith unto them, and ask pardon for them of GOD; for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful O true believers, enter not into friendship with a people against whom GOD is incensed:[c] they despair of the life to come,[d] as the infidels despair of *the resurrection of* those who dwell in the graves.

CHAPTER LXI.

ENTITLED, BATTLE ARRAY; REVEALED AT MECCA[e]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHATEVER *is* in heaven and in earth celebrateth the praise of GOD, for he *is* mighty *and* wise O true believers, why do ye say that which ye do not?[f] *It is* most odious in the sight of GOD, that ye say that which ye do not Verily GOD loveth those who fight for his religion in battle array, as though they *were* a well compacted building *Remember* when Moses said unto his people, O my people, why do ye injure me,[g] since ye know that I am the apostle of GOD

[y] Or, as the original verb may also be translated, *and ye take spoils*, in which case the meaning will be, that those Moslems, whose wives shall have gone over to the infidels, shall have a satisfaction for their dower out of the next booty This law, they say, was given because the idolaters, after the preceding verse had been revealed, refused to comply therewith, or to make any return of the dower of those women who went over to them from the Moslems [1] so that the latter were obliged to indemnify themselves as they could

[z] See the Prelim Disc Sect II p 37 Some are of opinion that this passage was not revealed till the day of the taking of Mecca, when after having received the solemn submission of the men he proceeded to receive that of the women [2]

[a] See chapter 81

[b] Jallalo'ddin understands these words of their laying their spurious children to their husbands

[c] *i e*, The infidels in general; or the Jews in particular [3]

[d] By reason of their infidelity; or because they well know they cannot expect to be made partakers of the happiness of the next life, by reason of their rejecting of the prophet foretold in the law, and whose mission is confirmed by miracles [4]

[e] Or as some rather judge, at Medina, which opinion is confirmed by the explication in the next note

[f] The commentators generally suppose these words to be directed to the Muslems, who, notwithstanding they had solemnly engaged to spend their lives and fortunes in defence of their faith, yet shamefully turned their backs at the battle of Ohod [5] They may, however, be applied to hypocrites of all sorts, whose actions contradict their words.

[g] viz., By your disobedience; or by maliciously aspersing me [6]

[1] Idem [2] Idem [3] See cap. 1, p 1. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] See cap. 3, p. 45, &c.
[6] See cap 33, p. 300.

sent unto you? And when they had deviated *from the truth*, GOD made their hearts to deviate *from the right way;* for GOD directeth not wicked people. And when Jesus the son of Mary said, O children of Israel, verily I *am* the apostle of GOD *sent* unto you, confirming the law which *was delivered* before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, *and* whose name *shall be* Ahmed.[i] And when he produced unto them evident miracles, they said, This *is* manifest sorcery. But who *is* more unjust than he who forgeth a lie against GOD, when he is invited unto Islâm? And GOD directeth not the unjust people. They seek to extinguish GOD'S light with their mouths but GOD will perfect his light, though the infidels be averse *thereto*. *It is* he who hath sent his apostle with the direction, and the religion of truth, that he may exalt the same above every religion, although the idolaters be averse *thereto*. O true believers, shall I show you a merchandise which will deliver you from a painful torment *hereafter?* Believe in GOD and his apostle; and defend GOD'S true religion with your substance, and in your own persons This *will be* better for you, if ye knew *it*. He will forgive you your sins, and will introduce you into gardens through which rivers flow, and agreeable habitations in gardens of perpetual abode This *will be* great felicity. And *ye shall obtain* other things which ye desire, *namely*, assistance from GOD, and a speedy victory And do thou bear good tidings to the true believers. O true believers, be ye the assistants of GOD; as Jesus the son of Mary said to the apostles, Who *will be* my assistants with respect to GOD?[k] The apostles answered, We *will be* the assistants of GOD. So a part of the children of Israel believed, and a part believed not;[l] but we strengthened those who believed, above their enemy; wherefore they became victorious *over them*.

CHAPTER LXII.

ENTITLED, THE ASSEMBLY; REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

WHATEVER *is* in heaven and earth praiseth GOD; the King, the Holy, the Mighty, the Wise. *It is* he who hath raised up amidst

[i] For Mohammed also bore the name of Ahmed; both names being derived from the same root, and nearly of the same signification The Persian paraphrast, to support what is here alleged, quotes the following words of Christ, *I go to my father, and the* Paraclete *shall come:*[7] the Mohammedan doctors unanimously teaching that by the Paraclete (or, as they choose to read it, the *Periclyte*, or *Illustrious*) their prophet is intended, and no other[8]

[k] See chapter 3, p 38

[l] Either by rejecting him, or by affirming him to be GOD, and the son of GOD[9]

[7] See John xvi. 7, &c. [8] See the Prelim Disc. Sect. IV. p 98. [9] Jallalo'ddin.

the illiterate *Arabians* an apostle from among themselves,[m] to rehearse his signs unto them, and to purify them, and to teach them the scriptures and wisdom; whereas before they were certainly in a manifest error: and others of them have not yet attained unto them, *by embracing the faith; though they also shall be converted in God's good time;* for he *is* mighty *and* wise. This *is* the free grace of GOD: he bestoweth the same on whom he pleaseth: and GOD is endued with great beneficence. The likeness of those who were charged with the observance of the law, and then observed it not, *is* as the likeness of an ass laden with books.[n] How wretched *is* the likeness of the people who charge the signs of GOD with falsehood! and GOD directeth not the unjust people. Say, O ye who follow the Jewish religion, if ye say that ye are the friends of GOD above *other* men, wish for death,[o] if ye speak truth. But they will never wish for it, because of that which their hands have sent before them.[p] and GOD well knoweth the unjust. Say, Verily death, from which ye fly, will surely meet you: then shall ye be brought before him who knoweth as well what is concealed as what is discovered; and he will declare unto you that which ye have done. O true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the day of the assembly,[q] hasten to the commemoration of GOD, and leave merchandizing. This *will be* better for you, if ye knew *it.* And when prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves through the land *as ye list*, and seek *gain* of the liberality of GOD;[r] and remember GOD frequently, that ye may prosper. But when they see any merchandizing or sport, they flock thereto, and leave thee standing up *in thy pulpit*.[s] Say, The *reward* which is with GOD *is* better than any sport or merchandise; and GOD is the best provider.

[m] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. II. p. 32.

[n] Because they understand not the prophecies contained in the law, which bear witness to Mohammed, no more than the ass does the books he carries.

[o] *i. e.*, Make it your request to GOD that he would translate you from this troublesome world to a state of never-fading bliss.

[p] See chapter 2, p. 11.

[q] That is, Friday, which being more peculiarly set apart by Mohammed for the public worship of GOD, is therefore called Yawm al jomá, *i. e.*, the day of the assembly or congregation; whereas before it was called al Aruba. The first time this day was particularly observed, as some say, was on the prophet's arrival at Medina, into which city he made his first entry on a Friday; but others tell us that Caab Ebn Lowa, one of Mohammed's ancestors, gave the day its present name, because on that day the people used to be assembled before him.[1] One reason given for the observation of Friday, preferably to any other day of the week, is because on that day GOD finished the creation.[2]

[r] By returning to your commerce and worldly occupations, if ye think fit; for the Mohammedans do not hold themselves obliged to observe the day of their public assembly with the same strictness as the Christians and Jews do their respective Sabbath, or particularly to abstain from work, after they have performed their devotions. Some, however, from a tradition of their prophet, are of opinion that works of charity, and religious exercises, which may draw down the blessing of GOD, are recommended in this passage.

[s] It is related that one Friday, while Mohammed was preaching, a caravan of merchants happened to arrive with their drums beating, according to custom, which the congregation hearing, they all ran out of the mosque to see them, except twelve only.[3]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Vide Golius in Alfrag. p. 15. [3] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin.

CHAPTER LXIII.

ENTITLED, THE HYPOCRITES; REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

WHEN the hypocrites come unto thee, they say, We bear witness that thou *art* indeed the apostle of GOD. And GOD knoweth that thou *art* indeed his apostle: but GOD beareth witness that the hypocrites *are* certainly liars. They have taken their oaths for a protection, and they turn *others* aside from the way of GOD: it is surely evil which they do. This *is testified of them,* because they believed, and afterwards became unbelievers: wherefore a seal is set on their hearts, and they shall not understand. When thou beholdest them, their persons please thee;[t] and if they speak, thou hearest their discourse *with delight.* They resemble pieces of timber set up *against a wall.*[u] They imagine every shout *to be* against them.[x] They are enemies; wherefore beware of them. GOD curse them: how are they turned aside *from the truth*! And when it is said unto them, Come, that the apostle of GOD may ask pardon for you, they turn away their heads, and thou seest them retire big with disdain. *It shall be* equal unto them, whether thou ask pardon for them, or do not ask pardon for them; GOD will by no means forgive them: for GOD directeth not the prevaricating people. These *are the men* who say *to the inhabitants of Medina,* Do not bestow *anything* on *the refugees* who *are* with the apostle of GOD, that they may *be obliged to* separate *from him.* Whereas unto GOD *belong* the stores of heaven and earth: but the hypocrites do not understand. They say, Verily, if we return to Medina, the worthier shall expel thence the meaner.[y] Whereas superior worth *belongeth* unto GOD, and his apostle, and the true believers: but the hypocrites know *it* not. O true believers, let not your riches or your children divert you from the remembrance of GOD: for whosoever doth this, they will surely be losers. And give alms out of that which we have bestowed on you; before death come unto one of you, and he say, O LORD, wilt thou not grant me respite for a short term, that I may give alms, and become *one* of the righteous? For GOD will by no means grant further respite to a soul, when its determined time is come: and GOD *is* fully apprised of that which ye do.

[t] The commentators tell us, that Abdallah Ebn Obba, a chief hypocrite, was a tall man of a very graceful presence, and of a ready and eloquent tongue; and used to frequent the prophet's assembly, attended by several like himself, and that these men were greatly admired by Mohammed, who was taken with their handsome appearance, and listened to their discourse with pleasure.[1]

[u] Being tall and big, but void of knowledge and consideration.[2]

[x] Living under continual apprehensions, because they are conscious of their hypocrisy towards GOD, and their insincerity towards the Moslems.

[y] These, as well as the preceding, were the words of Ebn Obba to one of Medina, who in a certain expedition quarrelling with an Arab of the desert about water, received a blow on the head with a stick, and made his complaint thereof to him.[3]

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem.

CHAPTER LXIV.

ENTITLED MUTUAL DECEIT; REVEALED AT MECCA.[a]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

WHATEVER *is* in heaven and earth celebrateth the praises of GOD: his *is* the kingdom, and unto him *is* the praise *due*; for he *is* almighty. *It is* he who hath created you; and *one* of you *is predestined to be* an unbeliever, and *another* of you *is predestined to be* a believer: and GOD beholdeth that which ye do. He hath created the heavens and the earth with truth; and he hath fashioned you, and given you beautiful forms: and unto him must ye all go. He knoweth whatever *is* in heaven and earth: and he knoweth that which ye conceal, and that which ye discover; for GOD knoweth the innermost part of *men's* breasts. Have ye not been acquainted with the story of those who disbelieved heretofore, and tasted the evil consequence of their behaviour? And for them *is prepared, in the life to come,* a tormenting punishment. This *shall they suffer,* because their apostles came unto them with evident *proofs of their mission,* and they said, Shall men direct us? Wherefore they believed not, and turned their backs. But GOD standeth in need of no person; for GOD *is* self-sufficient, *and* worthy to be praised. The unbelievers imagine that they shall not be raised again. Say, Yea, by my LORD, ye shall surely be raised again; then shall ye be told that which ye have wrought; and this *is* easy with GOD. Wherefore believe in GOD and his apostle, and the light which we have sent down: for GOD *is* well acquainted with that which ye do. On a *certain* day he shall assemble you, at the day of the *general* assembly: that *will be* the day of mutual deceit.[a] And whoso shall believe in GOD, and shall do that which is right, from him will he expiate his evil deeds, and he will lead him into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever. This *will be* great felicity. But they who shall not believe, and shall accuse our signs of falsehood, those *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell* fire, wherein they shall *remain for ever;* and a wretched journey *shall it be thither!* No misfortune happeneth but by the permission of GOD; and whoso believeth in GOD, he will direct his heart: and GOD knoweth all things. Wherefore obey GOD, and obey the apostle: but if ye turn back, verily *the duty incumbent* on our apostle *is* only public preaching. GOD! there *is* no GOD but he: wherefore in GOD let the faithful put their trust. O true believers, verily of your wives and your children ye have an enemy:[b] wherefore beware of them. But if ye pass over *their offences,* and pardon and forgive *them,*[c] GOD *is* likewise inclined to forgive, *and*

[a] The commentators are not agreed whether this chapter was revealed at Mecca, or at Medina; or partly at the one place, and partly at the other.

[a] When the blessed will deceive the damned, by taking the places which they would have had in paradise had they been true believers, and contrariwise.[1]

[b] For these are apt to distract a man from his duty, especially in time of distress;[2] a married man caring for the things that are of this world, while the unmarried careth for the things that belong to the LORD.[3]

[c] Considering that the hindrance they may occasion you proceeds from their affection, and their ill bearing your absence in time of war, &c.

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya. [2] Idem. [3] See 1 Cor. vii. 25, &c.

merciful. Your wealth and your children *are* only a temptation; but with GOD *is* a great reward. Wherefore fear GOD, as much as ye are able; and hear, and obey: and give alms, for the good of your souls; for whoso is preserved from the covetousness of his own soul, they shall prosper. If ye lend unto GOD an acceptable loan, he will double the same unto you, and will forgive you: for GOD *is* grateful *and* long-suffering, knowing both what is hidden and what is divulged; the Mighty, the Wise.

CHAPTER LXV.

ENTITLED, DIVORCE; REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

O PROPHET, when ye divorce women, put them away at their appointed term;[d] and compute the term *exactly*: and fear GOD, your LORD. Oblige them not to go out of their apartments, neither let them go out, *until the term be expired*, unless they be guilty of manifest uncleanness. These *are* the statutes of GOD. and whoever transgresseth the statutes of GOD, assuredly injureth his own soul. Thou knowest not whether GOD will bring something new to pass, *which may reconcile them*, after this And when they shall have fulfilled their term, either retain them with kindness, or part from them honourably: and take witnesses from among you, men of integrity; and give *your* testimony as in the presence of GOD. This admonition is given unto him who believeth in GOD and the last day and whoso feareth GOD, unto him will he grant a *happy* issue *out of all his afflictions*, and he will bestow on him an ample provision from whence he expecteth *it* not: and whoso trusteth in GOD, he *will be* his sufficient support, for GOD will surely attain his purpose Now hath GOD appointed unto everything a determined period. *As to* such of your wives as shall despair having their courses, *by reason of their age*, if ye be in doubt *thereof*, let their term *be* three months and *let the same be the term of* those who have not yet had their courses. But *as to* those who are pregnant, their term *shall be*, until they be delivered of their burden.[e] And whoso feareth GOD, unto him will he make his command easy. This *is* the command of GOD, which he hath sent down unto you. And whoso feareth GOD, he will expiate his evil deeds from him, and will increase his reward. Suffer the *women whom ye divorce* to dwell in *some part of the houses* wherein ye dwell, *according to the room and conveniences of the habitation* which ye possess. and make them not uneasy, that

[d] That is, when they shall have had their courses thrice after the time of their divorce, if they prove not to be with child, or, if they prove with child, when they shall have been delivered.[1] Al Beidâwi supposes husbands are hereby commanded to divorce their wives while they are clean; and says that the passage was revealed on account of Ebn Omar, who divorced his wife when she had her courses upon her, and was therefore obliged to take her again.

[e] See chapter 2, p. 24.

[1] See cap. 2, p. 24.

ye may reduce them to straits. And if they be with child, expend on them *what shall be needful*, until they be delivered of their burden And if they suckle *their children* for you, give them their hire ;[f] and consult among yourselves, according to what shall be just and reasonable. And if ye be put to a difficulty *herein*, and another *woman* shall suckle *the child* for him, let him who hath plenty expend *proportionably, in the maintenance of the mother and the nurse*, out of his plenty · and let him whose income is scanty, expend *in proportion* out of that which GOD hath given him. GOD obligeth no man to more than he hath given him *ability to perform* · GOD will cause ease to succeed hardship. How many cities have turned aside from the command of their LORD and his apostles ? Wherefore we brought them to a severe account; and we chastised them with a grievous chastisement : and they tasted the evil consequence of their business ; and the end of their business was perdition. GOD hath prepared for them a severe punishment ; wherefore fear GOD, O ye who are endued with understanding. True believers, now hath GOD sent down unto you an admonition, an apostle who may rehearse unto you the perspicuous signs of GOD; that he may bring forth those who believe and do good works, from darkness into light. And whoso believeth in GOD, and doth that which is right, him will he lead into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever . now hath GOD made an excellent provision for him. *It is* GOD who hath created seven heavens, and as many *different stories* of the earth : the *divine* command descendeth between them ;[g] that ye may know that GOD is omnipotent, and that GOD comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge.

CHAPTER LXVI.

ENTITLED, PROHIBITION ; REVEALED AT MEDINA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

O PROPHET, why holdest thou that to be prohibited which GOD hath allowed thee, seeking to please thy wives ;[h] since GOD *is* inclined to forgive *and* merciful ? GOD hath allowed you the dissolu-

[f] Which ought at least to be sufficient to maintain and clothe them during the time of suckling See chapter 2, p 25

[g] Penetrating and pervading them all with absolute efficacy

[h] There are some who suppose this passage to have been occasioned by Mohammed's protesting never to eat honey any more, because, having once eaten some in the apartment of Hafsa, or of Zeinab, three other of his wives, namely, Ayesha, Sawda, and Safia, all told him they smelt he had been eating of the juice which distils from certain shrubs in those parts, and resembles honey in taste and consistence, but is of a very strong flavour, and which the prophet had a great aversion to [1] But the more received opinion is that the chapter was revealed on the following occasion Mohammed having lain with a slave of his named Mary, of Coptic extract (who had been sent him as a present by al Mokawkas, governor of Egypt), on the day which was due to Ayesha, or to Hafsa, and, as some say, on Hafsa's own bed, while she was absent, and this coming to Hafsa's knowledge, she took it extremely ill, and

[1] Al Zamakh , al Beidâwi.

tion of your oaths :[i] and GOD *is* your master ; and he *is* knowing *and* wise. When the prophet entrusted as a secret unto one of his wives a certain accident ; and when she disclosed the same, and GOD made it known unto him ; he acquainted *her* with part *of what she had done*, and forbore *to upbraid her with the other* part thereof. And when he had acquainted her therewith, she said, Who hath discovered this unto thee? He answered, The knowing, the sagacious *God* hath discovered *it* unto me.[k] If ye both be turned unto GOD (for your hearts have swerved) *it is well:* but if ye join against him, verily GOD is his patron;

reproached her husband so sharply, that, to pacify her, he promised, with an oath, never to touch the maid again [1] and to free him from the obligation of this promise was the design of *the chapter.*

I cannot here avoid observing, as a learned writer[2] has done before me, that Dr Prideaux has strangely misrepresented this passage For having given the story of the prophet's amour with his maid Mary, a little embellished, he proceeds to tell us that in this chapter Mohammed brings in GOD allowing him, and all his Moslems, to lie with their maids when they will, notwithstanding their wives (whereas the words relate to the prophet only, who wanted not any new permission for that purpose, because it was a privilege already granted him,[3] though to none else), and then, to show what ground he had for his assertion, adds that the first words of the chapter are, *O prophet, why dost thou forbid what* GOD *hath allowed thee, that thou mayest please thy wives* GOD *hath granted unto you to lie with your maid servants*[4] Which last words are not to be found here, or elsewhere in the Korân, and contain an allowance of what is expressly forbidden therein,[5] though the doctor has thence taken occasion to make some reflections which might as well have been spared I shall say nothing to aggravate the matter, but leave the reader to imagine what this reverend divine would have said of a Mohammedan if he had caught him tripping in the like manner

Having digressed so far, I will venture to add a word or two in order to account for one circumstance which Dr Prideaux relates concerning Mohammed's concubine Mary, viz, that after her master's death, no account was had of her or the son which she had borne him, but both were sent away into Egypt, and no mention made of either ever after among them, and then he supposes (for he seldom is at a loss for a supposition) that Ayesha, out of the hatred which she bore her, *procured of her father, who succeeded the impostor in the government, to have her thus disposed of*[6] But it being certain, by the general consent of all the eastern writers, that Mary continued in Arabia till her death, which happened at Medina about five years after that of her master, and was buried in the usual burying-place there, called al Baki, and that her son died before his father, it has been asked, whence the doctor had this?[7] I answer, that I guess he had it partly from Abulfaragius, according to the printed edition of whose work, the Mary we are speaking of is said to have been sent with her sister Shirin (not with her son) to Alexandria by al Mokawkas,[8] though I make no doubt but we ought in that passage to read *min*, *from*, instead of *ila*, *to* (notwithstanding the manuscript copies of this author used by Dr Pocock, the editor, and also a very fair one in my own possession, agree in the latter reading), and that the sentence ought to run thus, *quam* (viz., Mariam) *una cum sorore* Shirina *ab* Alexandria *miserat* al Mokawkas

[i] By having appointed an expiation for that purpose,[9] or, as the words may be translated, *God hath allowed you to use an exception in your oaths if it please* GOD, in which case a man is excused from guilt if he perform not his oath [10] The passage, though directed to all the Moslems in general, seems to be particularly designed for quieting the prophet's conscience in regard to the oath above mentioned but Al Beidâwi approves not this opinion, because such an oath was to be looked upon as an inconsiderate one and required no expiation

[k] When Mohammed found that Hafsa knew of his having injured her, or Ayesha, by lying with his concubine Mary on the day due to one of them, he desired her to keep the affair secret, promising, at the same time, that he would not meddle with Mary any more; and foretold her, as a piece of news which might soothe her vanity, that Abu Becr and Omar should succeed him in the government of his people Hafsa, however, could not conceal this from Ayesha, with whom she lived in strict friendship, but acquainted her with the whole matter whereupon the prophet, perceiving, probably by Ayesha's behaviour, that his secret had been discovered, upbraided Hafsa with her betraying him, telling her that GOD had revealed it to him; and not only divorced her, but separated him from all his other wives for a whole month, which time he spent in the apartment of Mary In a short time, notwithstanding, he took Hafsa again, by the direction, as he gave out, of the angel Gabriel, who commended her for her frequent fasting and other exercises of devotion, assuring him likewise that she should be one of his wives in paradise [11]

[1] Idem, Jallal., Yahya. [2] Gagnier, not ad Abulf Vit Moh p 150 [3] See cap 33, p. 318, 319 [4] Prid Life of Mah p 113 [5] See cap 17, p 209; cap 4, p 56; and cap 24, p 267, &c. [6] Prid Life of Mah p. 114. [7] Gagnier, ubi supra [8] Abulfarag Hist Dynast p 16[illegible] [9] See cap 5, p [illegible] [10] Al Beidaw[illegible] [11] Idem, al Zamakh. &c.

and Gabriel, and the good man among the faithful, and the angels also *are his* assistants.[l] If he divorce you, his LORD can easily give him in exchange other wives better than you, *women* resigned *unto God*, true believers, devout, penitent, obedient, given to fasting, *both such as have been* known by other men, and virgins. O true believers, save your souls, and *those of* your families, from the fire whose fuel *is* men and stones, over which are *set* angels fierce *and* terrible;[m] who disobey not GOD in what he hath commanded them, but perform what they are commanded. O unbelievers, excuse not yourselves this day; ye shall surely be rewarded for what ye have done[n] O true believers, turn unto GOD with a sincere repentance. peradventure your LORD will do away from you your evil deeds, and will admit you into gardens, through which rivers flow; on the day *whereon* GOD will not put to shame the prophet, or those who believe with him· their light shall run before them and on their right hands,[o] *and* they shall say, LORD, make our light perfect, and forgive us; for thou *art* almighty. O prophet, attack the infidels *with arms*, and the hypocrites *with arguments;* and treat them with severity. their abode shall be hell, and an ill journey *shall it be thither.* GOD propoundeth as a similitude unto the unbelievers, the wife of Noah, and the wife of Lot they were under two of our righteous servants, and they deceived them both,[p] wherefore *their husbands* were of no advantage unto them at all, in the sight of GOD[q] and it shall be said *unto them at the last day*, Enter ye into *hell* fire, with those who enter *therein.* GOD also propoundeth as a similitude unto those who believe, the wife of Pharaoh,[r] when she said, LORD, build me a house with thee in paradise: and deliver me from Pharaoh and his doings, and deliver me from the unjust people: and Mary the daughter of Imrân, who preserved her chastity, and into whose womb we breathed of our spirit,[s] and who believed in the words of her LORD and his scriptures, and was a devout and obedient person.[t]

[l] This sentence is directed to Hafsa and Ayesha, the pronouns and verbs of the second person being in the dual number

[m] See chapter 74 and the Prelim Disc Sect IV p 72

[n] These words will be spoken to the infidels at the last day.

[o] See chapter 57, p 400

[p] Who were both unbelieving women, but deceived their respective husbands by their hypocrisy Noah's wife, named Wâila, endeavoured to persuade the people her husband was distracted, and Lot's wife, whose name was *Wahela* (*though some writers give this name to* the other, and that of Wâila to the latter), was in confederacy with the men of Sodom, and used to give them notice when any strangers came to lodge with him, by a sign of smoke by day, and of fire by night.[1]

[q] For they both *met* with a disastrous end *in this world*,[2] *and will be doomed to eternal* misery in the next In like manner, as Mohammed would insinuate, the infidels of his time had no reason to expect any mitigation of their punishment, on account of their relation to himself and the rest of the true believers

[r] viz., Asia, the daughter of Mozâhem The *commentators relate, that because she believed* in Moses, her husband cruelly tormented her, fastening her hands and feet to four stakes, and laying a large mill stone on her breast, her face, at the same time, being exposed to the scorching beams of the sun These pains, however, were alleviated by the angels shading with their wings, and the view of the mansion prepared for her in paradise, which was exhibited to her on her pronouncing the prayer in the text At length GOD received her soul; or, as some say, she was taken up alive into paradise, where she eats and drinks [3]

[s] See chapter 19, p 228, &c

[t] *On occasion of the honourable mention* here made of these two extraordinary women, the

[1] Jallal., al Zamakh. [2] See cap. 11, p. 162, 166, and 167. [3] Jallal., al Zamakh.

CHAPTER LXVII.

ENTITLED, THE KINGDOM;[u] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

(XXIX.) BLESSED be he in whose hand *is* the kingdom; for he *is* almighty! Who hath created death and life, that he might prove you, which of you is most righteous in *his* actions: and he *is* mighty, *and* ready to forgive. Who hath created seven heavens, one above another: thou canst not see in a creature of the most Merciful any unfitness or disproportion. Lift up thine eyes again *to heaven, and look* whether thou seest any flaw: then take two other views; and thy sight shall return unto thee dull and fatigued. Moreover we have adorned the lowest heaven with lamps, and have appointed them to be darted at the devils,[x] for whom we have prepared the torment of burning fire: and for those who believe not in their LORD, *is also prepared* the torment of hell; an ill journey *shall it be thither!* When they shall be thrown thereinto, they shall hear it bray like an ass;[y] and it shall boil, and almost burst for fury. So often as a company *of them* shall be thrown therein, the keepers thereof shall ask them, *saying*, Did not a warner come unto you? They shall answer, Yea, a warner came unto us: but we accused *him* of imposture, and said, GOD hath not revealed anything; ye *are* in no other than a great error: and they shall say, If we had hearkened, or had rightly considered, we should not have been among the inhabitants of burning fire· and they shall confess their sins; but far be the inhabitants of burning fire *from obtaining mercy!* Verily they who fear their LORD in secret, shall receive pardon and a great reward. Either conceal your discourse, or make it public; he knoweth the innermost parts of *your* breasts: shall not he know *all things* who hath created *them;* since he *is* the sagacious, the knowing? *It is* he who hath levelled the earth for you: therefore walk through the regions thereof, and eat of his provision; unto him *shall be* the resurrection. Are ye secure that he who *dwelleth* in heaven will not cause the earth to swallow you up? and behold, it shall shake. Or are ye secure that he who *dwelleth* in heaven will not send against you an *impetuous whirlwind*, driving the sands *to overwhelm you?* then shall ye know how *important* my warning *was.* Those also who *were* before you disbelieved; and how *grievous* was my displeasure! Do they not behold the birds above them, extending and drawing back their wings? None sustaineth them, except the Merciful; for he regardeth all things. Or who *is* he that *will be as* an army unto you, to defend you against the Merciful? Verily the unbelievers *are* in no other than a mistake. Or who *is* he that will give

commentators introduce a saying of their prophet, *That among men there had been many perfect, but no more th . our of the other sex had attained perfection, to wit, Asia, the wife of Pharaoh, Mary, the daughter of Imrân, Khadijah, the daughter of Khowailed (the prophet's first wife); and Fatema, the daughter of Mohammed*

[u] It is also entitled by some, *The Saving*, or *The Delivering*, because, say they, it will save him who reads it from the torture of the sepulchre.

[x] See chapter 15, p 193

[y] See chapter 31, p 308

you food, if he withholdeth his provision? yet they persist in perverseness, and flying *from the* [illegible]*uth.* Is he, therefore, who goeth grovelling upon his face, better directed than he who walketh upright in a straight way?[a] Say, *It is* he who hath given you being, and endued you with hearing, and sight, and understanding; *yet* how little gratitude have ye! Say, *It is* he who hath sown you in the earth, and unto him shall ye be gathered together. They say, When *shall* this menace *be put in execution*, if ye speak truth? Answer, The knowledge *of this matter is* with GOD alone: for I *am* only a public warner. But when they shall see the same nigh at hand, the countenance of the infidels shall grow sad: and it shall be said *unto them*, This is what ye have been demanding. Say, What think ye? Whether GOD destroy me and those *who are* with me, or have mercy on us; who will protect the unbelievers from a painful punishment? Say, He is the Merciful, in him do we believe, and in him do we put our trust. Ye shall hereafter know who is in a manifest error. Say, What think ye? If your water be in the morning swallowed up by the earth, who will give you clear and running water?

CHAPTER LXVIII.

ENTITLED, THE PEN; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

N.[a] BY the pen, and what they write,[b] thou, *O Mohammed*, through the grace of thy LORD, *art* not distracted. Verily *there is prepared* for thee an everlasting reward, for thou *art* of a noble disposition.[c] Thou shalt see, and *the infidels* shall see, which of you *are* bereaved of your senses. Verily thy LORD well knoweth him who wandereth from his path; and he well knoweth those who are *rightly* directed: wherefore obey not those who charge *thee* with imposture. They desire that thou shouldst be easy *with them*, and they will be easy *with thee.*[d]

[a] This comparison is applied by the expositors to the infidel and the true believer

[a] This letter is sometimes made the title of the chapter, but its meaning is confessedly uncertain They who suppose it stands for the word Nûn are not agreed as to its signification in this place, for it is not only the name of the letter N in Arabic, but signifies also *an inkhorn* and a *fish;* some are of opinion the former signification is the most proper here, as consonant to what is immediately mentioned of *the pen* and *writing*, and, considering that the blood of certain *fish* is good ink, not inconsistent with the latter signification, which is, however, preferred by others, saying that either the whole species of *fish* in general is thereby intended, or the fish which swallowed Jonas (who is mentioned in this chapter), or else that vast one called Behemoth, fancied to support the earth, in particular Those who acquiesce in none of the foregoing explications have invented others of their own, and imagine this character stands for the *table of* GOD's *decrees*, or *one of the rivers in paradise*, &c.[1]

[b] Some understand these words generally, and others of the pen with which GOD's decrees are written on the preserved table, and of the angels who register the same

[c] In that thou hast borne with so much patience and resignation the wrongs and insults of thy people, which have been greater than those offered to any apostle before thee[2]

[d] *i.e.*, If thou wilt let them alone in their idolatry and other wicked practices, they will cease to revile and persecute thee.

[1] Al Zamakh., al Beidâwi, Yahya. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem, Jallal.

But obey not any *who is* a common swearer, a despicable *fellow*, a defamer, going about with slander, who forbiddeth that which is good, *who is also* a transgressor, a wicked person, cruel, *and* besides this, of spurious birth:[e] although he be possessed of wealth and *many* children: when our signs are rehearsed unto him, he saith, *They are* fables of the ancients. We will stigmatize him on the nose.[f] Verily we have tried *the Meccans*,[g] as we *formerly* tried the owners of the garden;[h] when they swore that they would gather the fruit thereof[i] in the morning, and added not the exception, *if it please God:* wherefore a surrounding *destruction* from thy LORD encompassed it, while they slept; and in the morning it became like *a garden* whose fruits had been gathered.[k] And they called *the one to the other* as they rose in the morning, *saying*, Go out early to your plantation, if ye intend to gather the fruit thereof. so they went on, whispering to one another, No poor man shall enter *the garden* upon you this day. And they went forth early, with a determined purpose. And when they saw *the garden blasted and destroyed*, they said, We have certainly mistaken our way: *but when they found it to be their own garden, they cried*, Verily we are not permitted[l] *to reap the fruit thereof*. The worthier of them said, Did I not say unto you, Will ye not give praise unto GOD? They answered, Praise be unto our LORD! Verily we have been unjust doers. And they began to blame one another,[m] *and* they said, Woe be unto us! verily we have been transgressors: peradventure our LORD will give us in exchange a better *garden* than this and we earnestly beseech our LORD *to pardon us*. Thus *is the* chastisement *of this life* but the chastisement of the next *shall be* more grievous; if they had known *it*, *they would have taken heed*. Verily for the pious *are prepared*, with their LORD, gardens of delight. Shall we deal with the Moslems as with the wicked?[n] What

[e] The person at whom this passage was particularly levelled is generally supposed to have been Mohammed's inveterate enemy, al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, whom, to complete his character, he calls *bastard*, because al Mogheira did not own him for his son till he was eighteen years of age.[1] Some, however think it was al Akhnas Ebn Shoraik, who was really of the tribe of Thakif, though reputed to be of that of Zahra.[2]

[f] Which being the most conspicuous part of the face, a mark set thereon is attended with the utmost ignominy It is said that this prophetical menace was actually made good, al Walid having his nose slit by a sword at the battle of Bedr, the mark of which wound he carried with him to his grave.[3]

[g] By afflicting them with a grievous famine See chapter 23, p 260.

[h] This garden was a plantation of palm-trees, about two parasangs from Sanaa, belonging to a certain charitable man, who, when he gathered his dates, used to give public notice to the poor, and to leave them such of the fruit as the knife missed, or was blown down by the wind, or fell beside the cloth spread under the tree to receive it after his death, his sons, who were then become masters of the garden, apprehending they should come to want if they followed their father's example, agreed to gather the fruit early in the morning, when the poor could have no notice of the matter but when they came to execute their purpose, they found, to their great grief and surprise, that their plantation had been destroyed in the night.[4]

[i] Literally, *that they would cut it*, the manner of gathering dates being to cut the clusters off with a knife Marracci supposes they intended to *cut down* the trees, and destroy the plantation; which, as he observes, renders the story ridiculous and absurd.

[k] Or, as the original may also be rendered, *like a dark night*; it being burnt up and black.[5]

[l] The same expression is used, chapter 56, p 398.

[m] For one advised this expedition, another approved of it, a third gave consent by his silence, but the fourth was absolutely against it.[5]

[n] This passage was revealed in answer to the infidels, who said, *If we shall be raised again, as Mohammed and his followers imagine, they will not excel us; but we shall certainly be in a better condition than they in the next world, as we are in this.*[6]

[1] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem. [3] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [4] Idem. [5] Al Beidâwi [6] Idem.

ailеth you that ye judge thus? Have ye a book *from heaven*, wherein ye read that ye are therein promised that which ye shall choose? Or have ye *received* oaths which shall be binding upon us to the day of resurrection, that ye shall enjoy what ye imagine? Ask them, which of them *will be* the voucher of this. Or have they companions[o] *who will vouch for them?* Let them produce their companions, therefore, if they speak truth. On a *certain* day the leg shall be made bare,[p] and they shall be called upon to worship, but they shall not be able.[q] Their looks *shall be* cast down: ignominy shall attend them: for that they were invited to the worship *of God*, while they *were* in safety, *but would not hear*. Let me alone, therefore, with him who accuseth this new revelation of imposture. We will lead them gradually *to destruction*, by *ways* which they know not[r] and I will bear with them for a long time, for my stratagem *is* effectual. Dost thou ask them any reward *for thy preaching?* But they are laden with debts. *Are* the secrets of futurity with them; and do they transcribe the same *from the table of God's decrees?*[s] Wherefore patiently wait the judgment of thy LORD. and be not like him who was swallowed by the fish,[t] when he cried *unto God*, being inwardly vexed Had not grace from his LORD reached him, he had surely been cast forth on the naked *shore*, covered with shame but his LORD chose him, and made him *one* of the righteous It wanteth little but that the unbelievers strike thee down with their *malicious* looks, when they hear the admonition *of the Korân*, and they say, He *is* certainly distracted. but it *is* no other than an admonition unto all creatures.

CHAPTER LXIX

ENTITLED, THE INFALLIBLE; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE infallible![u] What *is* the infallible? And what shall cause thee to understand what the infallible *is?* *The tribes of* Thamud and

[o] Or, as some interpret the word, *idols*, which can make their condition, in the next life, equal to that of the Moslems?

[p] This expression is used to signify a grievous and terrible calamity thus they say, *War has made bare the leg*, when they would express the fury and rage of battle[7]

[q] Because the time of acceptance shall be past Al Beidâwi is uncertain whether the words respect the day of judgment, or the article of death but Jallalo'ddin supposes them to relate to the former, and adds that the infidels shall not be able to perform the act of adoration, because their backs shall become stiff and inflexible.

[r] *i e*, By granting them long life and prosperity in this world; which will deceive them to their ruin.

[s] See chapter 52, p 389

[t] That is be not impatient and pettish, as Jonas was. See chapter 21, p 248

[u] The original word al Hâkkat is one of the names or epithets of the day of judgment. As the root from which it is derived signifies not only *to be* or *come to pass of necessity*, but also *to verify*, some rather think that day to be so called because it will verify and *show the truth* of what men doubt of in this life, viz, the resurrection of the dead, their being brought to account, and the consequent rewards and punishments.[8]

[7] Idem, Jallalo'ddin [8] Idem

Ad denied as a falsehood the *day* which shall strike[x] *men's hearts with terror*. But Thamud were destroyed by a terrible noise: and Ad were destroyed by a roaring *and* furious wind; which *God* caused to assail them for seven nights and eight days successively: thou mightest have seen people, during the same, lying prostrate, as though they *had been* the roots of hollow palm-trees;[y] and couldst thou have seen any of them remaining? Pharaoh also, and those who *were* before him, and the *cities* which were overthrown,[z] were guilty of sin; and they *severally* were disobedient to the apostle of their LORD; wherefore he chastised them with an abundant chastisement. When the water *of the deluge* arose, we carried you in the *ark* which swam *thereon;* that we might make the same a memorial unto you, and the retaining ear might retain it. And when one blast shall sound the trumpet, and the earth shall be moved *from its place*, and the mountains also, and shall be dashed in pieces at one stroke: on that day the inevitable *hour of judgment* shall suddenly come, and the heavens shall cleave in sunder, and shall fall in pieces, on that day: and the angels *shall be* on the sides thereof;[a] and eight shall bear the throne of thy LORD above them, on that day.[b] On that day ye shall be presented *before the judgment seat of God;* and none of your secret *actions shall be* hidden And he who shall have his book delivered into his right hand, shall say, Take ye, read this my book; verily I thought that I should be brought to this my account. he *shall lead* a pleasing life, in a lofty garden, the fruits whereof shall be near *to gather*. Eat and drink with easy digestion, because of the *good works* which ye sent before you, in the days which are past. But he who shall have his book delivered into his left hand, shall say, Oh that I had not received this my book; and that I had not known what this my account *was!* Oh that *death* had made an end *of me!* My riches have not profited me; *and* my power is passed from me. *And God shall say to the keepers of hell*, Take him, and bind him, and cast him into hell to be burned, then put him into a chain of the length of seventy cubits:[c] because he believed not in the great GOD; and was not solicitous to feed the poor: wherefore this day he shall have no friend here; nor *any* food, but the filthy corruption *flowing from the bodies of the damned*, which none shall eat but the sinners. I swear[d] by that which ye see, and that which ye see not, that this *is* the discourse of an honourable apostle, and not the discourse of a poet: how little do ye believe! Neither *is it* the discourse of a soothsayer. how little are ye admonished! *It is* a revelation from the LORD of all creatures. If *Mohammed* had forged any part of *these* discourses concerning us, verily we had taken him by the right hand, and had cut in sunder the vein of his heart; neither

[x] Arab *al Kâriât*, or *the striking*, which is another name or epithet of the last day
[y] See chapter 54, p 392.
[z] Viz, Sodom and Gomorrah. See chapter 9, p 142, note p.
[a] These words seem to intimate the death of the angels at the demolition of their habitation; beside the ruins whereof they shall lie like dead bodies.
[b] The number of those who bear it at present being generally supposed to be but four; to whom four more will be added at the last day, for the grandeur of the occasion.[1]
[c] *i e*, Wrap him round with it, so that he may not be able to stir.
[d] Or, *I will not swear* See chapter 56, p. 398, note m.

[1] Idem.

would we have withheld any of you from *chastising* him. And verily this *book is* an admonition unto the pious; and we well know that there are *some* of you who charge *the same* with imposture: but it *shall* surely *be* an *occasion of* grievous sighing unto the infidels; for it *is* the truth of a certainty. Wherefore praise the name of thy LORD, the great God.

CHAPTER LXX.

ENTITLED, THE STEPS; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

ONE demanded and called for vengeance to fall on the unbelievers[e] there shall be none to avert the same from *being inflicted by* GOD, the possessor of the steps,[f] by *which* the angels ascend unto him, and the spirit *Gabriel also*, in a day whose space is fifty thousand years.[g] wherefore bear *the insults of the Meccans* with becoming patience, for they see *their punishment* afar off, but we see it nigh at hand. On a certain day the heaven shall become like molten *brass*, and the mountains like wool of various colours, *scattered abroad by the wind:* and a friend shall not ask a friend *concerning his condition, although* they see one another. The wicked shall wish to redeem himself from the punishment of that day, by *giving up* his children, and his wife, and his brother, and his kindred who showed kindness unto him, and all who *are* in the earth; and that *this* might deliver him. by no means for hell fire, dragging *them* by *their* scalps, shall call him who shall have turned his back, and fled *from the faith*, and shall have amassed *riches*, and covetously hoarded *them*. Verily man is created extremely impatient[h] when evil toucheth him, *he is* full of complaint;

[e] The person here meant is generally supposed to have been al Nodar Ebn al Hareth, who said, O GOD, *if what Mohammed preaches be the truth from thee, rain down upon us a shower of stones, or send some dreadful judgment to punish us*[1] Others, however, think it was Abu Jahl, who challenged Mohammed to cause a fragment of heaven to fall on them[2]

[f] By which prayers and righteous actions ascend to heaven, or by which the angels ascend to receive the divine commands, or the believers will ascend to paradise Some understand thereby the different orders of angels, or the heavens, which rise gradually one above another

[g] This is supposed to be the space which would be required for their ascent from the lowest part of creation to the throne of GOD, if it were to be measured, or the time which it would take a man up to perform that journey, and this is not contradictory to what is said elsewhere[3] (if it be to be interpreted of the ascent of the angels), that the length of the day whereon they ascend is one thousand years, because that is meant only of their ascent from earth to the lower heaven, including also the time of their descent

But the commentators generally taking the day spoken of in both these passages to be the day of judgment, have recourse to several expedients to reconcile them, some of which we have mentioned in another place[4] and as both passages seem to contradict what the Mohammedan doctors teach, that GOD will judge all creatures in the space of half a day,[5] they suppose those large number of years are designed to express the time of the previous attendance of those who are to be judged,[6] or else to the space wherein GOD will judge the unbelieving nations, of which, they say, there will be fifty, the trial of each nation taking up one thousand years, though that of the true believers will be over in the short space above mentioned.[7]

[h] See chapter 17, p. 208.

[1] Al Zamakh, al Beidâwi [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Cap 32, p 310 [4] Prelim. Disc. Sect IV p. 65. [5] See ibid p 69. [6] See ibid p 67 [7] Al Zamakh

but when good befalleth him, *he becometh* niggardly: except those who are devoutly given, and who persevere in their prayers; and those of whose substance a due and certain portion *is ready to be given* unto him who asketh, and him who is forbidden *by shame to ask:* and those who sincerely believe the day of judgment, and who dread the punishment of their LORD (for *there is* none secure from the punishment of their LORD): and who abstain from the carnal knowledge of *women* other than their wives, or the *slaves* which their right hands possess (for *as to them* they shall be blameless; but whoever coveteth *any women* besides these, they *are* transgressors): and those who faithfully keep what they are entrusted with, and their covenant; and who are upright in their testimonies, and who carefully observe *the requisite rites in* their prayers: these *shall dwell* amidst gardens, highly honoured. What aileth the unbelievers, that they run before thee in companies, on the right hand and on the left? Doth every man of them wish to enter into a garden of delight? By no means: verily we have created them of that which they know.[i] I swear[k] by the LORD of the east and of the west,[l] that we are able to *destroy them, and to* substitute better than them *in their room;* neither *are* we to be prevented, *if we shall please so to do.* Wherefore suffer them to wade in vain disputes, and to amuse themselves with sport: until they meet their day with which they have been threatened; the day *whereon* they shall come forth hastily from *their* graves, as though they were *troops* hastening to *their* standard: their looks *shall be* downcast; ignominy shall attend them. This *is* the day with which they have been threatened.

CHAPTER LXXI.

ENTITLED, NOAH; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

VERILY we sent Noah unto his people, *saying,* Warn thy people, before a grievous punishment overtake them. *Noah* said, O my people, verily I *am* a public warner unto you; wherefore, serve GOD and fear him, and obey me: he will forgive you *part* of your sins,[m] and will grant you respite until a determined time: for GOD'S determined time, when it cometh, shall not be deferred; if ye were men of under-

[i] *viz.*, Of filthy seed, which bears no relation or resemblance to holy beings; wherefore it is necessary for him who would hope to be an inhabitant of paradise, to perfect himself in faith and spiritual virtues, to fit himself for that place.[1]

[k] Or, *I will not swear,* &c. See chapter 56, p. 398, note [m].

[l] The original words are in the plural number, and signify the different points of the horizon at which the sun rises and sets in the course of the year. See chapter 37, p. 334, note [e].

[m] *i.e.,* Your past sins, which are done away by the profession of the true faith.

[1] Al Beidâwi.

standing *ye would know this.* He said, LORD, verily I have called my people night and day; but my calling only increaseth their aversion: and whensoever I call them *to the true faith*, that thou mayest forgive them, they put their fingers in their ears, and cover themselves with their garments, and persist *in their infidelity*, and proudly disdain *my counsel.* Moreover I invited them openly, and I spake to them again in public; and I also secretly admonished them in private: and I said, Beg pardon of your LORD: for he is inclined to forgive; and he will cause the heaven to pour down rain plentifully upon you, and will give you increase of wealth and of children,[n] and he will provide you gardens, and furnish you with rivers. What aileth you, that ye hope not for benevolence in GOD;[o] since he hath created you variously?[p] Do ye not see how GOD hath created the seven heavens, one above another, and hath placed the moon therein for a light, and hath appointed the sun for a taper? GOD hath also produced and caused you to spring forth from the earth. hereafter he will cause you to return into the same; and he will *again* take you *thence*, by bringing *you* forth *from your graves.* And GOD hath spread the earth as a carpet for you, that ye may walk therein through spacious paths. Noah said, LORD, verily they are disobedient unto me, and they follow him whose riches and children do no other than increase his perdition. And they devised a dangerous plot *against Noah*: and *the chief men* said *to the others*, Ye shall by no means leave your gods, neither shall ye forsake Wadd, nor Sowâ, nor Yaghûth, and Yaûk, and Nesr.[q] And they seduced many (for thou shalt only increase error in the wicked), because of their sins they were drowned, and cast into the fire *of hell*, and they found none to protect them against GOD. And Noah said, LORD, leave not any families of the unbelievers on the earth: for if thou leave them, they will seduce thy servants, and will beget none but a wicked and unbelieving *offspring.*[r] LORD, forgive me and my parents,[s] and every one who shall enter my house,[t] being a true believer, and the true believers of both sexes, and add unto the unjust doers nothing but destruction.

[n] It is said that after Noah had for a long time preached to them in vain, GOD shut up the heaven for forty years, and rendered their women barren.[2]

[o] i. e., That GOD will accept and amply reward those who serve him? For some suppose Noah's people made him this answer, *If what we now follow be the truth, we ought not to forsake it, but if it be false, how will* GOD *accept, or be favourable unto us, who have rebelled against him?*[3]

[p] That is, as the commentators expound it, by various steps or changes, from the original matter, till ye become perfect men.[4]

[q] These were five idols worshipped by the Antediluvians, and afterwards by the ancient Arabs. See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. I. p. 15.

[r] They say Noah preferred not this prayer for the destruction of his people till after he had tried them for nine hundred and fifty years, and found them incorrigible reprobates.

[s] His father Lamech, and his mother, whose name was Shamkha, the daughter of Enosh, being true believers.

[t] The commentators are uncertain whether Noah's dwelling-house be here meant, or the temple he had built for the worship of GOD, or the ark.

[2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] See cap. 22, p. 250, and cap. 23, p. 257, &c.

CHAPTER LXXII.

ENTITLED, THE GENII; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

SAY, It hath been revealed unto me that a company of genii attentively heard *me reading the Korân*,[u] and said, Verily we have heard an admirable discourse; which directeth unto the right institution: wherefore we believe therein, and we will by no means associate any *other* with our LORD. He (may the majesty of our LORD be exalted!) hath taken no wife, nor *hath he begotten* any issue. Yet the foolish among us[x] hath spoken that which is extremely false of GOD but we verily thought that neither man nor genius would by any mean have uttered a lie concerning GOD. And there are certain men who fly for refuge unto certain of the genii [y] but they increase their folly and transgression: and they also thought, as ye thought,[z] that GOD would not raise any one to life. And we *formerly* attempted *to pry into what was transacting in* heaven; but we found the same filled with a strong guard *of angels*, and with flaming darts and we sat on *some of the* seats thereof to hear *the discourse of its inhabitants;* but whoever listeneth now findeth a flame laid in ambush for him, *to guard the celestial confines*.[a] And we know not whether evil be *hereby* intended against those who *are* in the earth, or whether their LORD intendeth to direct them aright. *There are* some among us who are upright; and *there are* some among us who are otherwise. we are of different ways. And we verily thought that we could by no means frustrate GOD in the earth, neither could we escape him by flight: wherefore, when we had heard the direction *contained in the Korân*, we believed therein. And whoever believeth in his LORD, need not fear any diminution *of his reward*, nor any injustice. *There are some* Moslems among us; and *there are others* of us who swerve from righteousness.[b] And whoso embraceth Islâm, they earnestly seek true direction; but those who swerve from righteousness shall be fuel for hell. If they tread in the way *of truth*, we will surely water them with abundant rain.[c] that we may prove them thereby; but whoso turneth aside from the admonition of his LORD, him will he send into a severe torment. Verily the places of worship *are set apart* unto GOD. wherefore invoke not any *other therein* together with GOD. When the servant of GOD[d] stood up

[u] See chapter 46, p. 374, note q.

[x] viz, Eblis, or the rebellious genii.

[y] For the Arabs, when they found themselves in a desert in the evening (the genii being supposed to haunt such places about that time), used to say, *I fly for refuge unto the Lord of this valley, that he may defend me from the foolish among his people* [1]

[z] It is uncertain which of these pronouns is to be referred to mankind, and which to the genii, some expositors taking that of the third person to relate to the former, and that of the second person to the latter, and others being of the contrary opinion.

[a] See chapter 15, p 192

[b] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect IV.

[c] *i e.*, We will grant them plenty of all good things. Some think by these words rain is promised to the Meccans, after their seven years' drought, on their embracing Islâm.

[d] viz., Mohammed.

[1] Al Beidâwi.

to invoke him, it wanted little but that *the genii* had pressed on him in crowds, *to hear him rehearse the Korân.* Say, Verily I call upon my LORD only, and I associate no *other god* with him. Say, Verily I am not able, *of myself,* to procure you either hurt or a right institution Say, Verily none can protect me against GOD; neither shall I find any refuge besides him. *I can do no more* than publish *what hath been revealed unto me* from GOD, and his messages. And whosoever shall be disobedient unto GOD and his apostle, for him *is* the fire of hell *prepared,* they shall remain therein for ever. Until they see *the vengeance* with which they are threatened, *they will not cease their opposition:* but then shall they know who *were* the weaker in a protector, and the fewer in number. Say, I know not whether *the punishment* with which ye are threatened *be* nigh, or whether my LORD will appoint for it a distant term. He knoweth the secrets of futurity; and he doth not communicate his secrets unto any, except an apostle in whom he is well pleased · and he causeth a guard *of angels* to march before him and behind him, that he may know that they have executed the commissions of their LORD [e] he comprehendeth whatever is with them, and counteth all things by number.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

ENTITLED, THE WRAPPED UP; REVEALED AT MECCA.[f]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

O THOU wrapped up,[g] arise *to prayer, and continue therein* during the night, except a small part,[h] *that is to say, during* one-half thereof. or do thou lessen the same a little, or add thereto.[i] And

[e] That is to say, either that the prophet may know that Gabriel and the other angels, who bring down the revelation, have communicated it to him pure and free from any diabolical suggestions, or that GOD may know that the prophet has published the same to mankind [1]

[f] Some will have the last verse, beginning at these words, *Verily thy* LORD *knoweth,* &c, to have been revealed at Medina

[g] When this revelation was brought to Mohammed, he was wrapped up in his garments, being affrighted at the appearance of Gabriel, or, as some say, he lay sleeping unconcernedly, or, according to others, praying, wrapped up in one part of a large mantle or rug, with the other part of which Ayesha had covered herself to sleep [2]

This epithet of *wrapped up,* and another of the same import given to Mohammed in the next chapter, have been imagined, by several learned men,[3] pretty plainly to intimate his being subject to the falling sickness a malady generally attributed to him by the Christians,[4] but mentioned by no Mohammedan writer Though such an inference may be made, yet I think it scarce probable, much less necessary [5]

[h] For a half is such, with respect to the whole Or, as the sentence may be rendered, *Pray half the night, within a small matter,* &c Some expound these words as an exception to nights in general, according to whom the sense will be, *Spend one-half of every night in prayer, except some few nights in the year,* &c [6]

[i] *i e,* Set apart either less than half the night, as one third, for example, or more, as two

[1] Idem. [2] Al Zamakh, al Beidâwi [3] Hotting. Hist. Orient. l. 1, c 2 Marracc in Alc. p 763 Vide Gagnier, not ad Abulf Vit. Moh p 9 [4] See Prideaux, Life of Mahomet, p. 16, and the authors there cited. [5] See Ockley's Hist of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 300, &c [6] Al Beidâwi.

repeat the Korân with a distinct and sonorous voice: for we will lay on thee a weighty word.[k] Verily the rising by night[l] is more efficacious for steadfast continuance *in devotion*, and more conducive to decent pronunciation:[m] for in the daytime thou hast long employment. And commemorate the name of thy LORD: and separate thyself unto him, renouncing worldly vanities. *He is* the LORD of the east and of the west; *there is* no GOD but he. Wherefore take him for thy patron: and patiently suffer the *contumelies* which the *infidels* utter *against thee;* and depart from them with a decent departure. And let me alone with those who charge *the Korân* with falsehood, who enjoy the blessings of this life; and bear with them for awhile: verily with us *are* heavy fetters, and a burning fire, and food ready to choke *him who swalloweth it*,[n] and painful torment. On a certain day the earth shall be shaken, and the mountains *also*, and the mountains shall become a heap of sand poured forth. Verily we have sent unto you an apostle, to bear witness against you; as we sent an apostle unto Pharaoh but Pharaoh was disobedient unto the apostle; wherefore we chastised him with a heavy chastisement. How, therefore, will ye escape, if ye believe not, the day which shall make children become grey-headed *through terror?* The heaven *shall be* rent in sunder thereby: the promise thereof shall surely be performed. Verily this *is* an admonition; and whoever is willing *to be admonished*, will take the way unto his LORD. Thy LORD knoweth that thou continuest *in prayer and meditation sometimes* near two-third parts of the night, and *sometimes* one-half thereof, and *at other times* one-third part thereof: and a part of *thy companions*, who *are* with thee, *do the same.* But GOD measureth the night and the day; he knoweth that ye cannot *exactly* compute the same: wherefore he turneth favourably unto you.[o] Read, therefore, so much of the Korân as may be easy *unto you.* He knoweth that there will be some infirm among you; and others travel through the earth, that they may obtain *a competency* of the bounty of GOD;

thirds Or the meaning may be, either take a small matter from a lesser part of the night than one-half, *e g*, from one-third, and so reduce it to a fourth, or add to such lesser part, and make it a full half [1]

[k] viz, The precepts contained in the Korân, which are heavy and difficult to those who are obliged to observe them, and especially to the prophet, whose care it was to see that his people observed them also [2]

[l] Or, *the person who riseth by night*, or, *the hours*, or particularly *the first hours of the night*, &c

[m] For the nighttime is most proper for meditation and prayer, and also for reading GOD's word distinctly and with attention, by reason of the absence of every noise and object which may distract the mind

Marracci, having mentioned this natural explication of the Mohammedan commentators, because he finds one word in the verse which may be taken in a sense tending that way, says the whole may with greater exactness be expounded of the fitness of the night season for amorous diversions and discourse, and he paraphrases it in Latin thus *Certe in principio noctis majus robur et vim habet homo, ad fœminas premendas et subagitandas, et ad clarioribus verbis amores suos propalandos* [3] A most effectual way, this, to turn a book into ridicule!

[n] As thorns and thistles, the fruit of the infernal tree al Zakkûm, and the corruption flowing from the bodies of the damned

[o] By making the matter easy to you, and dispensing with your scrupulous counting of the hours of the night which ye are directed to spend in reading and praying for some of the Moslems, not knowing how the time passed, used to watch the whole night, standing and walking about till their legs and feet swelled in a sad manner The commentators add that this precept of dedicating a part of the night to devotion, is abrogated by the institution of the five hours of prayer [4]

[1] Idem. [2] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [3] Marracc in Alc. p. 759. [4] Al Beidâwi.

and others fight in the defence of GOD's faith. Read, therefore, so much of the same as may be easy. And observe the stated times of prayer, and pay the legal alms, and lend unto GOD an acceptable loan; for whatever good ye send before for your souls, ye shall find the same with GOD. This *will be* better, and will merit a greater reward.[p] And ask GOD forgiveness; for GOD *is* ready to forgive, *and* merciful.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

ENTITLED, THE COVERED; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

O THOU covered,[q] arise and preach,[r] and magnify thy LORD. And cleanse thy garments: and fly *every* abomination[s] and be not liberal, in hopes to receive more in return and patiently wait for thy LORD. When the trumpet shall sound, verily that day *shall be* a day of distress and uneasiness unto the unbelievers. Let me alone with him whom I have created,[t] on whom I have bestowed abundant riches, and children dwelling in his presence,[u] and for whom I have disposed *affairs* in a smooth and easy manner,[x] and who desireth that I will yet add *other blessings unto him* By no means because he is an adversary to our signs[y] I will afflict him with grievous calamities[z] for he

[p] *i e*, The good which ye shall do in your lifetime will be much more meritorious in the sight of GOD, than what ye shall defer till death, and order by will[1]

[q] It is related, from Mohammed's own mouth, that being on Mount Hara, and hearing himself called, he looked on each hand, and saw nobody, but looking upwards, he saw the angel Gabriel on a throne, between heaven and earth at which sight being much terrified, he returned to his wife Khadijah, and bade her cover him up, and that then the angel descended, and addressed him in the words of the text From hence some think this chapter to have been the first which was revealed but the more received opinion is, that it was the 96th Others say that the prophet, having been reviled by certain of the Koreish, was sitting in a melancholy and pensive posture, wrapped up in his mantle, when Gabriel accosted him and some say he was sleeping See the second note to the preceding chapter

[r] It is generally supposed that Mohammed is here commanded more especially to warn his near relations, the Koreish, as he is expressly ordered to do in a subsequent revelation[2]

[s] By the word *abomination* the commentators generally agree idolatry to be principally intended.

[t] The person here meant is generally supposed to have been al Walid Ebn al Mogheira,[3] a principal man among the Koreish

[u] Being well provided for, and not obliged to go abroad to seek their livings, as most others of the Meccans were[4]

[x] By facilitating his advancement to power and dignity; which were so considerable that he was surnamed Rihâna Koreish, or *The sweet odour of the Koreish*, and al Wahid, *i e*, *The only one*, or *The incomparable*[5]

[y] On the revelation of this passage it is said that Walid's prosperity began to decay, and continued daily so to do to the time of his death[6]

[z] Or, as the words may be strictly rendered, *I will drive him up the crag of a mountain*, which some understand of a mountain of fire, agreeably to a tradition of their prophet, importing that al Walid will be condemned to ascend this mountain, and then to be cast down from thence, alternately for ever, and that he will be seventy years in climbing up, and as many in falling down[7]

[1] Idem [2] See cap 26, p 281, and the Prelim. Disc. Sect II p 33. [3] Al Zamakh., al Beidâwi, Jallal. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem. [6] Idem. [7] Idem.

hath devised and prepared *contumelious expressions to ridicule the Korân*. May he be cursed: how *maliciously* hath he prepared *the same!* And again, may he be cursed: how *maliciously* hath he prepared *the same!* Then he looked, and frowned, and put on an austere countenance: then he turned back, and was elated with pride; and he said, This *is* no other than a piece of magic, borrowed from others. these *are* only the words of a man. I will cast him to be burned in hell. And what shall make thee to understand what hell *is?* It leaveth not *anything unconsumed*, neither doth it suffer *anything* to escape: it scorcheth men's flesh: over the same *are* nineteen *angels appointed*. We have appointed none but angels to preside over *hell* fire:[a] and we have expressed the number of them only for an occasion of discord to the unbelievers,[b] that they to whom the scriptures have been given, may be certain *of the veracity of this book*,[c] and the true believers may increase in faith; and that those to whom the scriptures have been given, and the true believers, may not doubt *hereafter*; and that those in whose hearts *there is* an infirmity, and the unbelievers, may say, What mystery doth GOD intend by this *number?* Thus doth GOD cause to err whom he pleaseth; and he directeth whom he pleaseth None knoweth the armies of thy LORD,[d] besides him · and this[e] *is* no other than a memento unto mankind. Assuredly. By the moon, and the night when it retreateth, and the morning when it reddeneth, *I swear* that this *is* one of the most terrible *calamities*, giving warning unto men, as well unto him among you who desireth to go forward, as *unto him who chooseth* to remain behind. Every soul *is* given in pledge for that which it shall have wrought ·[f] except the companions of the right hand;[g] *who shall dwell* in gardens, and shall ask one another questions concerning the wicked, *and shall also ask the wicked themselves, saying*, What hath brought you into hell? They shall answer, We were not of those who were constant at prayer, neither did we feed the poor; and we waded in vain disputes, with the fallacious reasoners; and we denied the day of judgment, until death[h] overtook us. and the intercession of the interceders shall not avail them What aileth them, therefore, that they turn aside from the admonition *of the Korân*, as though they *were* timorous asses flying from a lion? But every man among them desireth that he may have expanded scrolls delivered to him *from God*[i] By no means They fear not the life to come. By no means: verily this *is* a *sufficient* warning. Whoso is

[a] The reason of which is said to be, that they might be of a different nature and species from those who are to be tormented, lest they should have a fellow-feeling of, and compassionate their sufferings, or else, because of their great strength and severity of temper [1]

[b] Or, *for a trial of them* because they might say this was a particular borrowed by Mohammed of the Jews

[c] And especially the Jews; this being conformable to what is contained in their books [2]

[d] *i e*, All his creatures, or particularly the number and strength of the guards of hell.

[e] The antecedent seems to be *hell*

[f] See chapter 52, p 388

[g] *i e*, The blessed,[3] who shall redeem themselves by their good works. Some say these are the angels, and others, such as die infants [4]

[h] Literally, *That which is certain*

[i] For the infidels to Mohammed that they would never obey him as a prophet till he brought each man a writing from heaven, to this effect, viz., *From* GOD *to such a one; Follow Mohammed* [5]

[1] Idem [2] Jallal. [3] See cap 56, p. 396, note [4]. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem.

willing *to be warned*, him shall it warn: but they shall not be warned, unless GOD shall please. He *is* worthy to be feared; and he *is* inclined to forgiveness.

CHAPTER LXXV.

ENTITLED, THE RESURRECTION; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

VERILY I swear[k] by the day of resurrection: and I swear by the soul which accuseth *itself*.[l] doth man think that we will not gather his bones together? Yea: *we are* able to put together the *smallest* bones of his fingers. But man chooseth to be wicked, *for the time which is* before him. He asketh, When *will* the day of resurrection *be*? But when the sight shall be dazzled, and the moon shall be eclipsed, and the sun and the moon shall be in conjunction,[m] on that day man shall say, Where *is* a place of refuge? By no means: *there shall be* no place to fly unto. With thy LORD *shall be* the sure mansion of rest on that day on that day shall a man be told that which he hath done first and last.[n] Yea, a man *shall be* an evidence against himself and though he offer his excuses, *they shall not be received* Move not thy tongue, *O Mohammed*, in *repeating the revelations brought thee by Gabriel, before he shall have finished the same*, that thou mayest quickly commit them to memory. for the collecting the *Korân* in thy mind, and the *teaching thee the true* reading thereof, *are incumbent* on us. But when we shall have read the same *unto thee by the tongue of the angel*, do thou follow the reading thereof: and afterwards *it shall be* our part to explain it *unto thee*. By no means *shalt thou be thus hasty for the future*. But ye love that which hasteneth away,[o] and neglect the life to come *Some* countenances, on that day, *shall be* bright, looking towards their LORD; and *some* countenances, on that day, *shall be* dismal they shall think that a crushing calamity shall be brought upon them Assuredly. When *a man's soul* shall come up to his throat, *in his last agony;* and *the standers-by* shall say, Who bringeth a charm *to recover him*? and shall think it *to be his* departure *out of*

[k] Or, *I will not swear* See chapter 56, p 398, note [m]

[l] Being conscious of having offended, and of failing of perfection, notwithstanding its endeavours to do its duty, or, *the* pious *soul which shall blame others* at the last day, for having been remiss in their devotions, &c Some understand the words of the soul of Adam, in particular, who is continually blaming himself for having lost paradise by his disobedience [6]

[m] Rising both in the west [1] which conjunction is no contradiction to what is mentioned just before, of the moon's being eclipsed, because those words are not to be understood of a regular eclipse, but metaphorically, of the moon's losing her light at the last day in a preternatural manner Some think the meaning rather to be, that the sun and the moon shall be *joined* in the loss of their light [2]

[n] Or, the good *which he hath done*, and that which he hath left undone, &c

[o] *i.e.*, The fleeting pleasures of this life The words intimate the natural hastiness and impatience of man,[3] who takes up with a present enjoyment, though short and bitter in its consequences, rather than wait for real happiness in futurity

[6] Idem [1] See the Prelim. Disc p 62 [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] See cap 17, p. 228.

this world; and *one* leg shall be joined with *the other* leg:[p] on that day unto thy LORD shall he be driven. For he believed not,[q] neither did he pray; but he accused *God's apostle* of imposture, and turned back *from obeying him*: then he departed unto his family, walking with a haughty mien. Wherefore, woe be unto thee; woe! And again, Woe be unto thee; woe! Doth man think that he shall be left at full liberty, *without control?* Was he not a drop of seed, which was emitted? Afterwards he became a little coagulated blood; and *God* formed him, and fashioned him with just proportion: and made of him two sexes, the male and the female. Is not he *who hath done this* able to quicken the dead?

CHAPTER LXXVI.

ENTITLED, MAN; REVEALED AT MECCA.[r]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

DID there not pass over man a *long* space of time; during which he was a thing not worthy of remembrance?[s] Verily we have created man of the mingled seed of both sexes, that we might prove him: and we have made him to hear and to see.[t] We have surely directed him in the way; whether *he be* grateful or ungrateful. Verily we have prepared for the unbelievers chains, and collars, and burning fire. But the just shall drink of a cup *of wine*, mixed with *the water of* Cafur,[u] a fountain whereof the servants of GOD shall drink; they shall convey the same by channels *whithersoever they please. These* fulfil *their* vow, and dread the day, the evil whereof will disperse itself far abroad; and give food unto the poor, and the orphan, and the bondman, for his sake, *saying*, We feed you for GOD'S sake only: we desire no recompence from you, nor any thanks verily we dread, from our LORD, a dismal *and* calamitous day[x] Wherefore GOD shall deliver them

[p] *i e*, And when he shall stretch forth his legs together, as is usual with dying persons. The words may also be translated, *And when one affliction shall be joined with another affliction*

[q] Or, *He did not give alms*, or, *He was not a man of veracity* Some suppose Abu Jahl, and others one Adi Ebn Rabia, to be particularly inveighed against in this chapter

[r] It is somewhat doubtful whether this chapter was revealed at Mecca or Medina

[s] Some take these words to be spoken of Adam, whose body, according to the Mohammedan tradition, was at first a figure of clay, and was left forty years to dry before GOD breathed life into it,[1] others understand them of man in general, and of the time he lies in the womb

[t] That he might be capable of receiving the rules and directions given by GOD for his guidance,[2] and of meriting reward or punishment for his observance or neglect of them.

[u] Is the name of a fountain in paradise, so called from its resembling *camphire* (which the word signifies) in odour and whiteness Some take the word for an appellative, and think the wine of paradise will be mixed with *camphire*, because of its agreeable coolness and smell.[3]

[x] It is related that Hasan and Hosein, Mohammed's grandchildren, on a certain time being both sick, the prophet, among others, visited them, and they wished Ali to make some vow to GOD for the recovery of his sons: whereupon Ali, and Fâtema, and Fidda, their maid-servant, vowed a fast of three days in case they did well, as it happened they did. This vow was performed with so great strictness, that the first day, having no provisions in the house, Ali was

[1] See the notes to cap 2, p. 4. [2] Al Beidâwi. [3] Idem.

from the evil of that day, and shall cast on them brightness of countenance, and joy; and shall reward them, for their patient persevering, with a garden, and silk *garments:* therein shall they repose themselves on couches; they shall see therein neither sun nor moon.[y] and the shades thereof *shall be* near *spreading* above them, and the fruits thereof shall hang low, so as to be easily gathered. And *their attendants* shall go round about unto them, with vessels of silver, and goblets: the bottles shall be bottles of silver *shining like glass*, they shall determine the measure thereof *by their wish.* And therein shall they be given to drink of a cup *of wine*, mixed with *the water* of Zenjebil,[z] a fountain in *paradise* named Salsabil [a] and youths, which shall continue *for ever in their bloom*, shall go round *to attend* them; when thou seest them, thou shalt think them *to be* scattered pearls and when thou lookest, there shalt thou behold delights, and a great kingdom. Upon them *shall be* garments of fine green silk, and of brocades, and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver: and their LORD shall give them to drink of a most pure liquor; *and shall say unto them*, Verily this is your reward and your endeavour is gratefully accepted. Verily we have sent down unto thee the Korân, by a *gradual* revelation Wherefore patiently wait the judgment of the LORD; and obey not any wicked person or unbeliever among them. And commemorate the name of thy LORD, in the morning and in the evening and *during some part* of the night worship him, and praise him a long *part of the* night. Verily these *men* love the transitory *life*, and leave behind them the heavy day *of judgment* We have created them, and have strengthened their joints; and when we please, we will substitute *others* like unto them, in their stead. Verily this *is* an admonition: and whoso willeth, taketh the way unto his LORD. but ye shall not will, unless GOD willeth, for GOD is knowing *and* wise He leadeth whom he pleaseth into his mercy: but for the unjust hath he prepared a grievous punishment.

obliged to borrow three measures of barley of one Simeon, a Jew, of Khaibar, one measure of which Fâtema ground the same day, and baked five cakes of the meal, and they were set before them to break their fast with after sunset but a poor man coming to them, they gave all their bread to him, and passed the night without tasting anything except water The next day Fâtema made another measure into bread, for the same purpose, but an orphan begging some food, they chose to let him have it, and passed that night as the first, and the third day they likewise gave their whole provision to a famished captive Upon this occasion Gabriel descended with the chapter before us, and told Mohammed that GOD congratulated him on the virtues of his family [1]

y Because they shall not need the light of either [2] The word Zamharir, here translated *moon*, properly signifies *extreme cold* for which reason some understand the meaning of the passage to be, that in paradise there shall be felt no excess either of *heat* or of *cold*

z The word signifies *ginger*, which the Arabs delight to mix with the water they drink, and therefore the water of this fountain is supposed to have the taste of that spice.[3]

a Signifies water which flows gently and pleasantly down the throat

1 Idem. 2 See Revel. [illegible] 3 Al Beidâwi, Jallal.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

ENTITLED, THOSE WHICH ARE SENT; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

BY the *angels* which are sent *by God*, following one another in a continual series; and those which move swiftly, with a rapid motion; and by those which disperse *his commands*, by divulging them *through the earth*, and by those which separate *truth from falsehood*, by distinguishing *the same*; and by those which communicate *the divine* admonitions, to excuse, or to threaten:[b] verily that which ye are promised[c] *is* inevitable. When the stars, therefore, shall be out, and when the heaven shall be cloven in sunder, and when the mountains shall be winnowed, and when the apostles shall have a time assigned them *to appear and bear testimony against their respective people;* to what a day shall *that appointment* be deferred! to the day of separation and what shall cause thee to understand what the day of separation *is?* On that day, woe be unto them who accused *the prophets* of imposture! Have we not destroyed the *obstinate unbelievers* of old? We will also cause those of the latter times to follow them. Thus do we deal with the wicked. Woe be, on that day, unto them who accused *the prophets* of imposture! Have we not created you of a contemptible drop *of seed*, which we placed in a sure repository, until the fixed term *of delivery?* And we were able *to do this*: for we are most powerful. On that day, woe be unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! Have we not made the earth to contain the living and the dead, and placed therein stable *and* lofty *mountains*, and given you fresh water to drink? Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! *It shall be said unto them*, Go ye to the *punishment* which ye denied as a falsehood. go ye into the shadow *of the smoke of hell*, which *shall ascend* in three columns, and shall not shade *you from the heat*, neither shall it be of service against the flame; but it shall cast forth sparks *as big* as towers, resembling yellow camels *in colour*.[d] Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! This *shall be* a day whereon they shall not speak *to any purpose*, neither shall they be permitted to excuse themselves. Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! This *shall be* the day of separation. we will assemble *both* you and your predecessors Wherefore, if ye have any cunning stratagem, employ stratagems against me. Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets*

[b] Some understand the whole passage of the *verses* of the Korân; which *continued to be sent down*, parcel after parcel, during the space of several years, and which *rescind* (for so the verb *nasafa* may also be translated) and abolish all former dispensations, *divulging and making known* the ways of salvation, *distinguishing* truth from falsehood, and *communicating admonition*, &c. Some interpret the first three verses of the *winds, sent in a continual succession, blowing with a violent gust, and dispersing* rain over the earth; and others give different explications.

[c] viz., The day of judgment.

[d] Being of a fiery colour Others, however, suppose these sparks will be of a dusky hue, like that of *black* camels, which always inclines a little to the yellow; the word translated *yellow*, signifying sometimes *black* Some copies, by the variation of a vowel, have *cables*, instead of *camels*.

of imposture! But the pious *shall dwell* amidst shades and fountains, and fruits of the *kinds* which they shall desire: *and it shall be said unto them*, Eat and drink with easy digestion, *in recompence* for that which ye have wrought; for thus do we reward the righteous doers. Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! Eat, *O unbelievers*, and enjoy *the pleasures of this life*, for a little while: verily ye *are* wicked men. Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! And when it is said unto them, Bow down; they do not bow down. Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! In what new revelation will they believe, after this?

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

ENTITLED, THE NEWS; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

(XXX.) CONCERNING what do *the unbelievers* ask questions of one another? Concerning the great news *of the resurrection*, about which they disagree. Assuredly they shall hereafter know *the truth thereof* Again, Assuredly they shall hereafter know *the truth thereof*. Have we not made the earth for a bed, and the mountains for stakes *to fix the same*?* And have we not created you of two sexes; and appointed your sleep for rest, and made the night a garment *to cover you*, and destined the day to the gaining *your* livelihood; and built over you seven solid *heavens*; and placed *therein* a burning lamp? And do we not send down from the *clouds* pressing forth rain, water pouring down in abundance, that we may thereby produce corn, and herbs, and gardens planted thick *with trees*? Verily the day of separation is a fixed period the day whereon the trumpet shall sound, and ye shall come in troops *to judgment*; and the heaven shall be opened, and shall be *full of* gates *for the angels to pass through*, and the mountains shall pass away, and become *as* a vapour; verily hell shall be a place of ambush, a receptacle for the transgressors, who shall remain therein for ages they shall not taste any refreshment therein, or any drink, except boiling water, and filthy corruption: a fit recompence *for their deeds*! For they hoped that they should not be brought to an account, and they disbelieved our signs, accusing them of falsehood But everything have we computed, and written down. Taste, therefore: we will not add unto you *any other* than torment.† But for the pious *is prepared* a place of bliss · gardens planted with trees, and vineyards, and *damsels* with swelling breasts, of equal age *with themselves*, and a full cup They shall hear no vain discourse there, nor any falsehood. *This shall be their* recompence from thy LORD; a gift *fully*

* See chapter 16, p 196, and chapter 31, p 307

† This, say the commentators, is the most severe and terrible sentence in the whole Korân pronounced against the inhabitants of hell; they being hereby assured that every change in their torments will be for the worse.

sufficient: *from* the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is* between them; the Merciful. *The inhabitants of heaven or of earth* shall not dare to demand audience of him: the day whereon the spirit *Gabriel* and the *other* angels shall stand in order, they shall not speak *in behalf of themselves or others*, except he *only* to whom the Merciful shall grant permission, and who shall say that which is right. This *is* the infallible day. Whoso, therefore, willeth, let him return unto his LORD. Verily we threaten you with a punishment nigh at hand: the day whereon a man shall behold *the good or evil deeds* which his hands have sent before him; and the unbeliever shall say, Would to GOD I were dust!

CHAPTER LXXIX.

ENTITLED, THOSE WHO TEAR FORTH; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

BY the *angels* who tear forth *the souls of some* with violence; and by those who draw forth *the souls of others* with gentleness:[g] by those who glide swimmingly *through the air with the commands of God;* and those who precede and usher *the righteous to paradise*, and those who subordinately govern the affairs *of this world*: on a *certain* day, the disturbing *blast of the trumpet* shall disturb *the universe*, and the subsequent *blast* shall follow it. On that day *men's* hearts shall tremble: their looks *shall be* cast down. *The infidels* say, Shall we surely be made to return whence we came?[h] After we shall have become rotten bones, *shall we be again raised to life?* They say, This then *will be* a return to loss. Verily it *will be* but one sounding *of the trumpet*,[i] and behold, they *shall appear alive* on the face of the earth.[k] Hath not the story of Moses reached thee? When his LORD called unto him in the holy valley Towa,[l] *saying*, Go unto Pharaoh; for he is insolently wicked and say, Hast thou *a desire* to become just and holy? and I will direct thee unto thy LORD, that thou mayest fear *to transgress.* And he showed him the very great sign *of the rod turned into a serpent.* but he charged *Moses* with imposture, and rebelled *against God.* Then he turned back hastily; and he assembled *the magicians*, and cried

[g] These are the angel of death and his assistants, who will take the souls of the wicked in a rough and cruel manner from the inmost part of their bodies, as a man drags up a thing from the bottom of the sea but will take the souls of the good in a gentle and easy manner from their lips, as when a man draws a bucket of water at one pull.[1]

There are several other interpretations of this whole passage; some expounding all the five parts of the oath of the stars, others of the souls of men, others of the souls of warriors in particular, and others of war horses. a detail of which, I apprehend, would rather tire than please.

[h] *i.e.*, Shall we be restored to our former condition?

[i] viz, The second or third blast, according to different opinions

[k] Or, *they shall appear at the place of judgment.* The original word al Sâhira is also one of the names of hell

[l] See chapter 20 p 236

[1] Al Beidawi

aloud, saying, I *am* your supreme LORD. Wherefore GOD chastised him with the punishment of the life to come, and *also* of this present life. Verily herein *is* an example unto him who feareth *to rebel*. *Are* ye more difficult to create, or the heaven which *God* hath built? He hath raised the height thereof, and hath perfectly formed the same and he hath made the night thereof dark, and hath produced the light thereof. After this he stretched out the earth,[m] whence he caused to spring forth the water thereof, and the pasture thereof, and he established the mountains, for the use of yourselves and of your cattle. When the prevailing, the great *day* shall come, on that day shall a man call to remembrance what he hath purposely done: and hell shall be exposed to the view of the spectator. And whoso shall have transgressed, and shall have chosen this present life, verily hell shall be his abode. but whoso shall have dreaded the appearing before his LORD, and shall have refrained *his* soul from lust; verily paradise shall be *his* abode. They will ask thee concerning the *last* hour, when *will be* the fixed time thereof. By what means *canst* thou *give* any information of the same? Unto thy LORD *belongeth the knowledge of* the period thereof. and thou *art* only a warner, who fearest the same The day whereon they shall see the same, *it shall seem to them* as though they had not tarried *in the world longer* than an evening or a morning thereof.

CHAPTER LXXX.

ENTITLED, HE FROWNED; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE *prophet* frowned, and turned aside, because the blind *man* came unto him [n] and how dost thou know whether he shall peradventure be cleansed *from his sins*, or *whether* he shall be admonished, and the admonition shall profit him? *The man* who is wealthy thou receivest respectfully, whereas *it is* not *to be charged* on thee, that he is not cleansed: but him who cometh unto thee earnestly seeking *his salvation*, and who feareth *God*, dost thou neglect. By no means *shouldst thou act thus* Verily *the Korân* is an admonition (and he who is willing retaineth the same); *written* in volumes honourable,

[m] Which had been created before the heavens, but without expansion [i]

[n] This passage was revealed on the following occasion A certain blind man, named Abd allah Ebn Omm Mactûm came and interrupted Mohammed while he was engaged in earnest discourse with some of the principal Koreish, whose conversion he had hopes of, but the prophet taking no notice of him, the blind man, not knowing he was otherwise busied, raised his voice, and said, *O apostle of* GOD *teach me some part of what* GOD *hath taught thee*, but Mohammed, vexed at this interruption, frowned and turned away from him, for which he is here reprehended After this, whenever the prophet saw Ebn Omm Mactûm, he showed him great respect, saying, *The man is welcome, on whose account my* LORD *hath reprimanded me*, and he made him twice governor of Medina [k]

[i] Jallalo'ddin. [k] Idem al Beidâwi.

exalted, *and* pure; by the hands of scribes honoured *and* just.[o] May man be cursed! What hath seduced him to infidelity? Of what thing doth GOD create him? Of a drop of seed doth he create him; and he formeth him with proportion; and then facilitateth *his* passage *out of the womb:* afterwards he causeth him to die, and layeth him in the grave; hereafter, when it shall please him, he shall raise him to life. Assuredly. He hath not hitherto fully performed what *God* hath commanded him. Let man consider his food; *in what manner it is provided.* We pour down water by showers; afterwards we cleave the earth in clefts, and we cause corn to spring forth therein, and grapes, and clover, and the olive, and the palm, and gardens planted thick with trees, and fruits, and grass, for the use of yourselves and of your cattle. When the stunning sound *of the trumpet* shall be heard; on that day shall a man fly from his brother, and his mother, and his father, and his wife, and his children. Every man of them, on that day, shall have business *of his own* sufficient to employ *his thoughts.* On that day *the* faces *of some shall be* bright, laughing, *and* joyful: and upon *the* faces *of others,* on that day, *shall there be* dust; darkness shall cover them. These are the unbelievers, the wicked.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

ENTITLED, THE FOLDING UP; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

WHEN the sun shall be folded up;[p] and when the stars shall fall; and when the mountains shall be made to pass away; and when the camels ten months gone with young shall be neglected;[q] and when the wild beasts shall be gathered together;[r] and when the seas shall boil;[s] and when the souls shall be joined *again to their bodies;* and when the girl who hath been buried alive shall be asked for what crime she was put to death;[t] and when the books shall be laid open; and when the heaven shall be removed;[u] and when hell shall burn fiercely; and when paradise shall be brought near; *every* soul shall know what

[o] Being transcribed from the *preserved table,* highly honoured in the sight of GOD, kept pure and uncorrupted from the hands of evil spirits, and touched only by the angels Some understand hereby the books of the prophets, with which the Korân agrees in substance.[1]

[p] As a garment that is laid by

[q] See the Prelim Disc. Sect. IV p 64.

[r] See ibid p 64 and 67.

[s] See ibid p 64

[t] For it was customary among the ancient Arabs to bury their daughters alive as soon as they were born, for fear they should be impoverished by providing for them, or should suffer disgrace on their account See chapter 16, p 199

[u] Or plucked away from its place, as *the skin is plucked off* from a camel which is flaying; for that is the proper signification of the verb here used Marracci fancies the passage alludes to that in the Psalms,[2] where, according to the versions of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, GOD is said to have *stretched out the heaven like a skin*

[1] Al Zamakh. [2] Psalm civ. 2.

it hath wrought. Verily I swear[x] by the stars which are retrograde, which move swiftly, *and* which hide themselves,[y] and by the night, when it cometh on; and by the morning, when it appeareth; that these *are* the words of an honourable messenger,[z] endued with strength, of established dignity in the sight of the possessor of the throne, obeyed *by the angels under his authority*, and faithful. and your companion *Mohammed* is not distracted. He had already seen him in the clear horizon:[a] and he suspected not[b] the secrets *revealed unto him*. Neither *are* these the words of an accursed devil.[c] Whither, therefore, are ye going? This *is* no other than an admonition unto all creatures; unto him among you who shall be willing to walk uprightly: but ye shall not will, unless GOD willeth, the LORD of all creatures.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

ENTITLED, THE CLEAVING IN SUNDER, REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the heaven shall be cloven in sunder; and when the stars shall be scattered, and when the seas shall be suffered to join their waters; and when the graves shall be turned upside down: *every* soul shall know what it hath committed, and *what* it hath omitted. O man, what hath seduced thee against thy gracious LORD, who hath created thee, and put thee together, and rightly disposed thee? In what form he pleased hath he fashioned thee. Assuredly. But ye deny the *last* judgment as a falsehood. Verily *there are appointed* over you guardian *angels*,[d] honourable *in the sight of God*, writing down *your actions*, who know that which ye do. The just *shall* surely *be* in *a place of* delight: but the wicked *shall* surely *be* in hell; they shall be cast therein to be burned, on the day of judgment, and they *shall* not *be* absent therefrom *for ever*. What shall cause thee to understand what the day of judgment *is*? Again, What shall cause thee to understand what the day of judgment *is*? *It is* a day whereon one soul shall not be able to obtain anything in behalf of *another* soul: and the command on that day *shall be* GOD'S.

[x] Or, *I will not swear*, &c. See chapter 56, p. 308, note [m].

[y] Some understand hereby the stars in general, but the more exact commentators, five of the planets, viz., the two which accompany the sun, and the three superior planets, which have both a retrograde and a direct motion, and hide themselves in the rays of the sun, or when they set.

[z] *i.e.*, Gabriel.

[a] See chapter 53, p. 389.

[b] Some copies, by a change of one letter only, instead of *dhanînin*, read *danînin*; and then the words should be rendered, *He is not tenacious of*, or grudges not to communicate to you, *the secret revelations* which he has received.

[c] Who has overheard, by stealth, the discourse of the angels. The verse is an answer to a calumny of the infidels, who said the Korân was only a piece of divination, or magic; for the Arabs suppose the soothsayer, or magician, receives his intelligence from those evil spirits, who are continually listening to learn what they can from the inhabitants of heaven.

[d] See chapter 50, p. 384, and the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 50.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

ENTITLED, THOSE WHO GIVE SHORT MEASURE OR WEIGHT; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WOE be unto those who give short measure or weight; who, when they receive by measure from *other* men, take the full; but when they measure unto them, or weigh unto them, defraud! Do not these think they shall be raised again at the great day; the day whereon mankind shall stand before the LORD of all creatures? By no means. Verily the register of *the actions of* the wicked *is* surely in Sejjin.[e] And what shall make thee to understand what Sejjin *is?* *It is* a book distinctly written. Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture; who denied the day of judgment as a falsehood! And none denieth the same as a falsehood, except every unjust *and* flagitious person: who, when our signs are rehearsed unto him, saith, *They are* fables of the ancients. By no means. but rather their lusts have cast a veil over their hearts. By no means. Verily they *shall be* shut out from their LORD on that day; and they shall be sent into hell to be burned then shall it be said *unto them, by the infernal guards,* This *is* what ye denied as a falsehood. Assuredly. But the register of *the actions of* the righteous *is* in Illiyyûn.[f] and what shall cause thee to understand what Illiyyûn *is?* *It is* a book distinctly written those who approach near *unto God* are witnesses thereto.[g] Verily the righteous *shall dwell* among delights. *seated* on couches they shall behold *objects of pleasure;* thou shalt see in their faces the brightness of joy. They shall be given to drink of pure wine, sealed, the seal whereof *shall be* musk [h] and to this let those aspire, who aspire *to happiness.* and the *water* mixed therewith *shall be* of Tasnîm,[i] a fountain whereof those shall drink who approach near *unto the divine presence.*[k] They

[e] Is the name of the general register, wherein the actions of all the wicked, both men and genii, are distinctly entered Sejjin signifies a *prison*, and this book, as some think, derives its name from thence, because it will occasion those whose deeds are there recorded to be *imprisoned in hell* Sejjin, or Sajin, is also the name of the dungeon beneath the seventh earth, the residence of Eblis and his host, where, it is supposed by some, that this book is kept, and where the souls of the wicked will be detained till the resurrection [1] If the latter explication be admitted, the words, *And what shall make thee to understand what Sejjin is?* should be enclosed within a parenthesis

[f] The word is a plural, and signifies high places Some say it is the general register wherein the actions of the righteous, whether angels, men, or genii, are distinctly recorded Others will have it to be a place in the seventh heaven, under the throne of GOD, where this book is kept, and where the souls of the just, as many think, will remain till the last day [2] If we prefer the latter opinion, the words, *And what shall make thee to understand what Illiyyûn is?* should likewise be enclosed in a parenthesis

[g] Or, *are present with,* and keep *the same*

[h] *i e*, The vessels containing the same shall be sealed with musk, instead of clay Some understand by the seal of this wine its farewell, or the flavour it will leave in the mouth after it is drank

[i] Is the name of a fountain in paradise, so called from its being conveyed to the highest apartments

[k] For *they* shall drink the water of Tasnîm pure and unmixed, being continually and wholly employed in the contemplation of GOD; but the other inhabitants of paradise shall drink it mixed with their wine [3]

[1] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV p. 61 [2] Jallalo'ddin See the Prelim Disc ubi sup [3] Al Beidâwi

who act wickedly laugh the true believers to scorn, and when they pass by them, they wink at one another: and when they turn aside to their people, they turn aside making scurrilous jests. and when they see them, they say, Verily these *are* mistaken men. But they are not sent *to be* keepers over them.[l] Wherefore one day the true believers, *in their turn*, shall laugh the infidels to scorn [m] *lying* on couches, they shall look down *upon them in hell.* Shall not the infidels be rewarded for that which they have done?

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

ENTITLED, THE RENDING IN SUNDER, REVEALED AT MECCA.[n]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the heaven shall be rent in sunder, and shall obey its LORD, and shall be capable *thereof,* and when the earth shall be stretched out,[o] and shall cast forth that which *is* therein,[p] and shall remain empty, and shall obey its LORD, and shall be capable *thereof.* O man, verily labouring thou labourest to *meet* thy LORD, and thou shalt meet him.[q] And he who shall have his book given into his right hand, shall be called to an easy account, and shall turn unto his family[r] with joy. but he who shall have his book given him behind his back,[s] shall invoke destruction *to fall upon him*, and he shall be sent into hell to be burned, because he rejoiced insolently amidst his family *on earth.* Verily he thought that he should never return *unto God* yea verily, but his LORD beheld him Wherefore I swear[t] by the redness of the sky after sunset, and by the night, and the *animals* which it driveth together, and by the moon when she is at the full; ye shall surely be transferred *successively* from state to state.[u] What *aileth* them, therefore, that they believe not *the resurrection,* and that, when the Korân is read unto them, they worship not?[x] Yea. the unbelievers accuse *the same* of imposture: but GOD well knoweth the *malice* which they keep

[l] *i e*, The infidels are not commissioned by GOD to call the believers to account, or to judge of their actions

[m] When they shall see them ignominiously driven into hell It is also said, that a door shall be shown the damned, opening into paradise, and they shall be bidden to go in, but when they come near the door it shall be suddenly shut, and the believers within shall laugh at them [1]

[n] There are some who take this chapter to have been revealed at Medina.

[o] Like a skin, every mountain and hill being levelled

[p] As the treasures hidden in its bowels, and the dead bodies which lie in their graves

[q] Or, *and thou shalt meet thy labour*, whether thy works be good, or whether they be evil

[r] *i e*, His relations or friends who are true believers; or rather, to his wives and servants, of the damsels and youths of paradise, who wait to receive him [2]

[s] That is, into his left hand, for the wicked will have that hand bound behind their back, and their right hand to their neck.

[t] Or, *I will not swear.* See chapter 56, p. 398, note [m]

[u] *i e*, From the state of the living, to that of the dead, and from the state of the dead, to a new state of life in another world.

[x] Or, *humble not themselves.*

[1] *Idem.* [2] Idem.

hidden *in their breasts.* Wherefore denounce unto them a grievous punishment, except those who believe and do good works: for them *is prepared* a never-failing reward.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

ENTITLED, THE CELESTIAL SIGNS; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

BY the heaven *adorned* with signs;[y] by the promised day *of judgment;* by the witness, and the witnessed,[z] cursed were the contrivers of the pit,[a] of fire supplied with fuel; when they sat round the same, and were witnesses of what they did against the true believers:[b] and they afflicted them for no other reason, but because they believed in the mighty, the glorious GOD, unto whom *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth. and GOD *is* witness of all things. Verily for those who prosecute the true believers of either sex, and afterwards repent not, *is prepared* the torment of hell; and they *shall suffer* the pain of burning.[c] But for those who believe, and do that which is right, *are destined* gardens beneath which rivers flow this *shall be* great felicity. Verily the vengeance of thy LORD *is* severe He createth, and he restoreth *to life:* he *is* inclined to forgive, *and* gracious · the possessor of the glorious throne; who effecteth that which he pleaseth. Hath not the story of the hosts of Pharaoh,[d] and of Thamud,[e] reached thee? Yet the unbelievers cease not to accuse *the divine revelations* of false

[y] The original word properly signifies *towers*, which some interpret of real towers,[1] wherein it is supposed the angels keep guard ,[2] and others, of the stars of the first magnitude but the generality of expositors understand thereby the twelve signs of the zodiac, wherein the planets make their several stations [3]

[z] The meaning of these words is very uncertain, and the explications of the commentators consequently vary One thinks *the witness* to be Mohammed, and *that which is borne witness of*, to be *the resurrection*, or *the professors of the Mohammedan faith*, or else that these latter are *the witness*, and the professors of every other religion, those who will be *witnessed against* by them Another supposes *the witness* to be the *guardian angel*, and his charge the person *witnessed against* Another expounds the words of the day of Arafat, the 9th of Dhu'lhajja, and of the day of slaying the victims, which is the day following, or else of Friday, the day of the weekly assembling of the Mohammedans at their mosques and of the people who are assembled on those days, &c.[4]

[a] Literally, *the lords of the pit* These were the ministers of the persecution raised by Dhu Nowâs, king of Yaman, who was of the Jewish religion, against the inhabitants of Najrân. for they having embraced Christianity (at that time the true religion, by the confession of Mohammed himself), the bigoted tyrant commanded all those who would not renounce their faith to be cast into a pit, or trench, filled with fire, and there burnt to ashes.[5] Others, however, tell the story with different circumstances [6]

[b] Or, as some choose to understand the words, *And shall be witnesses against themselves, at the day of judgment, of their unjust treatment of the true believers*

[c] Which pain, it is said, the persecutors of the Christian martyrs above mentioned felt in this life , the fire bursting forth upon them from the pit, and consuming them.[7]

[d] See chapter 7, p 115, &c.

[e] See ibid. p 111, &c.

[1] Yahya [2] See cap 15, p 191. [3] Jallal , al Beidâwi, Yahya. [4] *Idem.* [5] *Idem.* Vide Poc Spec. p 62 , Ecchellens Hist. Arab. part 1, c 10 , and Prid Life of Mah. p. 61. [6] Vide D'Herbel. Bibl Orient Art Abou Navas. [7] Al Beidâwi, Yahya.

hood: but GOD encompasseth them behind, *that they cannot escape.* Verily *that which they reject* is a glorious Korân; *the original whereof is written* in a table kept *in heaven.*[f]

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

ENTITLED, THE STAR WHICH APPEARETH BY NIGHT; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the heaven, and that which appeareth by night: but what shall cause thee to understand what that which appeareth by night *is?* *it is* the star of piercing brightness[g] every soul hath a guardian *set* over it Let a man consider, therefore, of what he is created. He is created of seed poured forth, issuing from the loins, and the breast-bones[h] Verily *God is* able to restore him *to life*, the day whereon *all* secret thoughts and actions shall be examined into; and he shall have no power *to defend himself*, nor any protector. By the heaven which returneth *the rain*,[i] and by the earth which openeth *to let forth vegetables and springs* verily this *is* a discourse distinguishing *good from evil*, and it *is* not *composed* with lightness Verily *the infidels* are laying a plot *to frustrate my designs* but I will lay a plot *for their ruin* Wherefore, *O prophet*, bear with the unbelievers let them alone a while.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

ENTITLED, THE MOST HIGH,[k] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

PRAISE the name of thy LORD, the most high, who hath created, and completely formed *his creatures* and who determineth *them*

[f] And preserved from the least change or corruption See the Prelim Disc Sect III p 50, and Sect IV p 58

[g] Some take the words to signify any bright star, without restriction; but others think some particular star or stars to be thereby intended, which one supposes to be the morning star (peculiarly called *al Tarek*, or *the appearing by night*), another Saturn (that planet being by the Arabs surnamed *al Thakeb*, or *the piercing*, as it was by the Greeks, *Phænon*, or *the shining*), and a third, the *Pleiades*

[h] *i e*, From the loins of the man, and the breast bones of the woman [1]

[i] Or, as some expound it, *Which performeth its periodic motion, returning* to the point from whence it began the same The words seem designed to express the alternate returns of the different seasons of the year

[k] Some take the first word of this chapter, viz, *Praise*, for its title

[1] Al Beidâwi, Yahya

to various ends,[l] and directeth *them to attain the same*;[m] and who produceth the pasture *for cattle*, and *afterwards* rendereth the same dry stubble of a dusky hue. We will enable thee to rehearse *our revelations*;[n] and thou shalt not forget *any part thereof*, except what GOD shall please,[o] for he knoweth that which is manifest, and that which is hidden. And we will facilitate unto thee the most easy *way*.[p] Wherefore admonish *thy people*, if *thy* admonition shall be profitable *unto them*. Whoso feareth *God*, he will be admonished: but the most wretched *unbeliever* will turn away therefrom; who shall be cast to be broiled in the greater fire *of hell*, wherein he shall not die, neither shall he live. Now hath he attained felicity who is purified *by faith*, and who remembereth the name of his LORD, and prayeth. But ye prefer this present life: yet the life to come *is* better, and more durable. Verily this *is written* in the ancient books, the books of Abraham and Moses.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

ENTITLED, THE OVERWHELMING;[q] REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

HATH the news of the overwhelming *day of judgment* reached thee? The countenances *of some*, on that day, *shall be* cast down; labouring *and* toiling:[r] they shall be cast into scorching fire to be broiled: they shall be given to drink of a boiling fountain: they shall have no food, but of dry thorns and thistles;[s] which shall not fatten, neither shall they satisfy hunger. *But* the countenances *of others*, on that day, *shall be* joyful, well pleased with their *past* endeavour: they *shall be placed* in a lofty garden, wherein thou shalt hear no vain discourse: therein *shall be* a running fountain: therein *shall be* raised beds, and goblets placed *before them*, and cushions laid in order, and carpets ready spread. Do they not consider the camels,[t] how they are created,

[l] Determining their various species, properties, ways of life, &c.[1]

[m] Guiding the rational by their reason and also by revelation, and the irrational by instinct, &c.[2]

[n] See chapter 75, p. 431.

[o] *i.e.*, Except such revelations as GOD shall think fit to abrogate and blot out of thy memory. See chapter 2, p. 13, and chapter 75, p. 431.

[p] To retain the relations communicated to thee by Gabriel; or, as some understand the words, *We will dispose thee to the profession and strict observance of the most easy religion*, that is, *of Islâm*.

[q] This is a name, or epithet, of the last day, because it will suddenly *overwhelm* all creatures with fear and astonishment. It is also a name, or epithet, of hell fire.

[r] *i.e.*, Dragging their chains, and labouring through hell fire, as camels labour through mud, &c. Or, *Employing and fatiguing themselves* in what shall not avail them.[3]

[s] Such as the camels eat when green and tender. Some take the original word *al Darî* for the name of a thorny tree.

[t] These animals are of such use, or rather necessity, in the east, that the creation of a species so wonderfully adapted to those countries is a very proper instance, to an Arabian, of the power and wisdom of GOD. Some, however, think the *clouds* (which the original word *ibl* also signifies) are here intended, *the heaven* being mentioned immediately after.

[1] Al Beidâwi. [2] Idem. [3] Idem.

and the heaven, how it is raised, and the mountains, how they are fixed; and the earth, how it is extended? Wherefore warn *thy people*; for thou *art* a warner only: thou art not empowered to act with authority over them. But whoever shall turn back,[u] and disbelieve, GOD shall punish him with the greater punishment *of the life to come.* Verily unto us shall they return: then shall it be our part to bring them to account.

CHAPTER LXXXIX

ENTITLED, THE DAYBREAK; REVEALED AT MECCA.[x]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the daybreak, and ten nights;[y] by that which is double, and that which is single;[z] and by the night when it cometh on: *is there* not in this an oath formed with understanding? Hast thou not considered how thy LORD dealt with Ad, *the people of* Irem,[a] adorned with lofty buildings,[b] the like whereof hath not been erected in the land;[c] and with Thamud, who hewed the rocks in the valley[d] *into houses*; and

[u] Or, *Except him who shall turn back, and be an infidel: and* GOD *shall also punish him* &c. By which exception some suppose that power is here given to Mohammed to chastise obstinate infidels and apostates.

[x] Some are of opinion this chapter was revealed at Medina.

[y] That is, the ten nights of Dhu'lhajja, or the 10th of that month (whence some understand the daybreak mentioned just before, of the morning of that day, or of the preceding), or the nights of the 10th of Moharram, or, as others rather think, the 10th, 11th, and 12th of Dhu'lhajja, all which are days peculiarly sacred among the Mohammedans.

[z] These words are variously interpreted. Some understand thereby all things in general, some all created beings (which are said to have been created by pairs, or of two kinds),[1] and the Creator, who is single, some, of the *primum mobile*, and the other orbs, some, of the constellations and the planets, some, of the nights before mentioned, taken either together or singly, and some, of the day of slaying the victims (the 10th of Dhu'lhajja), and of the day of Arafat, which is the day before, &c.[2]

[a] Was the name of the territory or city of the Adites, and of the garden mentioned in the next note, which were so called from Irem, or Aram, the grandfather of Ad their progenitor. Some think Aram himself to be here meant, and his name to be added to signify the ancient Adites, his immediate descendants, and to distinguish them from the latter tribe of that name;[3] but the adjective and relative joined to the word are, in the original, of the feminine gender, which seems to contradict this opinion.

[b] Or *pillars*. Some imagine these words are used to express the great size and strength of the old Adites;[4] and then they should be translated, *who were of enormous stature*. But the more exact commentators take the passage to relate to the sumptuous palace and delightful gardens built and made by Sheddâd the son of Ad. For they say Ad left two sons, Sheddâd and Sheddîd, who reigned jointly after his decease, and extended their power over the greater part of the world; but Sheddîd dying, his brother became sole monarch, who, having heard of the *celestial paradise*, made a garden in imitation thereof, in the deserts of Aden, and called it Irem, after the name of his great-grandfather. When it was finished he set out, with a great attendance, to take a view of it, but when they were come within a day's journey of the place, they were all destroyed by a terrible noise from heaven. Al Beidâwi adds that one Abdallah Ebn Kelâbah (whom, after D'Herbelot, I have elsewhere named Colabah)[5] accidentally hit on this wonderful place as he was seeking a camel.

[c] If we suppose the preceding words to relate to the vast stature of the Adites, these must be translated, *The like of whom hath not been created*, &c.

[d] The learned Greaves, in his translation of Abulfeda's description of Arabia,[6] has falsely

[1] See cap. 51, p. 387. [2] Al Zamakh. [3] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [4] Idem. See the Prelim. Disc. p. 5. [5] Prelim. Disc. p. 5. [6] P. 43. It was published by Dr. Hudson, in the third vol. of the Geographiæ Veteris Scriptor. Gr. minor.

with Pharaoh, the contriver of the stakes;[e] who had behaved insolently in the earth, and multiplied corruption therein? Wherefore thy LORD poured on them various kinds[f] of chastisement: for thy LORD *is* surely in a watch-tower, *whence he observeth the actions of men.* Moreover man, when his LORD trieth him *by prosperity,* and honoureth him, and is bounteous unto him, saith, My LORD honoureth me: but when he proveth him *by afflictions,* and withholdeth his provisions from him, he saith, My LORD despiseth me. By no means:[g] but ye honour not the orphan, neither do ye excite *one another* to feed the poor; and ye devour the inheritance *of the weak,*[h] with undistinguishing greediness; and ye love riches, with much affection. By no means *should ye do thus.* When the earth shall be minutely ground to dust; and thy LORD shall come, and the angels rank by rank; and hell, on that day, shall be brought nigh:[i] on that day shall man call to remembrance *his evil deeds;* but how *shall* remembrance *avail* him? He shall say, Would to GOD that I had heretofore done *good works* in my lifetime![k] On that day none shall punish with his punishment; nor shall any bind with his bonds.[l] O thou soul which art at rest,[m] return unto thy LORD, well pleased *with thy reward, and* well pleasing *unto God:* enter among my servants; and enter my paradise.

rendered these words, which are there quoted, *Quibus petræ vallis responsum dederunt, i.e., To whom the rocks of the valley returned answer:* which slip being made by so great a man, I do not at all wonder that La Roque, and Petis de la Croix, from whose Latin version, and with whose assistance, La Roque made his French translation of the aforesaid treatise, have been led into the same mistake, and rendered those words, *A qui les pierres de la vallée rendirent réponse.*[1] The valley here meant, say the commentators,[2] is Wâdi'lkora, lying about one day's journey[3] (not five and upwards, as Abulfeda will have it) from al Hejr.

[e] See chapter 38, p. 340.

[f] The original word signifies a *mixture,* and also a *scourge* of platted thongs: whence some suppose the *chastisement of this life* is here represented by *scourge,* and intimated to be as much lighter than that of the next life, as *scourging* is lighter than death.[4]

[g] For worldly prosperity or adversity is not a certain mark either of the favour or disfavour of GOD.

[h] Not suffering women or young children to have any share in the inheritance of their husbands or parents. See chapter 4, p. 54.

[i] There is a tradition that at the last day hell will be dragged towards the tribunal by 70,000 halters, each halter being hauled by 70,000 angels, and that it will come with great roaring and fury.[5]

[k] Or, *for* this *my* latter *life.*

[l] *i.e.,* None shall be able to punish or to bind, as GOD shall then punish and bind the wicked.[6]

[m] Some expound this of the soul, which, having, by pursuing the concatenation of natural causes, raised itself to the knowledge of that Being which produced them, and exists of necessity, *rests* fully contented, or *acquiesces* in the knowledge of him, and the contemplation of his perfections. By this the reader will observe that the Mohammedans are no strangers to *Quietism.* Others, however, understand the words of the soul, which, having attained the knowledge of the truth, *rests* satisfied, and *relies securely* thereon, undisturbed by doubts; or of the soul which is *secure* of its salvation, and free from fear or sorrow.[7]

[1] Descr. de l'Arabie, mise à la suite du Voyage de la Palestine, par La Roque, p. 35.
[2] Jallalo'ddin, al Beidâwi. [3] Ebn Hawkal, apud Abulf. ubi sup. Geogr. Nub. p. 5.
[4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [6] Idem. [7] Al Beidâwi.

CHAPTER XC.

ENTITLED, THE TERRITORY; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

I SWEAR[n] by this territory[o] (and thou, *O prophet*, residest in this territory),[p] and by the begetter, and that which he hath begotten;[q] verily we have created man in misery.[r] Doth he think that none shall prevail over him?[s] He saith, I have wasted plenty of riches.[t] Doth he think that none seeth him? Have we not made him two eyes, and a tongue, and two lips, and shown him the two highways *of good and evil?* Yet he attempteth not the cliff. What shall make thee to understand what the cliff *is? It is* to free the captive; or to feed, in the day of famine, the orphan who is of kin, or the poor man who lieth on the ground. *Whoso doth this*, and is *one* of those who believe, and recommend perseverance unto each other, and recommend mercy unto each other; these *shall be* the companions of the right hand.[u] But they who shall disbelieve our signs, shall be the companions of the left hand.[x] above them *shall be* arched fire.

CHAPTER. XCI.

ENTITLED, THE SUN; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

BY the sun, and its rising brightness, by the moon, when she followeth him,[y] by the day, when it showeth his splendour; by the night, when it covereth him with darkness; by the heaven, and him who built it, by the earth, and him who spread it forth; by the soul, and him who completely formed it, and inspired into the same its *faculty of distinguishing, and power of choosing*, wickedness and piety:

[n] Or, *I will not swear*, &c. See chapter 56, p. 396, note [m].

[o] viz., The sacred territory of Mecca.

[p] Or, *Thou shalt be allowed to do what thou pleasest in this territory*, the words, in this sense, importing a promise of that absolute power which Mohammed attained on the taking of Mecca.[1]

[q] Some understand these words generally, others of Adam or Abraham, and of their offspring, and of Mohammed in particular.[2]

[r] Or, *to trouble*. This passage was revealed to comfort the prophet under the persecutions of the Koreish.[3]

[s] Some expositors take a particular person to be here intended, who was one of Mohammed's most inveterate adversaries, as al Walid Ebn al Mogheira;[4] others suppose Abu'l Ashadd Ebn Calda to be the man, who was so very strong, that a large skin being spread under his feet, and ten men pulling at it, they could not make him fall, though they tore the skin to pieces.[5]

[t] In a vain and ostentatious manner, or in opposing of Mohammed.[6]

[u] See chapter 56, p. 396.

[x] See ibid.

[y] *i. e.*, When she rises just after him, as she does at the beginning of the month; or when she sets after him, as happens when she is a little past the full.[7]

[1] Idem. [2] Idem. [3] Idem. [4] Al Zamakh. [5] Al Beidâwi. [6] Idem. [7] Idem.

now is he who hath purified the same, happy; but he who hath corrupted the same, is miserable Thamud accused *their prophet Saleh* of imposture, through the excess of their wickedness: when the wretch[a] among them was sent *to slay the camel;* and the apostle of GOD said unto them, *Let alone* the camel of GOD; and *hinder not* her drinking. But they charged him with imposture; and they slew her. Wherefore their LORD destroyed them, for their crime, and made *their punishment* equal *unto them all:* and he feareth not the issue thereof.

CHAPTER XCII

ENTITLED, THE NIGHT; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the night, when it covereth *all things* with darkness; by the day, when it shineth forth, by him who hath created the male and the female. verily your endeavour *is* different Now whoso is obedient, and feareth *God*, and professeth the truth of that *faith* which is most excellent, unto him will we facilitate *the way* to happiness · but whoso shall be covetous, and shall be wholly taken up *with this world*, and shall deny the truth of that which is most excellent, unto him will we facilitate *the way* to misery, and his riches shall not profit him, when he shall fall headlong *into hell* Verily unto us *appertaineth* the direction *of mankind* and ours *is* the life to come and the present life. Wherefore I threaten you with fire which burneth fiercely, which none shall enter to be burned except the most wretched; who shall have disbelieved, and turned back. But he who strictly bewareth *idolatry and rebellion*, shall be removed far from the same, who giveth his substance in alms, and by whom no benefit *is bestowed* on any, that it may be recompenced, but *who bestoweth the same* for the sake of his LORD, the most High[a] and hereafter he shall be well satisfied *with his reward.*

CHAPTER XCIII

ENTITLED, THE BRIGHTNESS, REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the brightness *of the morning*,[b] and by the night, when it groweth dark: thy LORD hath not forsaken thee, neither doth he

[a] viz, Kedâr Ebn Sâlef See chapter 7, p 112, and chapter 54, p 393

[a] Jallalo'ddin thinks this whole description belongs peculiarly to Abu Becr · for when he had purchased Belâl, the Ethiopian (afterwards the prophet's Muedhdhin, or crier to prayers), who had been put to the rack on account of his faith, the infidels said he did it only out of a view of interest, upon which this passage was revealed

[b] The original word properly signifies the bright part of the day, when the sun shines full out three or four hours after it is risen.

hate *thee*.[e] Verily the life to come *shall be* better for thee than this present life and thy LORD shall give thee *a reward* wherewith thou shalt be well pleased. Did he not find thee an orphan, and hath he not taken care *of thee*? And did he not find thee wandering in error, and hath he not guided *thee into the truth*? And did he not find thee needy, and hath he not enriched *thee*? Wherefore oppress not the orphan, neither repulse the beggar: but declare the goodness of thy LORD.

CHAPTER XCIV.

ENTITLED, HAVE WE NOT OPENED; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

HAVE we not opened thy breast;[d] and eased thee of thy burden,[e] which galled thy back; and raised thy reputation for thee? Verily a difficulty *shall be attended* with ease. Verily a difficulty *shall be attended* with ease When thou shalt have ended *thy preaching*, labour *to serve God in return for his favours*;[f] and make thy supplication unto thy LORD.

CHAPTER XCV.

ENTITLED, THE FIG; WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

BY the fig, and the olive;[g] and by Mount Sinai, and this territory of

[c] It is related that no revelation having been vouchsafed to Mohammed for several days, in answer to some questions put to him by the Koreish because he had confidently promised to resolve them the next day, *without adding the exception, if it please* GOD,[1] or because he had repulsed an importunate beggar, or else because a dead puppy lay under his seat, or for some other reason, his enemies said that GOD had left him whereupon this chapter was sent down for his consolation [2]

[d] By disposing and enlarging it to receive the truth, and wisdom, and prophecy, or, by freeing thee from uneasiness and ignorance? This passage is thought to intimate the *opening* of Mohammed's heart, in his infancy, or when he took his journey to heaven, by the angel Gabriel, who having wrung out the black drop, or seed of original sin, washed and cleansed the same, and filled it with wisdom and faith,[3] but some think it relates to the occasion of the preceding chapter [4]

[e] *i e*, Of thy sin committed before thy mission, or of thy ignorance, or trouble of mind

[f] Or *When thou shalt have finished* thy prayer, *labour* in preaching the faith [5]

[g] GOD, say the commentators swears by these two fruits, because of their great uses and virtues for the fig is wholesome and of easy digestion, and physically good to carry off phlegm, and gravel in the kidneys or bladder, and to remove obstructions of the liver and spleen, and also cures the piles and the gout, &c, the olive produces oil, which is not only

[1] See cap 18, p 219 [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo ddin [3] Al Beidâwi, Yahya Vide Abulf Vit Moh p 8 and 23, Prid Life of Mohamet, p 105, &c. [4] Al Beidâwi [5] Idem

security:[h] verily we created man of a most excellent fabric; afterwards we rendered him the vilest of the vile:[i] except those who believe and work righteousness; for they shall receive an endless reward. What therefore shall cause thee to deny the *day of* judgment after *this*?[k] Is not GOD the most wise judge?

CHAPTER XCVI.

ENTITLED, CONGEALED BLOOD; REVEALED AT MECCA.[l]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

READ, in the name of thy LORD, who hath created *all things;* who hath created man of congealed blood.[m] Read, by thy most beneficent LORD;[n] who taught the use of the pen; who teacheth man that which he knoweth not. Assuredly. Verily man becometh insolent, because he seeth himself abound in riches.[o] Verily unto thy LORD *shall be* the return *of all.* What thinkest thou *as to* him who forbiddeth *our* servant, when he prayeth?[p] What thinkest thou; if he follow the *right* direction; or command piety? What thinkest thou, if he accuse

excellent to eat, but otherwise useful for the compounding of ointments;[1] the wood of the olive-tree, moreover, is good for cleansing the teeth, preventing their growing rotten, and giving a good odour to the mouth, for which reason the prophets, and Mohammed in particular, made use of no other for toothpicks.[2]

Some, however, suppose that these words do not mean the fruits or trees above mentioned, but two mountains in the holy land, where they grow in plenty; or else the temple of Damascus and that at Jerusalem.[3]

[h] viz., The territory of Mecca.[4] These words seem to argue the chapter to have been revealed there.

[i] i.e., As the commentators generally expound this passage, *We created man of comely proportion of body, and great perfection of mind; and yet we have doomed him, in case of disobedience, to be an inhabitant of hell.* Some, however, understand the words of the vigorous constitution of man in the prime and strength of his age, and of his miserable decay when he becomes old and decrepit: but they seem rather to intimate the perfect state of happiness wherein man was originally created, and his fall from thence, in consequence of Adam's disobedience, to a state of misery in this world, and becoming liable to one infinitely more miserable in the next.[5]

[k] Some suppose these words directed to Mohammed, and others to man in general, by way of apostrophe.

[l] The first five verses of this chapter, ending with the words, *Who taught man that which he knew not,* are generally allowed to be the first passage of the Korân which was revealed, though some give this honour to the seventy-fourth chapter, and others to the first, the next, they say, being the sixty-eighth.

[m] All men being created of thick or concreted blood,[6] except only Adam, Eve, and Jesus.[7]

[n] These words, containing a repetition of the command, are supposed to be a reply to Mohammed, who, in answer to the former words spoken by the angel, had declared that he could not read, being perfectly illiterate; and intimate a promise that GOD, who had inspired man with the art of writing, would graciously remedy this defect in him.[8]

[o] The commentators agree the remaining part of the chapter to have been revealed against Abu Jahl, Mohammed's great adversary.

[p] For Abu Jahl threatened that if he caught Mohammed in the act of adoration, he would set his foot on his neck; but when he came and saw him in that posture, he suddenly turned back as in a fright, and, being asked what was the matter, said there was a ditch of fire between himself and Mohammed, and a terrible appearance of troops, to defend him.[9]

[1] Idem, al Zamakh. [2] Al Zamakh. [3] Idem, Yahya, al Beidâwi, Jallal. [4] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. [5] Vide Marracc. in loc. p. 809. [6] See cap. 22, p. 250. [7] Yahya, Al Beidâwi. [9] Idem.

the divine revelations of falsehood, and turn his back? Doth he not know that GOD seeth? Assuredly. Verily, if he forbear not, we will drag him by the forelock,[q] the lying, sinful forelock. And let him call his council[r] *to his assistance*: we also will call the infernal guards *to cast him into hell.* Assuredly. Obey him not: but *continue to* adore *God;* and draw nigh *unto him.*

CHAPTER XCVII.

ENTITLED, AL KADR; WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

VERILY we sent down *the Korân* in the night of al Kadr.[s] And what shall make thee understand *how excellent* the night of al Kadr *is?* The night of al Kadr *is* better than a thousand months. Therein do the angels descend, and the spirit *Gabriel* also, by the permission of their LORD, *with his decrees* concerning every matter.[t] It *is* peace, until the rising of the morn.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

ENTITLED, THE EVIDENCE;[u] WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE unbelievers among those to whom the scriptures were given, and *among* the idolaters, did not stagger,[x] until the *clear* evidence[y]

[q] See chapter 11, p. 164, note o.

[r] *i. e.*, The council or assembly of the principal Meccans, the far greater part of whom adhered to Abu Jahl.

[s] The word al Kadr signifies *power*, and *honour* or *dignity*, and also the *divine decree*, and the night is so named either from its excellence above all other nights in the year, or because, as the Mohammedans believe, the *divine decrees* for the ensuing year are annually on this night fixed and settled, or taken from the *preserved table* by GOD's throne, and given to the angels to be executed.[1] On this night Mohammed received his first revelations, when the Korân, say the commentators, was sent down from the aforesaid table entire and in one volume, to the lowest heaven, from whence Gabriel revealed it to Mohammed by parcels, as occasion required.

The Moslem doctors are not agreed where to fix the night of al Kadr, the greater part are of opinion that it is one of the ten last nights of Ramadân, and, as is commonly believed, the seventh of those nights, reckoning backwards, by which means it will fall between the 23rd and 24th days of that month.[2]

[t] See the preceding note, and chapter 44, p. 367.

[u] Some entitle this chapter, from the first words, *Did not.*

[x] *i. e.*, *Did not waver* in their religion, or in their promises to follow the truth, when an apostle should come unto them. For the commentators pretend that before the appearance of Mohammed, the Jews and Christians, as well as the worshippers of idols, unanimously believed and expected the coming of that prophet, until which time they declared they would persevere in their respective religions, and then would follow him, but when he came, they rejected him through envy.[3]

[y] *viz.*, Mohammed, or the Korân.

[1] See cap. 44, p. 367. [2] Al Zamakh., al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin. [3] Idem.

had come unto them: an apostle from GOD, rehearsing *unto them* pure books *of revelations;* wherein *are contained* right discourses. Neither were they unto whom the scriptures were given divided among themselves, until after the *clear* evidence had come unto them.[z] And they were commanded no other *in the scriptures* than to worship GOD, exhibiting unto him the pure religion, and being orthodox; and to be constant at prayer, and to give alms:[a] and this *is* the right religion. Verily those who believe not, among those who have received the scriptures, and among the idolaters, *shall be cast* into the fire of hell, to remain therein *for ever.* These are the worst of creatures. But they who believe, and do good works; these are the best of creatures: their reward with their LORD *shall be* gardens of perpetual abode, through which rivers flow; they shall remain therein for ever. GOD will be well pleased in them; and they shall be well pleased in him. This *is prepared* for him who shall fear his LORD.

CHAPTER XCIX

ENTITLED, THE EARTHQUAKE; WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHEN the earth shall be shaken by an earthquake;[b] and the earth shall cast forth her burdens;[c] and a man shall say, What aileth her? On that day *the earth* shall declare her tidings, for that thy LORD will inspire her.[d] On that day men shall go forward in distinct classes, that they may behold their works. And whoever shall have wrought good of the weight of an ant,[e] shall behold the same And whoever shall have wrought evil of the weight of an ant, shall behold the same.

[z] But when the promised apostle was sent, and the truth became manifest to them, they withstood the clearest conviction, differing from one another in their opinions, some believing and acknowledging Mohammed to be the prophet foretold in the scriptures, and others denying it [1]

[a] But these divine precepts in the law and the gospel have they corrupted, changed, and violated [2]

[b] This earthquake will happen at the first, or, as others say, at the second blast of the trumpet [3]

[c] *viz*, The treasures and dead bodies within it [4]

[d] *i e*, Will inform all creatures of the occasion of her trembling, and casting forth her treasures and her dead, by the circumstances which shall immediately attend them Some say the earth will, at the last day, be miraculously enabled to speak, and will give evidence of the actions of her inhabitants [5]

[e] See chapter 4, p 58, note y

[1] Idem [2] Idem [3] Al Zamakh, al Beidâwi See the Prelim Disc Sect. IV p. 65
[4] See cap 84, p ... [5] Al Beidâwi See the Prelim Disc, Sect IV

CHAPTER C.

ENTITLED, THE WAR-HORSES WHICH RUN SWIFTLY; WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

BY the *war-horses* which run swiftly *to the battle,* with a panting noise; and by those which strike fire, by dashing *their hoofs against the stones,* and by those which make a sudden incursion *on the enemy* early in the morning, and therein raise the dust, and therein pass through the midst of the *adverse* troops![f] verily man *is* ungrateful unto his LORD; and he *is* witness thereof: and he *is* immoderate in the love of *worldly* good. Doth he not know, therefore, when that which *is* in the graves shall be taken forth and that which *is* in *men's* breasts shall be brought to light, that their LORD *will,* on that day, *be* fully informed concerning them?

CHAPTER CI.

ENTITLED, THE STRIKING; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

THE striking![g] What *is* the striking? And what shall make thee to understand how *terrible* the striking *will be?* On that day men shall be like moths scattered abroad, and the mountains shall become like carded wool of various colours *driven by the wind.* Moreover he whose balance shall be heavy *with good works,* shall lead a pleasing life: but *as to* him whose balance shall be light, his dwelling *shall be* the pit *of hell.*[h] What shall make thee to understand how *frightful* the pit *of hell is?* *It is* a burning fire.

[f] Some will have it that not horses, but the camels which went to the battle of Bedr, are meant in this passage.[1] Others interpret all the parts of the oath of the human soul,[2] but their explications seem a little forced, and therefore I choose to omit them.

[g] This is one of the names or epithets given to the last day, because it will *strike the hearts of all creatures with terror.*[3]

[h] The original word Hâwiyat is the name of the lowest dungeon of hell, and properly signifies a deep pit or gulf.

[1] Yahya, ex trad. *Ali Ebn Abi Taleb.* [2] *Al Beidawi.* [3] *Idem,* Jallalo'ddin.

CHAPTER CII.

ENTITLED, THE EMULOUS DESIRE OF MULTIPLYING, WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE emulous desire of multiplying *riches and children* employeth you, until ye visit the graves.[i] By no means *should ye thus employ your time:* hereafter shall ye know *your folly.* Again, By no means · hereafter shall ye know *your folly.* By no means if ye knew *the consequence hereof* with certainty of knowledge, *ye would not act thus.* Verily ye shall see hell: again, ye shall surely see it with the eye of certainty. Then shall ye be examined, on that day, concerning the pleasures *with which ye have amused yourselves in this life.*

CHAPTER CIII.

ENTITLED, THE AFTERNOON; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

BY the afternoon,[k] verily man *employeth himself* in *that which will prove of* loss: except those who believe, and do that which is right; and *who* mutually recommend the truth, and mutually recommend perseverance unto each other.

CHAPTER CIV.

ENTITLED, THE SLANDERER; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WOE unto every slanderer *and* backbiter![1] who heapeth up riches, and prepareth the same *for the time to come!* He thinketh that

[i] *i.e.*, Until ye die According to the exposition of some commentators, the words should be rendered thus *The contending* or vieing *in numbers wholly employeth you, so that ye visit even the graves,* to number the dead to explain which, they relate that there was a great dispute and contention between the descendants of Abd Menâf and the descendants of Sahm, which of the two families were the more numerous, and it being found, on calculation, that the children of Abd Menâf exceeded those of Sahm, the Sahmites said that their numbers had been much diminished by wars in the time of ignorance, and insisted that the dead, as well as the living, should be taken into the account, and by this way of reckoning they were found to be more than the descendants of Abd Menâf[1]

[k] Or the time from the sun's declination to his setting, which is one of the five appointed times of prayer The original word also signifies, *The age*, or *time* in general

[1] This passage is said to have been revealed against al Akhnas Ebn Shoreik, or al Walid Ebn

[1] Al Zamakh., al Beidâwi, Jalal.

his riches will render him immortal By no means. He shall surely be cast into al Hotama.[m] And what shall cause thee to understand what al Hotama *is?* *It is* the kindled fire of GOD;[n] which shall mount above the hearts *of those who shall be cast therein.* Verily it *shall be as* an arched vault above them, on columns of vast extent.

CHAPTER CV

ENTITLED, THE ELEPHANT; REVEALED AT MECCA

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

HAST thou not seen how thy LORD dealt with the masters of the elephant?[o] Did he not make their treacherous design an occa-

al Mogheira, or Omeyya Ebn Khalf, who were all guilty of slandering others, and especially the prophet [1]

[m] Is one of the names of hell, or the name of one of its apartments,[2] which is so called because it will *break in pieces* whatever shall be thrown into it.

[n] And therefore shall not be extinguished by any [3]

[o] This chapter relates to the following piece of history, which is famous among the Arabs Abraha Ebn al Sabâh, surnamed al Ashram, *i e, the Slit-nosed*, king or viceroy of Yaman, who was an Ethiopian,[4] and of the Christian religion, having built a magnificent church at Sanaa with a design to draw the Arabs to go in pilgrimage thither, instead of visiting the temple of Mecca, the Koreish, observing the devotion and concourse of the pilgrims at the Caaba began considerably to diminish, sent one Notail, as he is named by some, of the tribe of Kenânah, who getting into the aforesaid church by night, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements At this profanation Abraha being highly incensed, vowed the destruction of the Caaba, and accordingly set out against Mecca at the head of a considerable army, wherein were several elephants, which he had obtained of the king of Ethiopia their numbers being, as some say, thirteen, though others mention but one The Meccans, at the approach of so considerable a host, retired to the neighbouring mountains, being unable to defend their city or temple but GOD himself undertook the protection of both For when Abraha drew near to Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, which was a very large one, and named Mahmûd, refused to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise and march briskly enough if they turned him towards any other quarter and while matters were in this posture, on a sudden a large flock of birds, like swallows, came flying from the sea coast, every one of which carried three stones, one in each foot, and one in its bill, and these stones they threw down upon the heads of Abraha's men, certainly killing every one they struck Then GOD sent a flood, which swept the dead bodies and some of those who had not been struck by the stones, into the sea the rest fled towards Yaman, but perished by the way, none of them reaching Sanaa, except only Abraha himself, who died soon after his arrival there, being struck with a sort of plague or putrefaction, so that his body opened, and his limbs rotted off by piecemeal It is said that one of Abraha's army, named Abu Yacsûm, escaped over the Red Sea into Ethiopia, and going directly to the king, told him the tragical story, and upon that prince's asking him what sort of birds they were that had occasioned such a destruction, the man pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head, when immediately the bird let fall the stone, and struck him dead at the king's feet [5]

This remarkable defeat of Abraha happened the very year Mohammed was born, and as this chapter was revealed before the Hejra, and within fifty-four years, at least, after it came to pass, when several persons who could have detected the lie, had Mohammed forged this story out of his own head, were alive, it seems as if there was really something extraordinary in the matter, which might, by adding some circumstances, have been worked up into a miracle to his hands Marracci[6] judges the whole to be either a fable, or else a feat of some evil spirits, of which he gives a parallel instance, as he thinks, in the strange defeat of Brennus, when he was marching to attack the temple of Apollo at Delphi [7] Dr. Prideaux directly charges Mo-

[1] Idem [2] See the Prelim. Disc Sect IV p 72 [3] Al Beidâwi [4] See the Prelim Disc p 8. [5] Al Zamakh, al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, Abulf Hist Gen &c See Prid Life of Mahomet, p 61, &c, and D'Herbel Bibl Orient Art Abrahah [6] Refut in Alcor p 823. [7] See Prid. Connection, part ii book i p 25, and the authors there quoted.

sion of drawing them into error; and send against them flocks of birds, which cast down upon them stones of baked clay;[p] and render them like the leaves of corn eaten *by cattle?*

CHAPTER CVI.

ENTITLED, KOREISH; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

FOR the uniting of *the tribe of* Koreish,[q] their uniting in *sending forth* the caravan *of merchants and purveyors*[r] in winter and

hammed with coining this miracle, notwithstanding he might have been so easily disproved, and supposes, without any foundation, that this chapter might not have been published till Othman's edition of the Korân,[1] which was many years after, when all might be dead who could remember anything of the above-mentioned war.[2] But Mohammed had no occasion to coin such a miracle himself, to gain the temple of Mecca any greater veneration; the Meccans were but too superstitiously fond of it, and obliged him, against his inclinations and original design, to make it the chief place of his new invented worship. I cannot, however, but observe Dr Prideaux's partiality on this occasion, compared with the favourable reception he gives to the story of the miraculous overthrow of Brennus and his army, which he concludes in the following words: "Thus was GOD pleased in a very extraordinary manner to execute his vengeance upon those sacrilegious wretches for the sake of religion in general, how false and idolatrous soever that particular religion was, for which that temple at Delphos was erected."[3] If it be answered, that the Gauls believed the religion, to the devotions of which that temple was consecrated, to be true (though that be not certain), and therefore it was an impiety in them to offer violence to it, whereas Abraha acknowledged not the holiness of the Caaba, or the worship there practised, I reply, That the doctor, on occasion of Cambyses being killed by a wound he accidentally received in the same part of the body where he had before mortally wounded the Apis, or bull worshipped by the Egyptians, whose religion and worship that prince most certainly believed to be false and superstitious, makes the same reflection, "The Egyptians," says he, "reckoned this as an especial judgment from heaven upon him for that fact, and perchance they were not much out in it; for it seldom happening in an affront given to any mode of worship, how erroneous soever it may be, but that religion is in general wounded hereby, there are many instances in history, wherein GOD hath very signally punished the profanations of religion in the worst of times, and under the worst modes of heathen idolatry."[4]

[p] These stones were of the same kind with those by which the Sodomites were destroyed,[5] and were no bigger than vetches, though they fell with such force as to pierce the helmet and the man through, passing out at his fundament. It is said also that on each stone was written the name of him who was to be slain by it.

[q] Some connect these words with the following, and suppose the natural order to be, *Let them serve the Lord of this house, for the uniting*, &c. Others connect them with the last words of the preceding chapter, and take the meaning to be, that GOD had so destroyed the army of Abraha *for the uniting of the* Koreish, &c. And the last opinion is confirmed by one copy, mentioned by al Beidâwi, wherein this and the preceding make but one chapter. It may not be amiss to observe, that the tribe of Koreish, the most noble among all the Arabians, and of which was Mohammed himself, were the posterity of Fehr, surnamed Koreish, the son of Malec, the son of al Nadr, who was descended in a right line from Ismael. Some writers say that al Nadr bore the surname of Koreish, but the more received opinion is that it was his grandson Fehr, who was so called because of his intrepid boldness, the word being a diminutive of Karsh, which is the name of a sea monster, very strong and daring; though there be other reasons given for its imposition.[6]

[r] It was Hâshem, the great-grandfather of Mohammed, who first appointed the two yearly caravans here mentioned,[7] one of which set out in the winter for Yaman, and the other in summer for Syria.[8]

[1] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. III. p. 45. [2] Prid. Life of Mahomet, p. 63, 64. [3] Prid. Connection, in the place above cited. [4] Ibid. part I. book III. p. 173. [5] See cap. II. p. 166. [6] Vide Gagnier, Vie de Mah. t. I. p. 44 and 46. [7] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 3. [8] Al Zamakh., Jallal. al Beidâwi.

summer: let them serve the LORD of this house; who supplieth them with food against hunger,[s] and hath rendered them secure from fear.[t]

CHAPTER CVII.

ENTITLED, NECESSARIES; WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

WHAT thinkest thou of him who denieth the *future* judgment as a falsehood? *It is* he who pusheth away the orphan,[u] and stirreth not up *others* to feed the poor. Woe be unto those who pray, *and* who are negligent at their prayer; who play the hypocrites, and deny necessaries[x] *to the needy.*

CHAPTER CVIII.

ENTITLED, AL CAWTHAR, REVEALED AT MECCA.[y]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

VERILY we have given thee al Cawthar.[z] Wherefore pray unto thy

[s] By means of the aforesaid caravans of purveyors; or, *Who supplied them with food in time of a famine,* which those of Mecca had suffered.[1]

[t] By delivering them from Abraha and his troops; or, by making the territory of Mecca a place of security.

[u] The person here intended, according to some, was Abu Jahl, who turned away an orphan, to whom he was guardian, and who came to him naked, and asked for some relief out of his own money. Some say it was Abu Sofiân, who, having killed a camel, when an orphan begged a piece of the flesh, beat him away with his staff; and others think it was al Walid Ebn al Mogheira, &c.

[x] The original word al Maûn properly signifies utensils, or whatever is of necessary use, *as a hatchet, a pot, a dish, and a needle,* to which some add *a bucket and a hand mill,* or, according to a tradition of Ayesha, *fire, water and salt,* and this signification it bore in the time of ignorance; but since the establishment of the Mohammedan religion, the word has been used to denote alms, either legal or voluntary, which seems to be the true meaning in this place.

[y] There are some, however, who think it to have been revealed at Medina.

[z] This word signifies *abundance,* especially of *good;* and thence *the gift of wisdom and prophecy,* the Korân, the *office of intercessor,* &c. Or it may imply *abundance of children, followers,* and the like. It is generally, however, expounded of a river in paradise of that name, whence the water is derived into Mohammed's pond, of which the blessed are to drink before their admission into that place.[2] According to a tradition of the prophet's, this river, wherein his LORD promised him abundant good, is sweeter than honey, whiter than milk, cooler than snow, and smoother than cream; its banks are of chrysolites, and the vessels to drink thereout of silver; and those who drink of it shall never thirst.[3]

Euthymius Zigabenus,[4] instead of Cauthar, reading Canthar, supposes the word to have the same signification in Arabic as in Greek, and translates the two first verses of the chapter thus: Ἡμεῖς δεδώκαμέν σοι τὸν κάνθαρον, καὶ εὖξαι πρὸς τὸν κύριόν σου, καὶ σφάξον,—*i. e., We have given thee the beetle; wherefore pray unto thy* LORD, *and slay it;* and then he cries out, *O wonderful and magnificent sacrifice, worthy of the legislator!*

[1] Idem. [2] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. IV. p. 74. [3] Al Beidâwi, Jallal. &c. [4] In Panoplia Dogmat. inter Sylburgii Saracenic. p. 29.

LORD; and slay *the victims.*[a] Verily he who hateth thee shall be childless.[b]

CHAPTER CIX.

ENTITLED, THE UNBELIEVERS; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

SAY: O unbelievers,[c] I will not worship that which ye worship; nor will ye worship that which I worship. Neither do I worship that which ye worship, neither do ye worship that which I worship. Ye have your religion, and I my religion.

CHAPTER CX.

ENTITLED, ASSISTANCE; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

WHEN the assistance of GOD shall come, and the victory;[d] and thou shalt see the people enter into the religion of GOD by troops;[e] celebrate the praise of thy LORD, and ask pardon of him;[f] for he is inclined to forgive.

[a] Which are to be sacrificed at the pilgrimage in the valley of Mina. Al Beidâwi explains the words thus: Pray with fervency and intense devotion, not out of hypocrisy; and slay the fatted camels and oxen, and distribute the flesh among the poor; for he says this chapter is the counterpart of the preceding, exhorting to those virtues which are opposite to the vices there condemned.

[b] These words were revealed against al As Ebn Wayel, who, on the death of al Kâsem, Mohammed's son, called that prophet Abtar, which signifies one who has no children or posterity.[1]

[c] It is said that certain of the Koreish once proposed to Mohammed that if he would worship their gods for a year, they would worship his GOD for the same space of time; upon which this chapter was revealed.[2]

[d] *i.e.*, When GOD shall cause thee to prevail over thy enemies, and thou shalt take the city of Mecca.

[e] Which happened in the ninth year of the Hejra, when, Mohammed having made himself master of Mecca, and obliged the Koreish to submit to him, the rest of the Arabs came in to him in great numbers, and professed Islâm.[3]

[f] Most of the commentators agree this chapter to have been revealed before the taking of Mecca, and suppose it gave Mohammed warning of his death; for they say that when he read it al Abbâs wept, and being asked by the prophet what was the reason of his weeping, answered, *Because it biddeth thee to prepare for death*; to which Mohammed replied, *It is as thou sayest.*[4] And hence, adds Jallalo'ddin, after the revelation of this chapter the prophet was more frequent in praising and asking pardon of GOD, because he thereby knew that his end approached; for Mecca was taken in the eighth year of the Hejra, and he died in the beginning of the tenth.

[1] Jallalo'ddin. [2] Idem, al Beidâwi. [3] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. II. p. 43. [4] Al Beidâwi.

CHAPTER CXI.

ENTITLED, ABU LAHEB; REVEALED AT MECCA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

THE hands of Abu Laheb shall perish,[g] and he shall perish.[h] His riches shall not profit him, neither that which he hath gained.[i] He shall go down to be burned into flaming fire;[k] and his wife *also*,[l] bearing wood,[m] *having* on her neck a cord of twisted fibres of a palm-tree.

CHAPTER CXII.

ENTITLED, THE DECLARATION OF GOD'S UNITY,[n] WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

SAY, *God* is one GOD; the eternal GOD: he begetteth not, neither is he begotten: and there is not any one like unto him.

[g] Abu Laheb was the surname of Abd'al Uzza, one of the sons of Abd'almotalleb, and uncle to Mohammed. He was a most bitter enemy to his nephew, and opposed the establishment of his new religion to the utmost of his power. When that prophet, in obedience to the command he had received to *admonish his near relations*,[1] had called them together, and told them he *was a warner sent unto them before a grievous chastisement*, Abu Laheb cried out, *Mayest thou perish! Hast thou called us together for this?* and took up a stone to cast at him. Whereupon this passage was revealed.[2]

By the *hands* of Abu Laheb some commentators, by a synecdoche, understand his *person*; others, by a metonymy, his *affairs* in general, they being transacted with those members; or his hopes in this world and the next.

[h] He died of grief and vexation at the defeat his friends had received at Bedr, surviving that misfortune but seven days.[3] They add, that his corpse was left aboveground three days, till it stank, and then some negroes were hired to bury him.[4]

[i] And accordingly his great possessions, and the rank and esteem in which he lived at Mecca, were of no service to him, nor could protect him against the vengeance of GOD. Al Beidâwi mentions also the loss of his son Otba, who was torn to pieces by a lion in the way to Syria, though surrounded by the whole caravan.

[k] Arab. *nâr dhât laheb*, alluding to the surname of Abu Laheb, which signifies the *father of flames*.

[l] Her name was Omm Jemîl: she was the daughter of Harb, and sister of Abu Sofiân.

[m] For fuel in hell; because she fomented the hatred which her husband bore to Mohammed; or, *bearing a bundle of thorns and brambles*, because she carried such, and strewed them by night in the prophet's way.[5]

[n] This chapter is held in particular veneration by the Mohammedans, and declared, by a tradition of their prophet, to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Korân. It is said to have been revealed in answer to the Koreish, who asked Mohammed concerning the distinguishing attributes of the GOD he invited them to worship.[6]

[1] See the Prelim. Disc. Sect. II. p. 34. [2] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, &c. [3] Abulf. Vit. Moh. p. 57. [4] Al Beidâwi. [5] Idem, Jallalo'ddin. [6] Idem.

CHAPTER CXIII.

ENTITLED THE DAYBREAK; WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

SAY, I fly for refuge unto the LORD of the daybreak,[o] *that he may deliver me* from the mischief of *those things* which he hath created;[p] and from the mischief of the night, when it cometh on;[q] and from the mischief of *women* blowing on knots;[r] and from the mischief of the envious, when he envieth.

CHAPTER CXIV.

ENTITLED, MEN, WHERE IT WAS REVEALED IS DISPUTED.[s]

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

SAY, I fly for refuge unto the LORD of men, the king of men, the GOD of men, *that he may deliver me* from the mischief of the whisperer who slyly withdraweth,[t] who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of men, from genii and men.

[o] The original word properly signifies a *cleaving*, and denotes says al Beidâwi, the production of all things in general, from the darkness of privation to the light of existence, and especially of those things which proceed from others, as springs, rain, plants children, &c., and hence it is used more particularly to signify the breaking forth of the light from darkness, which is a most wonderful instance of the divine power

[p] *i e*, From the mischiefs proceeding either from the perverseness and evil choice of those beings which have a power to choose, or the natural effects of necessary agents, as fire poison, &c the world being good in the whole, though evils may follow from those two causes.[1]

[q] Or, as the words may be rendered, *From the mischief of the moon, when she is eclipsed*

[r] That is, of witches, who used to tie knots in a cord, and to blow on them, uttering at the same time certain magical words over them, in order to work on or debilitate the person they had a mind to injure This was a common practice in former days [2] what they call in France *Nouer l'eguillette*, and the knots which the wizards in the northern parts tie, when they sell mariners a wind (if the stories told of them be true), are also relics of the same superstition

The commentators relate that Lobeid, a Jew, with the assistance of his daughters, bewitched Muhammed, by tying eleven knots on a cord, which they hid in a well, whereupon Muhammed falling ill, GOD revealed this chapter and the following, and Gabriel acquainted him with the use he was to make of them, and of the place where the cord was hidden according to whose directions the prophet sent Ali to fetch the cord, and the same being brought, he repeated the two chapters over it, and at every verse (for they consist of eleven) a knot was loosed, till on finishing the last words, he was entirely freed from the charm [3]

[s] This chapter was revealed on the same occasion and at the same time with the former

[t] *i e*, The devil; who withdraweth when a man mentioneth GOD, or hath recourse to his protection.

[1] Al Beidâwi [2] Vide Virgil in Pharmaceutria [3] Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin

FINIS

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